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A

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

NEW ENGLAND,

FROM THE

DISCOVERY TO MDCLXXX.

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM HUBBARD,

MINISTER OF IPSWICH, MASS.

"Mr. Hubbard was certainly for many years the most eminent minister in the county of Essex : equal to any in the province for learning
"and candour, and superiour to all his contemporaries as a writer."

The late Rev. JOHN ELIOT, D. D. Cor. Sec. Hist. Soc.

PUBLISHED

BY THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Cambridge:::Hilliard & Metcalf.

1815.

First written 1882 manuscript

District of Massachusetts, to wit:

District Clerk's office.

BE it remembered, that on the second day of June, A. D. 1814, and in the thirty eighth year of the independence of the United States, JOSEPH McKEAN, of the said district, in the name and behalf of the Massachusetts Historical Society, has deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof the said Society claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

"A general history of New England, from the discovery to MDCLXXX. By the Rev. William Hubbard, minister of Ipswich, Mass. 'Mr. Hubbard was certainly for many years the most eminent minister in the county of Essex; equal to any in the province for learning and candour, and superior to all his contemporaries as a writer.' The late Rev. John Eliot, D. D. Cor. Sec. Hist. Soc."

In conformity to the act of the congress of the United States, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and also to an act, entitled, "An act, supplementary to an act, entitled an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned; and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

W. S. SHAW, { Clerk of the district
of Massachusetts.

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PREFATORY NOTICE.

THE Historical Society consider it to be one important object of their Institution, to multiply copies of rare and valuable works relative to our Country. The History, to which they now invite the attention of their friends, was never published. Many of their associates and others have expressed a wish, that it might be given to the publick ; as it is the original source from which several of our earliest historians derived much of their information.

The Society acknowledge, with gratitude to the memory of their most valued and respected associate, that this precious relick was among the rich contributions, furnished by Rev. Dr. John Eliot from his invaluable collection of the treasures of American history and antiquities. It is believed to have been rescued by his excellent father from the fury of the mob in the depredations on the house, furniture and library of Governour Hutchinson.

The General Court, 11 Oct. 1682, granted fifty pounds to the Author, " as a manifestation of thankfulness" for this history, " he transcribing it fairly, that it may be the more easily perused." The copy, from which this first edition is printed, was probably taken for the purpose of securing the benefits of

this grant. On application by the Society, the legislature have encouraged the present publication by a very liberal subscription, for the use of the Commonwealth.

Of the author, the late Rev. John Eliot D.D. has given a very interesting, though not minute account, in "The New England Biographical Dictionary." He was born, 1621; was one of the first class of graduates, at Harvard College, 1642; was settled in the ministry at Ipswich, a colleague of Rev. Thomas Cobbet, about 1666 or 1667; and died, 1704. Of his publications, the following are all that are known: A Sermon, "among the very good ones,"* on the General Election, 1676, 4to; Narrative of Indian wars, 4to, 1677, republished 12mo, Boston, 1775; Fast sermon, 24 June, 1682; Sermon and Memoirs on Maj. Gen. Denison, published with his Irenicon, 12mo, 1684; Testimony (with Rev. John Higginson) to the order of the gospel in the churches, 1701.

In John Dunton's Journal of his visit to New England, 1685, a very interesting notice is taken of the MINISTER of IPSWICH.†

The authenticity and value of this history appear in the following testimonials.

Rev. Thomas Prince, in "A Chronological History of New England in the form of Annals," has in his list of folio MSS.—"12. The Rev. Mr. William Hubbard's General History of New England from the Discovery to 1680, in 338 pages: And though not in his

* Eliot.

† See "Extracts from the life &c. of J. D." Histor. Collect. vol. ii. 2d Ser. p. 121.

own hand-writing, yet having several corrections made thereby.”—Again, “ And whereas I observe some mistakes in Mr. Hubbard’s History of New England ; the reader may consider, that as we have only a copy of that VALUABLE WORK, the substance whereof I propose to give the Publick : some of these mistakes may be owing to the *Transcriber only*, and some, that LEARNED and INGENIOUS AUTHOR fell into for want of Gov. Bradford’s History, and some other materials, which I happen to be favoured with.”*

His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, in “ The History of Massachusetts Bay,”† says, “ Many such [materials for an history of the Colony] came to me from my ancestors, who, for four successive generations, had been principal actors in publick affairs : among the rest, a manuscript history of Mr. William Hubbard, which is carried down to the year 1680, but after 1650 contains but few facts. The former part has *been of great use* to me : it was so to Dr. Mather in his history, of which Mr. Neale’s is little more than an abridgment.”

The opinion of his biographer, than whom no one was better able to appreciate duly the relative as well as absolute merit of our early writers, is given in the prefatory remarks to his valuable ecclesiastical history, in the Historical Collections.‡

* Vol. i. 12mo. pp. 254, Boston, 1736. Preface, p. vii. and x. xi. Mr. Prince made *few* corrections, for he brought down his annals only to 1633. That the copy from which this edition is printed, is the same which he consulted, is little doubted. This is not in Mr. Hubbard’s hand writing, yet has his emendations.

† 8vo. 2 vol. Lond. 1765. vol. i. pref. ‡ Vol. vii. First Series, p. 263

Of the MS. copy a few pages at the beginning and end are mutilated, and the writing, in some places, is scarcely legible. These passages are given, as far as the editors could spell them out. Where they have supplied words, or portions of words, conjecturally, such are printed in *italicks*. Where they were at a loss, they have used asterisks.*

They had hoped to obtain an entire copy of this defective portion. This fond expectation was derived from their knowledge that a transcript was made by Hon. Peter Oliver, Esq. LL. D. Chief Justice of Massachusetts.† Application has been made to the family in England, for a part or the whole of this precious document; but without success.‡

A. HOLMES, } Committee of the
JOSEPH McKEAN, } Historical Society.

Cambridge, Mass. 1815.

* From the ninth page, the manuscript is entire; pages 7 and 8 are nearly so; 3, 4, 5, and 6, considerably torn and effaced; 1 and 2 appear to be wanting. At the end, page 337 is a little defective; 338 is nearly effaced; the remainder is lost. The editors had contemplated retaining the author's mode of spelling; but soon finding that this was not uniform, they concluded not to continue the attempt, after the first seven chapters.

† "1773. June 10. Judge Oliver came and drank tea with me. He has a copy of the Rev. Mr. Hubbard's MSS. of Ipswich, which he himself copied from a copy which had corrections in Mr. Hubbard's own hand writing. I think it contains 3 or 400 pages folio. This with Gov. Bradford's and Gov. Winthrop's MSS. are the three most considerable historical accounts of the first settlement of New England."

President Stiles' Literary Diary.

"Every relic or document which related to the settlement of the country or was curious, had a value stamped upon it. He collected many papers and records, and even transcribed William Hubbard's MS. history with his own hand. All these, except such as Hutchinson made use of, were carried away with him when he went to England."

Art. Oliver, (P.) Eliot's N. E. Biogr. Dict. p. 350.

‡ See the letters on this subject; *Histor. Collections* vol. iii. New Series.

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* The Ms. copy is carefully preserved in the library of the Historical Society. For the convenience of those who may wish to consult it, the pages of the Ms. as well as of the printed work are given.

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* Pages 180, 1, 2, and pt. of 190 of the Ms. are blank.

† In the Ms. the numbering of this chapter is 44; and a similar mistake continues through the volume.

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NOTE. A few literal errors have been noticed. Candid readers will readily excuse these in a work of so difficult execution.

The reference, p. 86, is to *Prince*.

The words in Italicks, p. 126; and in other places, Latin words and phrases in the same character, are in the Ms. copy.

GENERAL HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND.

* * * * *

necessary for the supplies and comfort of man's *residence* in other more habitable parts of the world: here were * * silver and gold, store of precious pearles lockt up in the earth and depths of the sea, all which treasures of *the rich* cabinets of nature had wayted a long time for *an expert and skilful* hand, better acquainted with their worth than *the natives* to disclose and disperse them abroad amongst the *rest of the world*, for whose use they were in their first creation intended. *There* were also many spacious and vast tracts of land, fit for the use of men of other nations; the sayd places having never *had enough* inhabitants to manage so many fertile countryes. * * * * thereof had probably for a long time been *occupied by a* people who neither themselves nor their *ancestors had acquaintance* with civility or any liberal sciences; *with the knowledge* or worship of the true and living God. What * * * * may have in that kind is not for us to determine. *It seems* to bee the pleasure of the Almighty by the foresayd means to open the way for sending the light of the gospel amongst those dark parts of the earth for their conversion, as is hoped, and thus to leave the rest without excuse at the last day. The gospel must be preached to the nations for a testimony unto them; which it never was * * * * It being an usuall observation that the great Husbandman is not pleased to

send forth labourers, where he hath no harvest to bee gathered in, or work for them to accomplish: Wherefore the bringing of the natives of this country to the knowledge of God, and our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, being peculiarly intended by those of New England, *as is particularly expressed* in their grand charter to be principally the adventurers true profession, and his Majesties royal intention when he granted it; the various providences that have attended the settlement of that part of America, soe called, shall in what follows be particularly declared, that so they may remain a perpetual monument of divine

* * * * *

* * Reports, and for the satisfaction of those who may be studious to inquire into the reall truth of former transactions, the Generall History of New England is now taken in hand; Wherein the first discovery of the country, its scituation, temperature of the aire, fertility and nature of the soyle, disposition of the inhabitants, together with the first planting thereof by the English. These being breefly touched upon, the principall occurrences that have fallen out within the compasse of the next sixty or eighty years, concerning the affayrs of religion, * *
* * since that time shall be more largely handled.....

CHAP. II.

Of the first discovery of the country of New England.

Christopher Columbes, a Genoesian, had the happiness and honour first to discover this before unknowne part of the world, though Americus that came after him had the honour to have it called after his own name, America. Others * * *Sebastian* Cabbot, a famous Portuguez, more particularly, discover more than * * In the yeare 1497 hee with his father, *John* Cabbot, sent out under a commission of *Henry VII.* ranged a great part of this unknown region, in that and some years following, discovering many places in it between the 40th degree of south and 67th of north latitude; where * * *
contenting himselfe with the riches of Hispaniola, Cuba,

and *some other islands*, which hee fortunately fell upon in the yeare 1492. *He did not discover the mayn land* till the yeare 1498, a whole yeare after *Sebastian Cabbot* had been upon the Continent, in reward of which notable *discovery* he was afterward made Grand Pilot of England and *Ireland* by king Henry the 8th, and in his old age had an honrble *pension pr. ann.* of 166l. 13s. 4d. allowed him by Edward the 6th. *These discoveries* of the Cabbots were the foundation and *ground worke* of those noble adventures made afterwards by *those of the English* nation or others, who, moved either with emulation of the Spaniards, or an ambitious desire of advancing the glory of their *respective* nations, did in the next age attempt a more full discovery of the *several* parts of the world, specially of America, hoping thereby either to finde out some new possessions, or else a nearer passage to the *more* remote parts of the world discovered, and well *knowne* long before, (although not reached unto without going a *greate* compasse about.) On some such account the French *historians* report that James Quartier, a Florrentine, *employed* by Francis the first, king of France, discovered New * * * * * France

* * * * * New Foundland in the yeere [1534] * *
 * * * * * the sayd James Quartier and Mon * †
 * * * * * the lady of the English
 world. In the yeare [1587] John White aforesayd was sent with three more ships to *make* further enquiry after the colony left there before by Sir *Richard* Greenvill. But although this last time they tarried all *winter*, as may be conjectured by the words of the relation, till the yeare 1590 the sayd colony could never be heard of: And thus was the *first* plantation at old Virginia, after much time, labour, and *charge* brought to confusion, and finally deserted in the yeare 1590: nor *was* there ever any plantation attempted in that place or *carried* on with prosperous success to this day, the reason of which is not yet rendered: The planting of any place about Florida being thus nipped *in* the bud, if not blasted with some severer curse, like Jericho of old, all hopes of *settling* another plantation

† Here appears to be a chasm. *Ed.*

in that part of the world were for the present abandoned, and lay dead for the space of twelve yeares next following, when they were revived again by the valiant resolution *and* industry of Capt. Bartholmew Gosnold and Capt. Bartholmew Gilbert, and divers other gentlemen, their associates, who in the *year* 1602 attempted a more exact discovery of the whole coast of *Virginia*. The first voyage, Capt. Gosnold in a small bark *with a company* set sayle from Dartmouth March 26, the *same yeare* a south west course from the Azores, made his passage *shorter by several degrees* then ever the former adventurers found it, who *had always* fetched a compasse round by the West Indies, and *by that course* fell upon Florida. But Capt. Gosnold, possibly more *by the guidance* of providence then any special art acquired of *man*, on the 14th *May* following made land in the lat. of 43,° where Capt. *Gosnold was* presently welcomed by eight of the salvages in one of their *shallops*, who came boldly aboard them, which considered with * * * shew made the other conjecture some beseamers† had *been wrecked in fishing* there : the Captain, how well soever hee liked his * * * weather which made him soone after weigh and * * * * ward into the sea ; the next morning, finding himselfe *drawing nigh* a mighty head land, let fall his anchor againe * * * *nigh* the shore, and then himselfe with foure *men went on shore* presently ; marching up the highest hill next *morning*, they discerned the headland to bee part of the mayn, *round which were* many islands : in five or six houres time his company *caught* more codfish then they well knew what to do with. *And this promontory* hath ever since borne the name of Cape Cod, which hee was not willing to exchange for the royal name, *that* Capt. Smith or some other mariner had *given* ; the fishing which they there met with, being retained to this day. It appears by what is written by Capt. John Brierton in the same voyage, that the first hill they ascended *was* upon the south side of Cape Cod, for the islands therabouts retain the same names which at that tyime were imposed on them : viz. Marthas or Martins Vineyard and Elizabeth Islands, being replenished with

† This word appears plainly in the MS. Ed.

the blossoms of strawberys, rasberys, and gooseberyes, and divers other fruits, besides severall sorts of living creatures, as deere, cranes, hernes, and other wild fowl, which made them call the island Marthas Vineyard; and in the same place they took up their station all the while they remayned in the country. In the middle of May they sowed wheat, barley, oates, pease, which sprang up eight or nine inches in fourteene days. All which considerations together *with* the seeming courtesies of the salvages encouraged some of the company to thinke of *tarrying there* the yeere about. But considering *how meanly* they were provided, they *altered the* resolution, and returned back againe to England, where they arrived, about the 23 July following, carrying *such* newes as enduced the aldermen [*and certain merchants*] of Bristoll to raise a stocke of [1000l.] *which* was imployed for furnishing * * more the next yeare under the command of Martin Pring or Pin and Robert Salterne, *who* had beene there the yeere before. In the yeere 1603 following the Capt. Gosnold made noe relation, butt * * * * *

* * fell with the land * * of 43° on the north of Virginia, as all *the* country was then called. From thence they ranged *the* coast along till they came to a place which they *named* Whitson Bay. How long they tarried upon the coast, or when they returned, is not mentioned in Salterne's relation, yett it seems the report they carried *home* was not like that of the unbelieving spyes, for itt gave encouragement to the Right Honorable Sir Thomas Arrundall Barron of Wardor to send forth another vessell in the yeare 1605, with 29 stout seamen, under the comand of Capt. Thomas Weymouth with intent to have them make another discovery of the coast southward of 39 degrees. But by reason of cross winds they fell to the northward of 41 by 20 minutes, where they *found* themselves strongly embayed by shoals, *so that* in the running of sixe leagues they should come from 100 fathom to five, yett see no land. Then at the next throw they should have 16 or * * which constrayned them to putt *back* againe to sea, though the wind poynts were as fayre as they could desire. The want of wood and water made them take the best advan-

tage of winds that came next to fall with the shore. On the 18th of May they cast anchor within a *league* of the shore, which proved an island, though at first it appeared as some high land *of* the mayne; and here they took five of the *salvages*, as saith Capt. Smith, page 20, whom they *found* like all of that sort, kinde till they had *opportunity* to doe mischeife, butt soone after found a *place* fitter for the purpose, which they called *Pentecost Harbor*, from White Sunday, on which *they discovered* itt. The isles thereabouts in the ent * * * *

Itt se * * * * of St. Georges Isles. Att this time they *discovered* a great river in those parts, supposed *to* bee Kennibecke, neere unto Pemaquid, which they found navigable 40 miles up into the country, and 7, 8, 9, or [10] fathome deepe, as Capt. Weymouth reports. *It* was one mayn end of all the fore-mentioned adventurers, as well as those that first *discovered* itt, to plant the Gospell there. The whole country from Florida to Nova Francia went at first under the name of Virginia, (yett distinguished by the Northern and Southern parts:) that which is now famously known by the name of Virginia, (where since the yeare 1605 have severall English Colonies been planted,) is a country within the two Capes, where the sea runneth in 200 miles north and south under the Deg. 37, 38, 39 of north lat. first discovered, as is generally believed, by Capt. John Smith, sometimes Governour of the country, into which there is but one entrance by sea, and that is at the mouth of a very goodly bay 20 miles broad between those two Capes, of which that on the south is called Cape Henry, that on the north Cape Charles, in honor of the two famous princes, branches of the Royall Oak. The first planting of that country was begun in the yeare 1606; and carried on by various changes and by sundry steps and degrees, as is described at large from the first beginning of the enterprise to the year 1627, by Capt. Smith, one of the first discoverers, and so a chief founder of the plantation from that time. That whole country, extending from the 34th to the 44th degrees of North lat. and called Virginia upon the accident mentioned before,

formerly Norumbega, came afterwards to be divided into two colonies—the first and the second. The former was to the honrble city of London, as saith Capt. Smith, and such *as* would adventure with them, to discover and take their choyce where they would, betwixt the degrees of 34 and 41: the latter was appropriated to the the *cityes* of Bristoll, Plymouth, and Exeter, and the west parts of England, and all those that would adventure and joyn with them; and they might take their choice any where betwixt the degrees of [3] 8 and 44, provided *there* should bee at least an 100 miles distance betwixt the two *colonies*, each of which had lawes, priviledges, and authority for *government*, and advancing their plantations alike. After this time *several* attempts were made for the planting and peopling of this *N. part* of Virginia, called afterwards New England by Capt. *Smith in the* yeare 1614, who took a draught of *it* the same yeare. *This he on his return presented to the* afterwards famous Prince Charles, of blessed memory, humbly intreating him to adopt it for his own, and make a confirmation thereof, by applying Christian names upon the several places first discovered, many of which were ever after retayned; the whole countrey being on that reason called New England to this day. In the year 1606, Sir John Popham, who was a principal undertaker, as saith Capt. Smith, and 1607, found men and means to make the beginning of a plantation about the mouth of a great river called Kennibeck, to the northward of 43 deg. but with what successe shall be seen afterward. In the yeares next following, other attempts of further discovery were made by the industry and endeavours of Capt. Edward Harlow, Capt. Hobson of the Isle of Wight, Mr. John Mathews, Mr. Sturton, and especially Capt. Henry Hudson, who searched severall rivers alonge the coast from Delaware Bay up towards the frozen ocean; in honour of whose memory, the great river where afterward the Dutch seated themselves and laid the foundation of their Novum Belgium, was called after his name, Hudson's river; as another place, the utmost bounds of his discoveryes northward, is likewise called after the

manner of elder times, Hudson's streight. Probably every year's experience might adde something to a fuller knowledge of the havens, rivers, and most desirable places of the country, by such as came yearly to make fish upon the coast, eastward about the island of Monheggin, Damerille Cove, Casco Bay, Cape Porpuise, Accomenticus, and although no colony was ever settled in any of those places till the yeare 1620, when New Plymouth was first planted within Cape Cod, of which more in what followeth, when there will be just occasion to mention the incredible successe of those plantations of New England, that from so small and meane beginnings, did in so few yeares overspread so large a tract of land by the industry and diligent paines of a poor people, to which alone, next under the blessing of Almighty God, must the success of the whole business be ascribed: it being the declared intent of the adventurers and others that ingaged in this designe since Capt. Gosnold's voyage in the yeare 1602, as one Mr. Rosier, that came alonge with Capt. Weymouth, doth expressly mention soon after, viz. 1605, to propagate God's holy church, by planting Christianity in these darke corners of the earth, which was the publick good they aymed at, more than the advancing their own privat or particular ends.

CHAP. III.

Of the scituation, bounds, and rivers of New England.

New England, at the first accounted no distinct country of itselfe, as worthy of a proper name of its owne, was taken onely for a part of Virginia: But is of late discovered to bee a country of too large a compasse any longer to lacky after any other sister, though elder than herselfe, and therefore deservedly accounted worthy of that adoptive name with which it is honoured as one of the principall daughters of the Chief Lady of the European world, from whence she is descended. It is situate in the 315 degree of longitude, betwixt the degrees of 39 and 45 of north latitude, accounting from about Delaware Bay to the south of Nova Francia, the bounds

thereof. On the east side are the great ocean, called the Atlantick Sea, on the west is the Pasificke or South Sea, the distance how farre being as yet unknowne. On the south of New England, lyes partly the sea and partly the country of Delaware and Virginia. *From the head* of Cape Cod to the Manatos, now called New Yorke, in honor of his Royal Highness, to whose commissioners it was of late surrendered by the Dutch, and since by treaty to them confirmed, the land trendeth away almost due west: On the north lyeth that called Nova Scotia, the limits of each country being terminated about St. Georges or St. Croix, for when Sir John Popham's plantation was begun about Kennibecke, the English were possessed of St. Croix, Mount Mansell, probably now called Mount Desert, Penobscot, and Port Ryall: Butt afterwards, when itt was knowne that the French began to encroach upon those places that lye beyond Kennibecke, they were wisely and timely displaced by Sir Samuell Argall, sometimes, and att that tyme Governor of Virginia, and likewise chief agent there. How these places fell into the handes of the French nation by purchase from Sir William Alexander without pay, though not without promises, there may bee occasion to speake more afterwards, when such occurrants as happened in the same yeare, when that fell out, come to be spoken unto. The French have been for a considerable tyme togeather disturbed in their possession of those places after they had them first in their hands; and that of right the title of them did belong to the English monarch, as hee was kinge of Scotland, Doctor Walker, that learned civilian, did, not longe since, as is sayde, declare itt before his Majestie and Lords of his Councell, when that matter was debated before them, on the accompt of the French interest. However, itt seems upon the accompt of the French agent, all those places to the east or north east of Pemmaquid, that at any tyme heretofore were possessed by any persons that belonged to the kings of France, were resigned up unto their possessions againe, their demands noe doubt being grounded upon such pleas, as to him that made the concession seemed

not only just butt honorable. As for the breadth of this whole country under debate, accounting alonge the shore and sea coast, itt seemes to amount to neere five hundred miles, within the compass of which circuitt are many spacious and navigable rivers, which generally att the mouth of them, where they disembogue themselves into the great ocean, affoord very commodious havens for shippes, wherein they who have made tryall, finde they anchor and ride safely, and pass up higher into the country with great advantage to the inhabitants on either side. The principall of them to the northward are that att Pemmaquid, and another called Shipscot river, above a mile over att the entrance, within twelve miles of which to the southward lyeth Kennibeeke, neere a league over att the mouth, navigable about 60 miles up into the country, or more; within whose channell are severall ilands, capeable to entertaine a great number of inhabitants. Within a few miles of the aforesayd river lyes Casco Bay, a spacious haven about 9 leagues over att the entrance, and running up neere 20 miles within its capes. Itt is filled with a large number of islands, some of which are considerable, where sea faring men have taken up their habitations. Att neere 20 miles distance to the south, the river of Saco finds its passage into the salt sea, att the mouth of which is a notable haven, called Winter Harbor, that gives encoragement to a number of inhabitants to take theire abode there, sufficient to make a plantation; this river is of a considerable breadth many miles higher into the country. The next river of noat on that side of the coast, about 30 miles from the former, is that called Piscataqua, which has beene frequented ever since the country was first planted, by such as came this way for trafficke with the inhabitants, natives and others, that have seated themselves in several plantations about the uppermost branches thereof. The channell is very swift and spacious, fit for vessells of great burden for the space of neere 20 miles, where itt divides ittselfe into many considerable bayes and small branches, whose streames are in theire passage obstructed with falls of broken rockes,

that putt a stop to such as at the entrance might, by the helpe of its streams, be in hopes of aspiring higher into the inland parts of the country. Merrimacke is another gallant river, seventy miles neere hand to the southward, the entrance into which, though a mile over in breadth, is barred with shoales of sand, having two passages that lead thereinto, att either end of a sandy island, that lyeth over against the mouth of the sayde river. Near the mouth of that, are two other lesser ones, about which are seated two considerable townes, the one called Newberry, the other Ipswich, either of which have fayre channells, wherein vessells of fivety or sixty tuns may pass up safely to the doores of the inhabitants, whose habitations are pitched neere the banks on either side. Merrimacke is a very stately river neere the mouth of itt, and runnes neere a hundred miles up into the country, and would be of great advantage to many small townes seated on severall lesser streames that loose themselves in itt's greater channell, were itt not for severall falls that obstruct the quiet passage of the streames before itt hath run 20 miles within the land; which disadvantage attends most of the great rivers of New England, throughout the whole country: on the banks of whose streames are many veynes of very rich and fertile land, that would receive abundance more inhabitants, who might live as well as in most places of the world, were itt not for the intolerable burden of transportation of their goods by land, for want of navigable channells in those rivers. Charles river is the next to be taken notice of, issuing its waters into the bottome of the Massachusetts Bay, and affords as gallant an harbor neer the mouth of it, as any river of that bigness in all christendom, and runnes up twenty or thirty miles into the country, yet not navigable above foure or five, which makes it lesse serviceable to the inhabitants seated up higher upon the bankes thereof. More to the southward of Cape Cod are very many commodious harbors and havens for ships; And two very great rivers that carry a considerable breadth and deep channels above an hundred miles up into the country. But by reason of great falls, where the

watter forceth its passage over great and steep rocks that lye crosse over the whole stream, they are made impassable any higher for any sort of vessells, which is the great disadvantage of those that dwell in the upper, or more inland parts of the country. As touching the said rivers, the one is called Connecticutt, running north and south, and distant neer an hundred miles from the most easterly poynt of Cape Cod; first discovered by the Dutch, called by them the Fresh river. About fifty or sixty miles from the entrance of which, are seated the townes of Middleton, Wethersfield, Hartford, and Windsor, and Springfield about 25 miles above them; and between thirty and forty miles, above them, are seated Hadly, Northampton, and Hatfeild; above which were Deerefeild and Northfeild or Squakhet, which for sometime were ruined by the Indians, but since planted again. All which are accomodated with intervale land of an excellent soyle, and otherwise very desireable, were itt not for the distance of a markett, and difficulty of transportation. The other is called Hudson's river, running on the same poynt with the former, soe as a west lyne from Boston att the mouth of Charles river, falls directly thereupon, neere Fort Albany, (lately while the Dutch had the possession, called Fort of Aurania,) neere which are very great falls, where the channell has a precipice downe neere fivety foote in a right descent; butt how much higher that great river comes from within the continent, is as yett unknowne. Att or neere the mouth, it is above a league over, and carries his breadth with sutable proportion thereunto, about a hundred and fivety miles; and it is a very stately river upon all accompts, butt for the inconveniency of sundry falls much interrupting the passage of the streame, beyond the sayd place of Fort Albany. From the mouth of this, called Hudson's river, to the mouth of the former, called Connecticutt, runneth a great channell between the mayn land and that called Long Island, in length making about a hundred miles; in some parts thereof carrying a considerable breadth withall. Other rivers there are besides the aforementioned, not inconsiderable: As that

called Pequod river, in the bottome of Narraganset Bay, where it empties ittselfe into the mayn ocean, making a very goodly haven, neere unto which is seated the towne called New London ; in nothing but the name imitating the glory of the mother citty, and famous mart of Europe, if not of the world, unless in the advantage of the stately harbor, and vicinity of the ocean. Twelve miles from which, upon the bankes of the same river, is seated another towne, called Norwich. Butt the streame of this watter being issued in so small and short a course, itt is not mentioned as one of the great rivers of the country ; the breadth, a little above the first towne, not being in any degree proportionable to that itt is below.

CHAP. IV.

Of the temperature of the ayre and nature of the climate.

The climate of New England lyes in the middle, betweene the frigid and torrid zones, the extremis on either hand ; and therefore may bee suposed to bee in the most desirable place of a temperate ayre, for the advantage both of wholesome and delightfull living, falling into the same latitude with Italy and France : some provinces in both which countrys in former times being taken for the most desirable in the whole universe ; yet by reason of some occult and secret accident, is this country knowne by longe experience to partake a little too much of the two extremis of heat and cold, proper to the two opposite regions on either hand, in those seasons of the yeare when those qualities rise to be most prevayling. Both the sea coast and the continent are indifferently mixt of mountainous champaigne lands, the aire thereby becoming more salubrious by far, than the next adjoyning province of Virginia to the south, which consisteth generally both of a lower and richer soyle ; it being found by experience that the vapours drawne out of the earth in the levels and moister parts thereof by the directer beames of the sun, and not purified by the ventilating of the aire, as is usually seen in the higher and more hilly countrys, it useth to make the places more unwholsom and obnox.

ous to diseases, which the more hilly countreys are freed from. The greatest inconvenience of the country in respect of the temperature of the aire, either in summer or winter, is judged to arise from the inequality thereof, which yet is more discerned in Virginia, a countrey more land lockt and that lyes not so open to the sea, the reason of which is hard to bee rendred. The heat in the summer and cold in the winter seldome are observed to continue in the same degree, but are very subject to suddoine alterations, from whence many epidemically distempers are knowne to proceed oft times. Those hotter countreys, scituate in the torrid zone between the two tropicks, by the ancient philosophers, upon a mistake of ignorance or want of experience, determined to be not habitable, were they not continually fanned by those they call the trade windes, that continually follow the sun, the fierye and sulphurous vapors exhaled by the sun beames so directly falling upon the earth, would els suffocate the inhabitants: for want of which ventilation here, sometimes the summer seasons are found more unwholesome and difficult to beare; though generally the temperature of the aire is, since the planting of the country by the English nation, found more moderate by experience, and much more suitable for the constitution of the inhabitants; however the complaint of the people that dwell therein is for the most part more, for being annoyed with the heat of the summer then cold of the winter—against the extremity whereof wayes may be found for men to secure themselves more easily then from the extremity of the heat, especially in such who are not as yet well naturallized and inured to the climate. The frost heare useth to visit the inhabitants so early in the winter, and ordinarily tarrys so long before it takes its leave in the spring, that the difficultye of subsistence is much increased thereby: for it commonly begins to take possession of the earth about the middle of November, forbidding the husbandman to meddle therewith any more, till the middle or end of March, not being willing till that time to resign up its possession or the hold it hath taken for nere two foot be-

low the surface of the earth. However, the purity of the aire makes amends for the sharpness of the cold, being much clensed in its lower roomes, or chambers, which are thoroughly purged thereby ; and so is the climate preserved from those rotting diseases of coughs and consumptions, which other countries, where heat and moisture prevayles, are more incident unto. By reason of this longe continued and extreme sharpnesse of the cold through the whole countrey, the seven monthes of the summers increase are usually devoured by the five leane and barren ones of the winter following, as was shewed to Pharoah in his dream ; so as if some stranger should chance to bee there in the end of every winter, hee might be ready to think, that all the cattle hear were the issue of Pharoah's leane kine, that had bein transported hither ; the cattle at that time of the yeare much resembling the wilde deer in Greenland, when the bridgroom of the earth begins to smile upon them, after the long, cold, and darke night of winter begins to take his leave. The unsearchable providence of Almighty God is the more to bee admired, that doth so richely clothe the earth of the countrey in so short a space, that hath bin so long before dismantled of all the former ornaments and glory, which every summer is wont to cloth her withall ; for although some times it be the middle of May before the fruit trees bee blossomed out, or the fallowed ground of the fields bee willing to receive its portion of the seed to be sowne or planted therein ; yet within three monthes after, the harvest of English graine will bee fit for the hand of the reaper, and the fruits ready for the hand of the gatherer, at the usuall appointed season thereof : whence we may conclude, that the salubriousnesse of the aire in this countrey depends much upon the winter's frost ; and the earth, as to its fruitfullnesse, is as much beholding to the summer's heat, and influence of celestiall planets.

CHAP. V.

Of the fertility of the soyle, with the commodities and other advantages of New England.

SINCE the charter of the gospell was first opened to the world, the priviledges of which onely remayne with the church, itt need not be wondered att if the patents of eternal prosperity should bee altred, least they should prove, as often they have done before, through man's corruption, the hindrance of piety and devotion; nor is itt to bee expected that the professed followers of the Lambe should all of them in this age heare of a land flowing with milke and hony, when there fore runners were made to fly into the wilderness from the dragon, of which sort, in a literall sense, is this place, whither providence hath occasionally brought the inhabitants of New England; yet may they say, that God hath not beene a wilderness nor a land of darkness unto them therein, it being a country capeable, with good improvement, to maintayne a nation of people, after once it comes to bee subdued. As for the soyle, it is for the generall more mountainous and hilly then other wise, and in many places very rocky and full of stones; yett intermingled with many plains and valleys, some of which are sandy and inclinable to barrenes, yea, most of them are such; especially those that abound with pitch pines, and there are many of that sort; as likewise many swamps or boggy places, full of small bushes and under wood. Butt here and there are many rich and fruitfull spots of land, such as they call intervail land, in levells and champain ground, without trees or stones, neere the banks of great rivers, that often times are over flown by the channells of watter that run besides them, which is supposed to enrich the soyle that is soe waterd: The fatnesse of the earth, that is by the raines and melting of the snow washed from the surface of the earth in the higher part of the countrey, being by these flouds cast upon those levells, that lye lowest by the sides of these greater streames. In many such places their land hath

beene knowne to bee sowne or planted full forty yeeres togeather, without any considerable abatement of the crope, never fayling of thirty or forty bushels per acre : butt for the generality of the soyle, itt is of a lighter sort of earth, whose fruitefullnesse is more beholding to the influences of the heavens, advantages of the seasonable skill and industry of the husbandmen, then the strength of its own temper. Such as came hither first upon discovery, chanced to bee here in the first part of the summer, when the earth was onely adorned with its best attire of herbs and flowers, flourishing with all such early fruites which weather beaten travellers are wont to refresh themselves with the beholding of ; as strawberries, goosberries, rasberries, cherries, and whorts ; as they observed that first landed about Martha's Vineyard : whence they promised themselves and their successors a very flourishing country, as they did that first landed upon the coast of Florida. Butt as it is proverbially sayd of some parts of England, they doe not every where abound with mines, though there bee lead in Mendin Hills : So neither did or doth every place abound with those flourishing and alluring aspects, nor is the country at all times found of the verdant hue, though many places do naturally abound with some of those berryes, as other places with grapes, which gave great hopes of fruitfull vineyards in after time : but as yet either skill is wanting to cultivate and order the roots of those wild vines, and reduce them to a pleasant sweetnesse, or time is not yet to bee spared to looke after the culture of such fruits, as rather tend to the *benè*, or *melius esse*, of a place, then to the bare *esse*, and subsistence thereof. Each season of the yeare, so fast, as it were, treading upon the heeles of that which went before, that but little time is to be found spare, for that tillage, which is not of absolute necessity, but for pleasure and delight. Yet are all sorts of grayne found to grow pretty naturally there, that are wont to be sowne in the spring season, (the cold oft times proving so extreme as it kills all that is committed to the earth before winter, especially in the Massachusetts colony,) that which the land produceth upon the surface

thereof, is that upon which the inhabitants have their dependance for the most certaine part of their wealth ; for that which is hid in the bowells thereof, the present generation either wanting leisure or ability to ransack so deep under ground : nor have they that could spare time, and have more skill then their neighbours in the nature of mineralls, met with any thing that promiseth better then iron, with which the country every where abounds ; most of their rocks being observed to bee of such a grit—as those in the northern parts, as Acady and Nova Francia, are judged to incline as much to copper, as some that have been on that coast have reported. In many places are supposed to bee medicinal watters, whether, upon the first discovery of such springs, the halt, maymed, and diseased did resort frequently, in hope they might leave their crutches upon the trees adjoyning, as the Papists have used to doe at the chappill of the Lady of Loretto. But upon the very best experience that hath bin knowne, it is conceived that all is but some springs passing through iron mines, and have gotten some tincture of a chalybiat quality, the pouring down many draughts of which is sayd by some, that have made the experiment, to have had the same effect with those kind of pills, that are given to remove the obstructions of the spleen, and may be usefull, if the quantity they use to drinke downe doe not more harme by the coldnes of the potion, then the quality of such chymicall matters doe them good. As for medicinall herbes, Gerard and Johnson, as well as Theophemus of old, might have made herballs here as well as in any other particular country ; the same tree, plants and rootes, herbes and fruites being found either naturally growing here that are knowne to doe in the northern countrys of the like climate of Europe, and upon tryal have beene found as effectuall in their operation, and doe thrive as well when transplanted ; as the oak, walnutt, ash, elm, maple, hornbeame, abundance of pine, spruce, etc. also a kinde of white cedar in many swamps ; and such herbes as are common in England—ellicampane, angelica, gentian, St. John's wort, agrimony, betony, and the like.

As for living creatures—as the natives were not known to bring any along with them, so neither doe they keep any (but small dogs), according to the custome of more civill nations : soe neither were here any found butt wild deere, and in some places skunkes, wild cats, and in some places porcupins, a sort of conyes, and hares—moose, beares, wolves, and now and then a straglin ounce, like the tygers in the West Indyces. Yett is the place capeable to breed and norrish all sorts of serviceable beasts and cattle, which other parts of the world have subdued and tamed, to their use.

The like may be said of feathered foule, especially such as live upon the watter, which abound as much here as in any other place. The bird of the greatest rarity in this place, if not in the world, is a small one, not exceeding the bignes of a great bee, called humbirds, from the noyse they make with their wings, while they are flying from one flower to another to suck out the honey ; but never set their feet down. Turkies also, and pigeons, (that come in multitudes every summer, almost like the quayles that fell round the campe of Israel in the wilderness,) partridges, quayles, and all birds of prey, by nature's instinct, or by conduct of Divine Providence, have found the way into these endes of the earth, as well as into any other part of the habitable world : nor did Hircinia Sylva goe beyond what is found here for wild creatures, it used of old to bee haunted with, which since is turned into a fruitfull and pleasant land ; as this also may be in time. Nor is the sea less propitious to the marriner and fisher man, then the earth and dry land is all over the country to the diligent husbandman—the bayes, rivers, creeks, havens, abounding with all sorts of fish, that the coast of Greenland and Norway, or the narrow seas are stored with ; which, as it was the first improvement that ever was made of this coast, soe it is still the most certaine and stable commoditie the country affordeth ; although provisions of all sorts here are plentifull, and as cheap as in most parts of Europe, great quantities of which are dayly transported from hence for the reliefe of many other places, of the English in the West Indies.

CHAP. VI.

Of the disposition of the natives of America in New England, with the conjectures about their passage hither.

WHEN God first made man, he gave him a command, with a secret promise, to encrease and multiply, and replenish the earth; of which it is noe question butt America was intended as a part, although probably it was long before any of his posterity found the way thither, which in the shortest cutt they can be suposed to take from Eden or Armenia, could not bee less than a jorney of eight or ten thousand miles. Butt in what age or by what meanes, or by whose conduct they found their passage over hither, is not easy, if possible, in this age, to finde: unless the astrologers can find it in the starrs, or that itt can be gathered from the motion [of] the celestially bodies, that lighted them hither; none of the inhabitants being ever knowne to have kept any *annals* or records of things done in fore past tymes. Nor is it less to bee wondered att, that any of the posterity of Adam should ly hid so long from the knowledge of the rest of the world. It will be impertinent to trouble ourselves with uncertaine guesses of all those that have busyed themselves to make enquiry into this matter. Mr. Mede's opinion about the passage of the natives into this remote region carryes the greatest probability of truth with it; of whose conjecture it may be said, in a sense as sometimes of Achithopell's counsell in those dayes, that itt was as the oracle of God. His conceitt is, that when the devill was putt out of his throne in the other part of the world, and that the mouth of all his oracles were stopt in Europe, Asia, and Africa, hee seduced a company of silly wretches to follow his conduct into this unknowne part of the world, where hee might lye hid and not bee disturbed in the idolatrous and abominable, or rather diabolicall service hee expected from those his followers; for here are noe foote stepes of any religion before the English came, butt meerely diabolicall. Storyes were delivered by the people of Mexico, the seat of

Montezuma's Empire, when the Spaniards first seized itt, which seemes to intimate the passage of their ancestors from some other remote place aboute nine hundred yeeres before it was possessed by them, Anno 1498 or 1500. Butt which way those people should come is hard to say, for the streights of Magallan wee may thinke are too neere one of the frigid zones to give opportunity of such a passage ; although it bee certaine that on the south continent, called Nova Guena, there are people inhabiting, as Sir Francis Drake relates in his voyage through the Pacificke Sea, towards China and the East Indies : others therefor more probably conceive, that they might finde some passage out of Tartaria by the streights of Anian beyond California. And that which gives not a little countenance to this opinion is, that the natives upon this continent do in their manners more resemble the Salvage Tartar, then any other people whatsoever ; though possitively to affirm any thing in a matter so uncertaine is not convenient.

If any observation bee made of their manners and dispositions, its easier to say from what nations they did not, then from whom they did derive their orriginall. Doubtless their conjecture who fanny them to be descended from the ten tribes of the Israelites, carried captive by Salamaneser and Esarhaddon, hath the least shew of reason of any other, there being noe footsteps to bee observed of their propinquity to them more than to any other of the tribes of the earth, either as to their language or manners. No instance can bee given of any nation in the world that hath so fare degenerated from the purity of their orriginall tongue in 1500 or 2000 yeeres, butt that there may be observed some rudiments of the ancient language, as may bee seene in the Greeke and Latine tongues, though they are now utterly lost as to the purity of them ; yett it is easy to trace either of them amongst the nations since descended from those that naturally spoke the language ; butt here can noe such thinge bee observed amonge the natives of America. Besides, here is found no footsteps of the idolatry or rites of any religious worship the people had

degenerated into, nor are any other customes here to bee observed, that bespeake any relation to that stocke, more then to any other people, unless it be poligamy, which yett was no more peculiar to the Jews then to all other nations of the East. It is certainly knowne also, that within 200 miles compasse their language is nothing akin; so as one nation of the natives can no more understand the language of them that live a 100 miles from them, unlesse a little upon the sea coast, then if they spake Greeke or Welch; as is evident to them that have been amongst the Mohawks, who live not above 100 miles westwards from the sea coast: yett their language is different one from the other, as the English is from the Welch. In generall their disposition, and temper or inclination is much what the same all over New England, being neither so sottish as those amongst the negroes, nor yett so fierce and warlike as some of the northern Tartars and Scythians. They are indifferently affable and courtous, yett subtile and strangely revengful, and malicious. A small kindness will oblige them for an whole generation; and as little an injury, or suspicion thereof, will worke in them a deadly hatred and opposition; in whom if once a spirit of jealousy arise against any person or people, it is scarce possible to allay it. They are so very treacherous, deceitfull, and cruell withall, when they get any of their enemies into their hands; it being their usuall course to torture them with cutting and mangling their flesh, whom they intend to sacrifice to their malicious genius, and burning the wounded parts with coales and hot embers, as it were carbonadeing their flesh while they are alive; yet so obdurate are they that they never use to expresse any sense of payne, while the most exquisite torments of that nature are inflicted upon them. Butt for eating of man's flesh, it was never of use amongst any of them since the English had any interest here. Many of them are very active and quick of apprehension in any mechanicall science, which, with a little observation they attayne, working in iron, brasse, pewter, as well as in timber; but have been accustomed to such lazy, idle kinde of life, leaving all

theire drudgery and laborious worke to their women, that it is rare to finde any of them that care to bee held to any constant imployment or bodily labour a whole day together. As for our religion, some, yet a few of them, have seemed seriously to embrace itt; butt until they bee reduced to more civility, some judicious persons have conceived no great harvest is to be expected of reall converts, which, for the future, must be left to the observation of them that come after, there being little progresse made that way for the present, notwithstanding that many endeavours have been made in that kinde; of which more afterwards.

CHAP. VII.

Of the severall nations of the Indians found in New-England upon the first discovery thereof, with a touch upon their laws, government, and successions.

THE northern parts of America were never observed, by any of the first discoverers, to be alike populous with the southern, the land there being less fruitfull, and the winters more tedious and severe, so as such multitudes could not herd together as was found about Mexico and Peru, where little care need be taken either for meat or clothing, and not onely the soyle, being fare more rich, but the season, being allwayes summer in those parts, and affording more crops in a yeere then one, greater numbers might more easily be maintayned together. Butt for those parts that lie more northward, they were, when the English first discovered them, never observed to bee any thinge so populous, nor were any great numbers ever knowne to bee reduced under any one generall head, theire government being rather patriarchall then monarchicall; that is, some family is commonly found to predominate above others, of which the eldest heire hath the sole and absolute government and rule over the rest, whom they use to call sagamore or sachem. The Indians of every noated plase, so combined, make a kinde of a petty lordship, and are commonly united under one chiefe person, who hath the rule over all those lesser fraternities or companies. In the places

more eastward they called the chief rulers that commanded the rest, bashabeas, as in the more westward plantations they called them sagamores and sachems, and that government they have is likewise rather arbitrary and costumary, then limited by any lawes or constitution knowne before hand : so as they depend upon the absolute will of their chieftains. As for succession, it is rather collaterall than direct. When the English first settled any plantations along the coast since called New England, there were severall nations of these Indians that were in some kinde of confederacy one with another, against some other of their potent neighbors, that were att enmity, and commonly they agreed to be at peace with those that spake the same language. Those that were seated more eastward about Pemmaquid and Kennebecke were called Tarratines, betwixt whom and those that lived about Piscataqua, Merrimacke, and Agawam, now called Ipswich, had arisen some deadly feud, upon the accompt of some trechery used by those western Indians against the others ; so as every year they were afraid of being surprised by them, which made them upon every occasion to hide themselves among the English, after they were settled in any of those places.

Every noated place of fishing or hunting was usually a distinct seigniory, and thither all their friends and allies of the neighboring provinces used to resort in the time of yeere to attend those seasons, partly for recreation, and partly to make provission for the yeere. Such places as they chose for their abode, were usually at the falls of great rivers, or near the sea side, where was any convenience of catching such fish as every summer and winter used to come upon the coast : att which times they used, like good fellows, to make all common ; and then those who had entertained their neighbors by the sea side, expected the like kindness from them againe, up higher in the country : and they were wont to have their great dances for mirth at those generall meetings. With such kinde of entercourse were their affayres and commerce carried on, between those that lived up in the country, and those that were seated on the sea coast, about

the havens and channells that issued into the sea ; where there used to be at all times, clams, muscles, and oysters, and in the summer season lobsters, bass, or mullet, and sturgeon, of which they used to take great plenty, and dry them in the smoake, and keepe them the rest of the yeere. Up higher, at the falls of great rivers, they used to take salmon, shad, alewives, that use in great quantities, more than cart loades, in the spring to pass up into the fresh watter ponds and lakes, therein to spawn, of all which they, with there wares, used to take great store for their use. In all such places there was wont to bee great resort. In time of yeere for their denomination, they use to be divided, as the clans in Scotland, by the head of the tribes, and called after their names. Every son of such a chiefe person used, if he could, to get a company to him, of which he also made himself the sagamore.

Att every of these places there used to be, if commodious, about an hundred or two hundred inhabitants, who had a sagamore over them, whom they acknowledged as their chiefe ; and commonly in every province where the tribe was greater, there was some greater sagamore, to whom the rest owed more reverence then to the lesser, whom they called sachem. So as things of common concernement were acted by common consent and agreement, and in such cases they used to bee mutually engaged to assist each other in tyme of danger.

Betwixt Kennebecke and Connecticut were observed to bee about twenty societies or companyes of these salvages, when the English first came upon this coast, to which all the rest may be reduced, all of them together not being capable to make a nation. As 1. at Kennebecke itselfe, where was a great number of them when it was first discovered, who were only knowne to those of the Masachusetts by the name of Tarratines, or eastern men. 2. Casco bay, at the head of which, or neere by about Sheepscoat* river, was the seat of Amorascoggan Indians, still standing out in hostilitie against the English, in the

* Pegipscot, margin. *Ed.*

year 1677. After all, the rest were either subdued or fled away, if they have not lately concluded a peace with our agents. 3. Saco, a more noted river then many others, which alwaies was wont to entertain a sagamore, with a considerable number of Indians. 4. Piscataqua, which being a navigable river, and into which many lesser channels used to empty themselves, was a fit seat for many tribes of them. 5. Merrimacke, where were severall receptacles of them, some twenty and thirty some forty or fifty miles from the mouth of it, as Wameset, Pentucket, Patucket, Amoskeag, Pennicook, etc. 6. The river of Newberry, att the falls of which was a noted plantation of them, by reason of the plenty of fish, that almost at all seasons of the yeere used to be found there, both in winter and summer. 7. Att Agawam, called now Ipswich, was another noted and desireable place, for plenty of severall sorts of fish found there in time of yeere, both att the harbors mouth shell fish of all sorts, and other kinds higher up the stream, and to which belonged those of Newberry falls that lyes in the midway, betwixt Merrimack and Agawam. 8. Naumkeag, now called Salem, was much frequented by the salvages in former tymes, together with Marblehead and Lin neere adjoyning, which Lin had a distinct sagamore of their owne surviving till of late, called George, and the Indians name of the place was Saugust. 9. The Massachusetts, at or neere the mouth of Charles river, where used to bee the general rendezvous of all the Indians, both on the south and north side of the country. That which by the English is called Charles river, is the bottome of that great bay that runns in betweene Cape Cod and Cape Ann, and was the seat of a great sachem or sagamore, much revered by all the plantations of the Indians; neere by to which were Narponset, Punkapog, Wessagusquasset, and so up Charles river, where were severall plantations of the natives seated. Att Misticke was the seat of another sagamore neere adjoyning, which is a great creeke, that meets with the mouth of Charles river, and so makes the haven of Boston. 10. Pokanacket or Sowame, the seat of the Wompanoogs, of

whom Woosamequen or Massasoit was the chiefe sachem, Anno 1620, whose son was the author of the rebellion of the Indians, 1675; which fire kindled first there, did soone runne over all the country. 11. Those called Nipnetts, seated amongst some lesser rivers and great lakes up higher, within the continent, which some have said were a kinde of tributaries to Massasoit. 12. The Narragansetts, a great people upon the sea coast more towards the mouth of Connecticutt, consisting of severall lesser principalities, yett all united under one generall ruler, called the Chiefe Sachem, to whom all the others owed some kinde of subjection. It is said that before they were destroyed by their late quarrelling with the English, they had about two thousand fighting men, of all which now there are few or none left, butt a hundred or two, belonging to Ninigret, who, though hee secretly bore the English noe more good will then the rest, yet being an old man, and cunning, and remembering how his neighbors, the Pequods, were ruined by their power, durst never engage against them, butt allwayes professed and maintayned friendship to the last, in outward appearance. 13. The Pequods, seated on a brave river beyond the Narragansetts, a more fierce and warelike people then any of their neighbors, and therefore made them all stand in awe, though fewer in number than the Narragansetts, that bordered next upon them. 14. The Mohegans, whose seat is betweene the country of the Pequods and the river of Connecticutt, upon some higher branches of that called Pequod river. 15. The River Indians, such who had seated themselves in severall commodious plantations up higher upon Connecticutt river. 16. The Cape Indians, upon Cape Cod and some other islands neere adjoyning, as at Martin's Vineyard, where civility and Christianity hath taken a deeper roote than in any other plantation of the Indians. 17. The Mohegans about Hudson's river. 18. The Cynikers,* upon the same river, more westward. 19. The Moquawes, comonly called the Mohawkes, whose seat is amongst the rivers and ponds, about seventy miles

* Senecas. *Ed.*

northwest from fort Albany. These have lately renewed or continued a league tripartite with the governor of New Yorke and the rest of the English, both offensive and deffensive. What is like to be the benefit and issue thereof future tyme may declare. 20. The Indians on Long Island and on the mayne opposite thereunto, alonge the sea coast from Connecticutt to Hudson river, of whom they that live about the mouth of the great river, and on the island neer adjoining, were always accounted more barbarous, treacherous, and false, then any other sort of them.

Concerning the right of succession and inheritance, itt is not certainly knowne, nor is it worth the enquiring after; however, it is said by some, that brothers inherit successively before the sons, and the uncles before the nephews, following therein the costome of their ancessors, their poverty, and barbarous manner of living, not affording opportunitie, for want of means, to run into many capitall evils, which the wealth of other nations doth dispose them unto. Few or no crimes have beene observed, besides murder and treason, amongst them to bee punished with death, which seems to have beene a law in force among all nations, since the Almighty destroyed the world with a flood, to purge away its guilt and defilement, contracted by the violence and cruelty of bloodshed, and soone after enacting the standing law so necessary for the upholding humane society, that "whosoever sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood bee shed." But their inhabitants being so poore and meane, and their manner of life soe uncult and brutish, it is scarce worth the while to enquire farther into the way of their successions thereunto, or the lawes and costomes whereby they use to be maintained and governed in the possession of them. As for their religion, they never were observed by any of the first comers or others, to have any other but what was diabolicall, and so uncouth, as if it were framed and devised by the devill himselfe, and is transacted by them they used to call pawwowes, by some kinde of familiarity with the devill, and to whom they used to resort for counsell in

all kinde of evils, both corporall and civil. It is not worth the while either to write or read what it was, all of it depending on the uncertayne reports of some occasional spectators; but nothing uncleane or filthy, like the heathen's feasts of Bacchus and Venus, was ever heard of amongst any of them. Their low and meane dyet and fare, (being always accustomed to drink water,) not disposing them to any inordinacy in that kind, as used to be said of old, "Sine Baccho et Cerere friget Venus;" i. e. ebriety and gluttony produces venery.

CHAP. VIII.

*Of the first planting of New-England or any part thereof by the English.**

AFTER the expense of much treasure, time, and pains in the discovery of that part of America called Virginia, that lieth to the north of Florida, some eminent and worthy persons, (moved more by a religious zeal to propagate the gospel, and promote the glory of the English nation, than any emulation of their catholick neighbours of Spain,) entertained serious thoughts of planting colonies of their countrymen in that part of the new world. That vast country being found upon experience and trial too large to be moulded into one entire government, (the whole extending from 34 to 48 degrees of north latitude,) it was thought meet should be divided into a first and second colony, to which end patents were granted to sundry honourable persons of the famous cities of London, Bristol, Exeter, and town of Plymouth, about the year 1606; soon after which time the name of New England began to be appropriated to the north colony by the renowned Prince of Wales, after captain Smith discovered the bounds thereof, as some say, about the year 1614; the other still retaining the first name, Virginia. This latter, by the fertility of the soil and commodiousness of the havens and rivers, giving greatest hopes of prosperity and success, was undertaken by those of London, whose adventures, difficulties,

* From this place the modern orthography will be adopted. *Ed.*

and present estate, those that desire may receive satisfaction of, by the information of those who have for a long time been conversant in the country ; the other, by those of the west of England, whose endeavours were influenced chiefly by the interest and authority of the honourable patron of justice and virtue, Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, who found both men and means to possess it, about the year 1606, and 1607, when a small colony was by him sent out for that end : for beside the first ship sent in 1606, two more were sent after them in the year 1607, and some time after a third, as saith Capt. Smith, page 203. And then finding the situation of the place most commodious for fishing, (as having in sundry voyages made trial thereof,) intended to begin their first plantation about Monhiggon, an island not far distant from the mouth of a spacious river called Kennebeck, a place some where about the mouth whereof was then, and is still called Sagadahock, and there were the first company that intended to begin a new colony in the north of America, landed about a hundred in all, Anno 1606 or 1607. The gentlemen that undertook the business had shaped in their minds the idea of a large and flourishing commonwealth, sending persons of quality to reside there as Commanders in Chief, as Capt. George Popham for President, Capt. Rawley Gilbert for Admiral, Capt. Edward Harlow for Master of the Ordnance, Capt. Robert Davis for Sergeant Major, and for Marshal, Capt. Ellis Best, and for Secretary Mr. Seaman. Capt. James Davis was to be commander over the fort when it was built, Mr. Gome Carew was to be Searcher. All the forementioned gentlemen were to be of the Council, who with a hundred more as planters of the colony, were to stay in the country. By their endeavors was a foundation laid of a greater building than the adventurers ever found means to erect, the master builders too much imitating those, that laid out so much cost upon the gates, that they had not enough left to build a city proportionable thereunto. Experiences of this nature abundantly declare, that it is one thing, in an idea, to model the great affair of a commonwealth

and country, and another to bring materials, and frame them together into a flourishing state ; for the hopes of this new colony, that blossomed so early were soon nipped in the bud by the sharpness of a cold winter following, wherein they lost the President, an ominous accident, which, with other solemn occurrences, blasted all that which, with so great shew of prosperity was there newly planted, especially being attended with the unwelcome news of the removal by death of the main pillar of the fabrick, Sir John Popham, happening, together with the loss of Sir John Gilbert, whose brother, Capt. Rawley Gilbert, designed Admiral of this puny plantation, upon the first bruit thereof, hasted over to enjoy the inheritance of his deceased brother. And indeed the seasoning of a hard winter in that barren, rocky, and mountainous desert, so discouraged all the rest, that they took the first advantage of shipping that next came to return home for England the following year, viz. Anno 1608. All the fruit of this their expedition, during the long winter and the after time of their abode there, was building a bark, which afforded them some advantage in their return. Yet did Sir Francis Popham, son and heir of that noble patriot, his father, the chief author of the undertaking, not wholly give over the design, but did divers times afterwards send to the same coast for trade and fishing, to which purpose he had great opportunity, by the ships and provision of the company, that remained in his hands ; as likewise did the Earl of Southampton, and others of more publick spirits, that employed Mr. Edward Harlow soon after, to make further discovery of the southern parts of Cape Cod, where they resolved themselves that the said cape was no island, as was deemed before, but a part of the continent. In this enterprise they seized three of the savages, which, probably, were the three an old woman complained of afterwards to our neighbours of Plymouth, soon after the first planting of Patuxet, viz. in the year 1620 ; but one of them escaping, he enticed some of his consorts to take revenge of that unkindness, who cut away the boat from the stern of the ship, which they so guarded with their

bows and arrows, that the sailors were not able to get it again. At another place they, with two or three more, so filled their fellow Indians with a spirit of revenge, that they welcomed the English into the next harbour they entered, with such a shower of arrows, that they were glad to betake themselves to their artillery, to keep off the savages. At one of the islands at Cape Cod, (by Capt. Smith called Nohone,) they took in that voyage an Indian called Sakaweston, who, after he had lived divers years in England, went a soldier into the wars of Bohemia, as saith Capt. Smith. Thus the said Harlow returned for England with five of the savages, some of which they detained so long in England that they began to learn our language, and were able to inform our merchants sundry things concerning their country, which inspired them with a fresh resolution to attempt another plantation in the place formerly deserted, but with not much better success; for Capt. Smith having endeavoured to settle a plantation upon James River in Virginia, was not unwilling to set the design afloat for New England a second time. For such an end he was sent with two ships to take a farther view of the country, Anno 1614, at the charge of Capt. Marmaduke Royden, and the others, viz. Mr. Langham, Buley Skelton, and others, to make some further experiment of the commodities of the country, both by sea and land, in the waters of one to kill whales, in the bowels of the other to search for mines; but their best refuge was their common fishing and ordinary furs, those places use most to abound withal. Captain Smith returned the same year for England, well laden with furs, train oil, and core fish, and his mind as full fraught with hopes of great advantage the next return; but, as the wise man saith, "riches are not always to men of understanding, nor favour or prosperity to men of skill, for time and chance happeneth to them all." When the said Smith returned for England, he left one Thomas Hunt master of the bigger vessel, with order to sail directly with the fish he made upon the coast, for Malaga, but he, like a wicked varlet, having gotten twenty four of

the natives aboard his ship, from Patuxet, (who, in confidence of his honesty, had thus innocently put themselves into his hands,) clapped them under hatches, with intent to sell them for slaves amongst the Spaniards ; but they not permitting him to make sale of the poor wretches in any of their ports, some of them found means to escape back to their own country : but in the year following, some that had conceived better hopes of good that might ensue by prosecuting the former honourable and pious work, having dispatched Capt. Hobson from the Isle of Wight, with some others, to make a farther attempt for planting the country, they carried with them two of the aforesaid natives to facilitate the work. These, contrary to expectation, find their design as good as overthrown, before it was well begun, by that treacherous practice of Hunt : for, the two natives coming ashore, and understanding what had befallen their countrymen in their absence, contracted such a hatred against the whole nation, that they studied nothing but how to be revenged of them ; contriving secretly with their friends how to bring it to pass, which no doubt they might easily have done, had not one of them, Manowet by name, been taken away by death soon after the ship's arrival there : but the other, called Epenow, observing the good order and strong guard the people kept, studied only for the present how to free himself from the Englishmen's hands ; and laid his plot so cunningly that he effected his purpose ; although with so great hazard to himself and those his friends, who laboured his rescue, that the Captain and his company imagined he had been slain. Their design, not being well compassed, wrought the slaughter of some of their own people, as well as the hurt of some of the English, as appeared afterwards. This company, together with Capt. Hobson, looking upon the end of their attempt as wholly frustrate by the cross accident, resolved, without more ado, to return home, carrying back nothing with them but the news of their bad success. And a war now began between the inhabitants of these parts and the English. Thus was this little spark of their hopes, raked up in the embers of those long and

tedious delays, by this misfortune almost quite extinguished. But this is not all, for another occurrence fell in here, which was as disastrous in a manner as the former. The company of New England had in the return of the year 1615, found means likewise to set out Capt. Smith, with Mr. Dermer, Rocraft and others, with a ship from Plymouth; either to lay the foundation of a new plantation, or strengthen and second that of Capt. Hobson; but they being scarce free of the English coast, were suddenly attacked by a violent storm, shaking his mast overboard, which forced him back into the harbour, where the undertakers furnishing them with another ship, they put to sea a second time; but after they got to the height of the Western Islands, they were chased by a small pirate, who took them prisoners, and detained them so long that their voyage was wholly overthrown; nor do we find that ever Capt. Smith had an opportunity in his own person afterwards to visit these coasts of New England, though his inclination and purpose ran strongly that way. However, Capt. Dermer, meeting with some one or more of those natives transported by Hunt, and encouraged by Capt. Mason, at that time Governour of New England, carried them to Plymouth, from whence he was sent again to New England, where, about the year 1619, by his prudence and great diligence, he procured a peace between our men and the savages of the place, that had been so much exasperated against them by the wrongs formerly received. This industrious and prudent gentleman, having spent almost two years in searching the coast between New England and Virginia, the fruit of whose labours and hazards many others have since reaped, was at the last, in his return to Virginia, set upon by some malicious savages in some parts beyond Cape Cod, from whom he received fourteen or fifteen wounds, upon which occasion, retiring to Virginia, he there ended his days, about the year 1621. What expeditions were made by the English, or attempts to plant any part of the country between the year 1614 and 1620, may be seen more at large in Purchas, fol. 1778, and in Capt. Smith's General History of New England,

lib. 6, pag. 228, 229; as likewise in a Script, published 1622, in the name of the Governour and Company of New England. But they being, at the best, matters very inconsiderable and of small consequence, relating to the plantations that followed after that time, it is judged not worth the while to transcribe out of those imperfect relations any other particulars about those transactions, which may well be looked upon rather as dead and superfluous branches of the body of the following history, than any thing likely to confer much delight to the reader, or benefit to the compiler thereof.

CHAP. IX.

Of the plantation at Patuxet, or New Plymouth, in the year 1620, with the occasions that led thereunto.

THE fore mentioned discoveries of the north parts of Virginia, being bruited abroad amongst the western country of Europe, no doubt filled the minds of many with expectations of famous plantations likely ere long to be erected in those parts of the new world: "Est enim natura hominum novitatis avida:" or, whether some divine virtue had inspired them with a desire of being instruments to promote some higher ends than ever as yet had been brought to light—all former attempts for planting those parts being vanished away, or like to come to little. About this time a strange impression was left upon the minds of some religious and well affected persons of the English nation, sojourning in a foreign country, that some place in that remote region might be found out far more convenient for their purpose that seemed studious for reformation, than hitherto they elsewhere either had, or were like to attain unto, under the wings of a foreign state. Which consideration, for as much as it gave the first rise to the flourishing plantations of New England, since erected, we shall in the first place, take a little notice of the occasion that led thereunto.

Notwithstanding the bright and clear rays of the Gospel light, that began to dawn and diffuse themselves

through the whole hemisphere of the English nation, promising an hopeful day of reformation to arise upon them after the long night of antichristian darkness, in the glorious reign of our English Josiah, king Edward the 6th, and Queen Elizabeth of blessed and famous memory ; yet were not all that had opportunity to sit under the shadow of their royal authority so well satisfied with every part of that so happy and hopeful reformation by them begun, as to rest contented, without strenuous endeavours to shape and mould the business of church discipline more to the primitive pattern. Therefore sundry of them, having wearied themselves with their private contrivements, all the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth, and finding little hope of bettering their condition under her successour, resolved to try, if change of air would not afford a remedy to the distemper at last, to their grievances and burdens they laboured under at home. Divers therefore of that persuasion, that had about the year 1602 entered into a private covenant, first in the North of England, then in the Netherlands, Ann. 1610, to walk with God and one with another, according to the best and primitive patterns (as they conceived) of the word of God, finding the low and watery situations of that country as unwholesome and infectious to their bodies, and national views of the place dangerous for their minds, by reason of bad example, as that of their own country, uncomfortable for their purses and estates : By reason of opposition, they at last projected the transporting themselves and their families into America, hoping by that means that if not all, yet the greatest and more general ends to be aimed at in reformation, might better be provided for, in a place of their own, free from all former inconveniences. The persons engaged in this design were Mr. Robinson's church, that ten years before settled at Leyden in Holland. The said Robinson, to give him his due, was a man of good learning, of a polished wit, and ingenious disposition and courteous behaviour, yet not without great tincture of the spirit of the rigid separation, as is so well known by sundry of his writings, published to the world about those times :

yet doth he deserve commendation in this, that although he had been transported so far with those principles as to publish his opinion against hearing any of the preachers of the Church of England, were they never so learned and pious; yea to that confidence was he arrived, that he began to play with Dr. Ames his name, styling him in one of his pamphlets, "Mr. William Amiss;" yet after the Doctor had taken him to task, and showed him his great mistake, in his unanswerable piece, called "A manuduction to Mr. Robinson," and finding himself unable to grapple any longer with so great a master of reason, he submitted, not being willing to speak any thing against the truth, that had been by the help of an antagonist discovered unto him. Yea farther, he came afterwards to acknowledge, and in a judicious and godly discourse to approve and defend the lawful liberty, if not the duty, in case of hearing the godly preachers of the Church of England. Thus like Paul he preached that, which he had with his pen persecuted before; like some fruit, that before it is ripe is harsh, sour, and unpleasant, till it attain, by the advantage of after time, to the mildness and sweetness of riper age; as was observed in this good man, who, as he grew in years, grew in many excellent gifts, both of nature and grace, and great moderation of spirit in regard of what he manifested in former time, which was not often found in them of that rigid persuasion. This passage is intended as rather matter of commendation than reflection upon that eminent person, or any of the Christian brethren of his church. To proceed, therefore, there was one Mr. Brewster, a prudent, grave, and serious Christian, of great experience in things of religion, and a man of a finer alloy than the ordinary sort of the separation, having had no small advantage by his education under Secretary Davison, in the court of Queen Elizabeth, that was joined with the said Mr. Robinson in the eldership, by whose prudence and discretion that church was kept in sweet and entire union and accord, both before and after their parting asunder, contrary to the manner and custom of some of that persuasion in Holland, as may ap-

pear by the testimony given them by those, amongst whom they sojourned before in Leyden, as we see, Morton, page 4 of New England's Memorial. The reasons of their removal were debated both in public and private, and found more weighty than could readily be answered, in so much as a very great and considerable part of the church were persuaded to attend the motion, apprehending it to be from God; and if their minds had not been fully satisfied therein, it had been scarce possible for them to have gotten over so many difficulties and sore trials as they encountered with through the whole undertakings.—As for the reasons which prevailed with them to leave Holland, the principal were these—difference of language, difficulty of subsistence, hazarding of posterity, which they feared might come to pass, and at last occasion their losing their interest in the English nation; they being desirous (how differing soever they were in the persuasion of some matters of discipline) to live under their natural Prince, and, if it might be, to enlarge his Majesty's dominions; having also some hope and inward zeal by this means to propagate the gospel, promote and advance the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ amongst the barbarous inhabitants of these remote parts of the world—in which good work it is hoped they have not failed of their expectation altogether. After they had, upon the reasons afore mentioned, resolved upon their “terminus quo,” viz. to leave Holland, the next and no less difficult question was the “terminus ad quem,” where to find a place, in which they might securely promise themselves a freedom from the former evils they had long groaned under, and an opportunity of enjoying the contrary benefits so much desired, viz. the liberty of a civil as well as ecclesiastical government, which they found by sad experience was not to be obtained or expected in any foreign nation of Europe: therefore they in the general concluded to inquire after some place that had not formerly been inhabited; and again they were divided in their opinions. Some of their company, and those none of the meanest, were for Guiana in the West Indies, a rich and fertile soil or

country, blessed with a perpetual spring, where the earth bringeth forth abundance of all things necessary for the life of man, with little labour or art. But the greater part, considering that those hot countries were incident to sundry diseases, and in other respects very unsuitable to English bodies, besides the neighbourhood of Spaniards, which they had little reason to desire, who, though they had not as yet, but soon might, possess themselves of that part of America, and might displant them, as they had done the French in Florida ; therefore it was determined at last to find out some place bordering upon Virginia, then newly or not many years before discovered and planted. There they hoped to find liberty for a distinct colony under the general government of Virginia ; and also the free exercise of their religion, which they conceived probable to be attained by some of their friends, upon suit to his Majesty ; of which they were put in no small hope by some persons of great rank and quality, who were made their friends. In pursuance of this consideration, two were chosen out of their company and sent to England, at the charge of the rest, to solicit the matter ; who found the Virginia Company very desirous to promote their going thither, promising to grant them a patent, with as ample privileges, as they had or could grant to any ; and some of the chief of that company doubted not but to obtain their suit to the king for liberty of their religion, how averse so ever he had always been to the settling of it in England. Sir Robert Nanton, at that time one of the chief Secretaries of State, with some others, who had interest in the Arch Bishop of Canterbury, were employed therein ; by whose mediation they had a promise of a conveniency upon their peaceable carrying under the civil government ; upon which intimation they were encouraged to proceed on, presuming they might be allowed to plant themselves within some parts of those bounds, without molestation. This course they looked upon as most probable, conceiving they might there as safely rest in God's providence, as in other things. Upon this resolution other messengers were sent over to issue the business with

the Virginia Company, as well as they could, and procure a patent, with as good and ample conditions as might be by any good means obtained, as also to treat and conclude with such merchants and other friends as had manifested their forwardness to provoke unto and adventure in this voyage, giving them instructions how far they should proceed before they returned for farther advice. One of the principal persons, with whom they were concerned of the Virginia Company, was Sir Edwin Sandys, by whose letter, directed to Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brewster, the pastor and elder of their church, it may be seen how willing they were to encourage them in this matter. “After my hearty salutations, the agents
“of the congregation, Robert Cushman and John Car-
“ver, have been in communication with divers select
“gentlemen of his Majesty’s Council for Virginia, and
“by writing of seven articles, subscribed with their
“names, have given them that good degree of satisfac-
“tion, which hath carried them on with a resolution to
“set forward the desire in the best sort that may be, to
“go on for the public good ; divers particulars whereof
“we leave to their faithful report, having carried them-
“selves here with that good discretion, as is best to
“their own benefit and the end for which they came :
“And whereas they being to treat for a multitude of peo-
“ple, they have requested farther time to confer with
“them, that are to be interested in this action about the
“several particularities, which in the prosecution there-
“of will fall into consideration, it hath been very wil-
“lingly assented unto you. If therefore it may please
“God so to direct your desires, as that on your parts
“there fall out no just impediments, I trust by the same
“direction, it shall likewise appear, that on our parts all
“forwardness to set you forward shall be found in the
“best sort, which with reason may be expected. And
“so I betake you with this design, (which I hope verily
“is the work of God,) to the gracious protection and
“blessing of the Highest.

“Your very loving friend,

“London, Nov. 13, 1617.

EDWIN SANDYS.”

Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brewster returned him an answer, full of all thankful acknowledgment of his love and care for them, intimating how ready and willing they were to accept of his kindness ; on which account they sent another letter to Sir John Worstenholme the January following, who was also of the Virginia Company, and had a great interest therein, as well as Sir Edwin Sandys, where they laboured to satisfy him about their judgment and opinion about church discipline, expressing themselves for the substance to agree with the French Reformed Churches ; from whom they said they differed only in some accidental points. But their proceedings with those of the Virginia Company met with much obstruction the next year by reason of some dissensions and factions of that Company amongst themselves, which issued in Sir Thomas Smith, that was Governor thereof, he laying down his place, and the choosing Sir Edwin Sandys in his room. But at the last, it seems, they had a patent granted them, and confirmed under the Company's seal : yet did those divisions in the said Company take off many of their pretended friends, and disappointed them of much of their hoped for and proffered means. But by the advice of some friends, that patent was taken, not in the names of any of their own company, but in the name of one Mr. John Wincob, a religious gentleman, belonging to the Countess of Lincoln, who intended to go with them ; but God so disposed that they never went, nor they ever made use of the patent, which cost them so much time and charge. The reason they made no use thereof will appear in the sequel. Soon after this their agents were sent into England again, to conclude of articles and propositions between them and such merchants and friends, as should either go or adventure with them, and those, who in order to their removal had sold out their estates, put their moneys into a common stock, which was to be disposed of by those appointed to make general provisions. Mr. Weston was one who had interested himself much in their affairs, undertaking to provide shipping for their transportation ; but about this time they were informed,

both by the said Weston and others, that sundry honourable Lords and worthy gentlemen had obtained a large patent from the King for the more northerly part of America, distinct from the Virginia patent, and wholly excluded from their government, and to be called by another name, viz. NEW ENGLAND; unto which Mr. Weston and the chiefest of them began to incline, thinking it was best for them to go thither, as for other reasons, so chiefly for the hope of present profit, to be made by fishing on that coast. But in all business, the active part is most difficult, especially where there are many agents that may be concerned. So was it found in them, for some of them, who should have gone in England, fell off, and would not go; other merchants and friends that proffered to adventure their money, withdrew, and pretended many excuses; some disliking they went not to Guiana—others would do nothing unless they went to Virginia; and many, who were most relied on, refused to adventure. If they went thither in the midst of these difficulties, they of Leyden were driven to great straits; but at the length, the generality was swayed to the better opinion. Howbeit, the patent for the northern part of the country not being fully settled, at that time they resolved to adventure with that patent they had, intending for some place more southward than that they fell upon in their voyage, at Cape Cod, as may appear afterwards. The conditions, on which those of Leyden engaged with the merchants, the adventurers, were hard enough at the first for the poor people that were to adventure their persons as well as their estates: yet were their agents forced to change one or two of them, to satisfy the merchants, who were not willing to be concerned with them, although the altering them without their knowledge or consent was very distasteful to them, and became the occasion of some contention amongst them afterwards. They are these that follow: “First, the adventurers and planters do agree, that every person that goeth, being 16 years old and upward, be rated at ten pounds, and that ten pounds be accounted a single share. Secondly, that he that goeth in person,

and furnisheth himself out with ten pounds, either in money or other provisions, be accounted as having twenty pounds in stock, and in the division shall receive a double share. Thirdly, the persons transported and the adventurers shall continue their joint stock and partnership the space of seven years, except some unexpected impediments do cause the whole company to agree otherwise : during which time all profits and benefits that are gotten by trade, traffic, trusting, working, fishing, or any other means, of any other person or persons, remain still in the common stock until the division. Fourthly, that at their coming there they shall choose out such a number of fit persons as may furnish their ships and boats for fishing upon the sea, employing the rest in their several faculties upon the land, as building houses, tilling and planting the ground, and making such commodities as shall be most useful for the colony. Fifthly, that at the end of the seven years, the capital and the profits, viz. the houses, lands, goods and chattels be equally divided amongst the adventurers—if any debt or detriment concerning this adventure. Sixthly, whosoever cometh to the colony hereafter, or putteth any thing into the stock, shall at the end of the seven years be allowed proportionally to the time of his so doing. Seventhly, he that shall carry his wife, or children, or servants, shall be allowed for every person, now aged 16 years and upward, a single share in the division ; or if he provide them necessaries, a double share ; or if they be between 10 years old and 16, then two of them to be reckoned for a person, both in transportation and division. Eighthly, that such children that now go and are under the age of 10 years, have no other share in the division than fifty acres of unmanured land. Ninthly, that such persons as die before the seven years be expired, their executors to have their parts or share at the division, proportionably to the time of their life in the colony. Tenthly, that all such persons as are of the colony, are to have meat, drink, and apparel, and all provisions out of the common stock, and goods of the said colony.” The difference between the conditions thus expressed and the former, before

their alteration, stood in these two points : first, that the houses and lands improved, especially gardens and fields, should remain undivided, wholly to the planters, at the seven years' end : secondly, that the planters should have two days in the week for their own private employment, for the comfort of themselves and their families, especially such as had them to take care for. The altering of those two conditions was very afflictive to the minds of such as were concerned in the voyage ; but Mr. Cushman, their principal agent, answered the complaints peremptorily, that unless they had so ordered the conditions, the whole design would have fallen to the ground, and necessity, they said, having no law, they were constrained to be silent. The poor planters met with much difficulty, both before and after the expiring of the seven years, and found much trouble in making up accounts with the adventurers about the division ; at which time, though those that adventured their money were no great gainers, yet those that adventured their lives in carrying on the business of the plantation were by much the greatest sufferers, as may easily be gathered in what follows, next to be related ; for all things being now prepared, they improved their utmost endeavours to be ready to enter upon their voyage at the time agreed upon. That a patent, as is aforesaid, was obtained, is published in print, and affirmed by such as yet survive of the first planters ; but where it is, or how it came to be lost, is not known to any that belong to the said colony. Nor is the place with the bounds particularly specified : concerning which they were notably overreached by some of their neighbours amongst the Dutch, who, understanding their design for the southern parts about Hudson's river, where some of that nation had a design to plant for themselves, secretly contracted with Jones, the master of the bigger ship employed for their transportation, who thereupon bent his course on purpose more northward, and so fell amongst the shoals of Cape Cod, to the hazard both of the lives and goods of himself, as well as his passengers and company—had not the Almighty, whose eyes run to and fro through the whole earth,

by his merciful providence prevented the danger, which by that false, underhand dealing they were exposed unto. For, meeting with sundry difficulties and obstructions, which is usual in things of that nature, it was long before they could all be removed; besides which they met with bad weather at first setting out to sea, which forced them to turn into harbours twice before they could clear the land's end, and at last were forced to dismiss one of the ships designed for the voyage, insomuch that it was the 6th of September before they last put to sea, which made it near the middle of November before they made any land; which after they had discovered, they were altogether ignorant where it was, or whether there was any commodious place near by, where to begin a plantation: but in all these changes, whatever were the malice or fraudulency of instruments, the over-ruling hand of Divine Providence was to be acknowledged that at the last found out a resting place for them, by sending the Angel of his presence to go before them, and safely conduct them through so many dangers and deaths. It is also very remarkable and worthy of consideration, that if they had, according to their intention and desire, been carried to Hudson's River, the Indians in those parts were so numerous and sturdy in their disposition, and if they landed, so many ways enfeebled, that they could never have defended themselves against them; whereas, in the place where they were now landed, a convenient situation was prepared for their reception, by the removal of the former inhabitants, who were lately swept away by a strange kind of mortality, which happened the year before. After the disappearing of the blazing star in the west, in the year 1619, the observation of which towards the west, made Mr. Briggs, that famous mathematician, conclude that some notable event was like to ensue, betokening the death of the natives in those parts. Whatever were in his presage or in the ground thereof, the matter so came to pass, not one in ten of the Indians in those parts surviving, so that they were unable, though they had never so much resolved to have made resistance. Our Saviour Christ, foretelling the

destruction of the Jews, yet out of humane or natural compassion, wished them to pray their flight might not be in the winter ; yet such was the dispensation of the Almighty towards this poor despised company, that having hardly escaped the dangers of many violent and furious storms at sea, they were no sooner set on shore, but they were immediately called to encounter with hard and rough weather, in a desert and barren land, upon the very edge of winter. The sun had now by his late declination, withdrawn his delightful beams, giving them but short visits, after tedious long and cold nights, many times brought in with boisterous storms of snow or rain. The earth was also dismantled of all its comely and pleasant ornaments, observed by the first discoverers, in the summer time, by the early approach of hard and sharp frosts presenting them with no other aspect than the ruthless and weather beaten face of winter. The barbarians the Apostle Paul fell amongst after long storms and dangerous shipwrecks, as it is said in the Acts, shewed them no small kindness, kindling them a fire, and suffered them to gather bundles of sticks themselves for that end ; whereas these barbarous savages were at the first not willing to spare them any bundle or stick, but such as were turned into arrows, and improved not to warm, but to wound their new come guests ; the remembrance of which consideration remains yet in some of their minds ; who, after a long passage over the vast and wide ocean, were at their first landing entertained with no other sight than that of the withered grass on the surface of the cold earth ; and the grim looks of the savage enemies. Surely such passengers or pilgrims, had need of some other more inward support and comfort the world is not acquainted with. They had need of a good conscience within, to administer matter for a continual feast to feed upon, that are thus bereft of all other outward supplies wherewith to sustain their hearts, Habak. iii. 17, 18. It would have tried the faith of Abraham, when sent from Ur of the Chaldees (a region bordering upon the confines of Paradise as some conceive) if he had been directed to the Arabian wilderness, and not into the land flowing with

milk and honey. But they that had the same faith which Abraham had, were, when put upon the trial, not unwilling to follow the conduct of Divine Providence into a land not sown, not knowing indeed, as it might truly be said, whither they went, yet hoping that God, [*who*] by his especial guidance, had brought them into a wilderness, would not be a wilderness unto them therein, as since they have found.

Mr. Robinson, their faithful pastor, at their last parting in Holland, wrote a letter to the whole company, wherein he gave them much seasonable advice, and many wholesome directions, needful to be observed by such as undertook a work which now they had in hand, which is as followeth in page 6 of Mr. Morton's Memorial.* Accordingly, as soon as they came to an anchor in the harbour of Cape Cod, which was on November the 9th, 1620—considering how necessary government would be, and to prevent any inconveniency that might arise for want thereof, and finding their patent was made void and useless to them, now they were landed in another place, they resolved by mutual consent, for the better carrying on their affairs, to enter into a solemn combination, as a body politic, to submit to such government, laws and ordinances, as should, by general consent from time to time, be agreed upon; which was accordingly put in practice on the (Morton, page 15,) foresaid day, before any of them went ashore, by signing the Instrument here following,* with all their hands that were of any note in the company, bearing date the 10th November, 1620. And soon after, Mr. John Carver was chosen Governour, for the following year; a gentleman not only well approved for his piety and religion, but well qualified also with civil prudence, for the managing of the place of rule and government amongst them. Their own necessity also, as well as the master and mariners importunity, did in the next place put them upon a speedy looking out for a place where to take up their habitations. To that end, while the carpenters were fitting up their shallop, 16 of them that were most hearty and strong after so long and tedious a voyage

* These papers are not in the MS. copy. *Ed.*

by sea, offered their service on the land, to take a view of the country, and try if they could make a discovery of any place convenient for such a purpose; and to see if they could meet with any of the natives, to begin some treaty with them, thereby to make way either for trading with them or inhabiting amongst them. This attempt of theirs was in itself no small adventure, if any should but consider what befel a French ship that was cast away on this coast but three years before; the country at that time being full of people who were under no small disgust against all foreigners that happened to land there upon one attempt or other, in remembrance of the villany that one Hunt a few years before had acted amongst them; who, after he had made his fishing voyage at Monhiggan, as is mentioned before, came to this place, as the Indians report, and took away from hence 20, and 7 from a place called Nasitt, carrying them captive to Spain. For although the men got ashore, and saved their lives, with much of their goods and victuals, yet it being understood by the Indians, they gathered together from all parts, and never left dogging and waylaying them, till they took opportunities to kill all but three or four, which they kept as slaves, sending them up and down, to make sport with them from one Sachem to another. Two of the said French were redeemed by Mr. Dermer, that insinuated a little into them for trade, (though with loss of his own life, as was said before;) the third lived so long amongst them till he had got so much of their language as to be able to discourse with them, and in the end, he told them before he died, that God was angry with them for their wickedness, and would destroy them and give their country to another people, that should not live like beasts as they did; but they, deriding him, said they were so many, that God could not kill them; to whom the Frenchman replied, that if they were never so many, yet God had more ways to destroy them, than they were aware of. It was not long after his death, before a pestilent disease came amongst them, that was never heard of by any of them before, which swepted them away by multitudes, leaving their carcasses like dung upon the earth, and none to

bury them; the bones of whom were seen above the ground by those of Plymouth, after they planted that side of the country. The Indians thereabouts, in remembrance of the Frenchman's words, as some of them confessed afterwards, at the first, kept at a distance from them, and would have assaulted them, but that God left an awe upon their hearts. The English, being furnished with ammunition, not only defended themselves, but struck such a terrour in the Indians, that they soon after sought their favour, and came into acquaintance with them, by the means of some that had been carried away by Hunt, and had lived a while in London, or elsewhere, after they had escaped out of Spain, as shall be seen hereafter; whereby the especial providence of God was seen by such means to make way for their abode and quiet settlement in that place, which otherwise had not been possible for them to have expected or attained. But to return, the sixteen sent out upon discovery, having wandered about a mile by the sea side, came within view of 5 or 6 Indians, but could not come to the speech of any of them; all taking themselves to their heels, like so many wild creatures, hasted into the woods, out of their sight. In vain it was to pursue their tracks, they being much too nimble for our scorbutick pilgrims, that had tired themselves in passing a small compass of ground; yet did they adventure to lie out all night, under the safe though open covert of heaven's protection. The next day they met with a field where Indian corn had been planted the last summer, and by accident stumbled upon some Indian beans, stored with baskets of their corn, which (as to them seemed) did in some sort resemble the grapes of of Eshcoll, more to the apprehension of faith than of sense. However, they returned to their company with little encouragement as to situation, which put them upon a second discovery, a few days after, by their shallop, being now ready, wherein they met with some such like rarities as they had done before, yet but with small encouragement from that called Cold Harbour, which might have cooled their affections, had they not been inspired from a higher principle; for the sharpness of

the winter drawing on apace, it put them upon an anxious dispute whether to tarry where they were, a place fit only for anchoring ships, or to remove to this branch of a Creek, which though farther up into the country, upon the present experiment they made, called Cornhill, yet could harbour nothing but boats. In fine, they resolved to make a third discovery on December the 6th, wherein they met with much difficulty upon sundry accounts, both of wind and weather, together with a dangerous assault from the Indians, one of whom was so resolute as to stand three shots of a musket, after the rest fled; until one taking a full aim, made the splinters fly about his ears, off the tree, behind which he sheltered himself. Some report he was wounded on the arm, as he was drawing an arrow out of his quiver, which made him sensible that a tree that could keep off a hundred arrows, was a slender defence against the English artillery; thus being mercifully delivered, in remembrance thereof they called that place ever after, the First Encounter, leaving of which they coasted along in their shallop, divers leagues, till by a storm that arose, they were in danger of all being cast away, by a mistake of the pilot, who could not distinguish between the Gurnet's Nose, and the mouth of Sagaguabe harbour. But he that sits at the helm of all his people's affairs, guided them into the right harbour, when all other help failed; for when the pilot and the master's mate, saying his eyes never saw the place before, would have run the boat ashore before the wind, in a cove full of breakers, in a rainy season, to the hazard, if not the loss of all their lives, a stout hearted seaman that steered, cried out to them that rowed, if they were men, about with her, else they were all cast away; the which they did with all speed; so then he bid them be of good cheer, and row hard, for there was a fair sound before them, which he doubted not but it would afford them one place or other wherein to ride safely; whose words they found soon after, to their great comfort, very true, for they presently got under the lee of a small island, where they rode quietly all night. In the morning, they found it to be an island which they understood not be-

fore; from thence forward they called it Clark's Island, from the name of the mate; so called, that first stepped ashore thereon; where with much ado they kindled a fire to relieve themselves against the extremity of the cold. This being the last day of the week, they rested there the Lord's day: but on the next day, sounding the harbour, they found it convenient for shipping, as they did the land round about commodious for situation, in meeting there with many cornfields, severed with pleasant brooks of running and wholesome water—the fittest place which yet they had seen, where to make a place of habitation; at least the season of the year, together with their own necessity, made them so to judge; and the news of it was no small comfort to the rest of their people, insomuch that immediately after their return they weighed anchor, and the next day, viz. December 16, they arrived in the said harbour, newly discovered the week before; which having viewed well the second time, they resolved for the future not only there to winter, but to pitch their dwelling; and on the 25th of the same month were as cheerfully employed in building their first house for common use, as their friends were elsewhere about their cheer, according to the custom of the day. After some little time spent in unloading their goods, which at that time of the year was very difficult, for want of boats and other helps, they began to erect every one some small habitation for themselves—sicknesses and diseases increasing very much amongst them, by reason of the hard weather and many uncomfortable voyages in searching after a place wherein to settle, occasioning them to be much in the cold, with the inconveniency of the former harbours, that compelled them to wade much in the water upon every turn, by reason whereof many were seized with desperate coughs, as others with scurvy and such like diseases; that in the three next months after their landing, they lost one half if not two thirds of their company, both passengers and seamen. Such were the solemn trials that God was pleased to acquaint them with in their first adventure, the more to exercise their faith and patience, and daily to re-

mind them that they were pilgrims and strangers upon the earth, and must not seek great things for themselves. So great was their distress in that time of general sickness, that sometimes there was not above six or seven sound and well, able to take care of the rest, who (to their commendation be it spoken) were very ready to do the meanest offices to help the weak and impotent, sparing no pains, night nor day, wherein they might be helpful to them.

It had been a very easy matter for the savages at that time to have cut them all off, as they had done others before, had not God, by his special providence, laid a restraint upon them, as was promised of old to Israel, that their enemies should not have mind to invade them, when they went up to worship before the Lord. This time of sickness and calamity continued with them all the latter part of the winter, and if a great part of those had not been removed by death, it was feared they might all have perished for want of food, before any more supplies came from England. In the beginning of March the coldness of the winter was over, and the weather began to be very comfortable, the spring coming on that year more early than ordinarily it uses to do, which was no small reviving to those decrepit and infirm planters. But that which added more life unto their hopes, was not so much the change of the air, as the change wrought in the hearts of the heathen, who were come, instead of hating, to fear this poor handful of people, and to be proffering them all kindness they were capable to show, thereby, as it were, seeking their favour. Thus was it found in their experience, that the hearts of all are in the hands of the Lord, and that he turns them as the rivers of waters; for about the middle of the said month of March, an Indian, called Samoset, came to them, and soon after another, whose name was Squanto, or Tisquantum, (for he is called in several authors by these several names,) came boldly in amongst them, and said in a broken dialect of our language, "Welcome, Englishmen." Within a day or two came the other, and spake in the like dialect, to the same purpose or effect; at which the planters were sur-

prised with no small amazement ; but they presently understood that the said Indians had been acquainted with our English mariners, that had of late yearly frequented the coast, upon account of making fish at the Eastward, and could tell the names of the masters of ships, and mariners that were commonly there ; yea, one of these natives, Tisquantum, that came last amongst them, was one of them that had been carried away by Hunt, and had afterward escaped from Spain, and was carried to London, where he had lived with one Mr. Slany, a merchant, about two years. These were by that means so well acquainted with our language, that they were pretty well able to discourse with them, and acquaint them with many matters needful for the carrying on their design—as how to plant their corn—after what manner to order it—where to get fish, and such other things as the country afforded, about which they would have been very much to seek without their instruction. They gave them likewise information of the number of the Indians, their strength, situation, and distance from them ; acquainting them also with the estate and affairs at the eastward ; but the principal benefit obtained by their means was acquaintance with an Indian of the chiefest note in that side of the country, called Massasoit. Him they brought down to the English, though his place was at forty miles distance, called Sowans, his country called Pokanoket, and one that had the greatest command of the country betwixt Massachusetts and Narraganset. And within four or five days came the said Sachem, with his friends and chiefest attendants, to welcome them to his country ; and not only giving them liberty there to take up their habitation, but likewise acknowledging himself willing to become the subject of their sovereign Lord, King James. Further also he was willing to enter into a league of friendship with our pilgrims, which continued very firm with him and his people during the term of his own life, and some considerable time with his two sons, his successors, until that unhappy quarrel began by the second of them, by the English called Philip, in the year 1675, which ended in the loss of his own life, and the

extirpation of all his friends and adherents, within a few months after they began it, as is declared in the narrative, which may be hereunto annexed. The articles and conditions, which the said league was agreed upon, were as followeth, as in Mason, page 24. The experiences of the aforementioned passages of providence put the new inhabitants of Plymouth in mind of God's promise to the people of Israel in their passage towards the possession of the land of Canaan, where he engaged to them concerning the Canaanite and the Hittite, that he would by little and little drive them out from before his people, till they were increased, and did inherit the land ; which consideration is the more to be remembered herein, in that it was known to the said planters of Plymouth not long after, that these Indians, before they came to make friendship with them, had taken Balaam's counsel against Israel in getting all the powwaws of the country together, who for three days incessantly had, in a dark and dismal swamp, attempted to have cursed the English, and thereby have prevented their settling in those parts, which when they discerned was not like to take place, they were not unwilling to seek after a peace. The like was confessed many years after to have been attempted by an old and noted and chief Sagamore and Powaw, about Merrimack, to the northward of the Massachusetts, called Passaconaway, who, when he perceived he could not bring about his end therein, he left it, as his last charge to his son, that was to succeed him, and all his people, never to quarrel with the English, lest thereby they came to be destroyed utterly, and rooted out of the country. This hath been confirmed to the remnant of the faithful, that surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, nor divination against Israel.

It may be here added, that in the following year, 1621, several other Sachems or Sagamores—which are but one and the same title, the first more usual with the southward, the other with the northward Indians, to express the title of him that hath the chief command of a place or people—as well as the afore named Massasoit, came to the Governour of New Plymouth, and did volun-

tarily acknowledge themselves to be the loyal subjects of our Lord, King James, and subscribed a writing to that purpose with their own hands, the tenour of which here followeth, with their names annexed thereunto, that succeeding times may keep a memorial thereof, it having no small influence into the first foundations here laid. Morton, page 29.

Sept. 13, Anno Dom. 1621.

“ Know all men by these presents, that we whose
 “ names are underwritten, do acknowledge our-
 “ selves to be the loyal subjects of king James, king of
 “ Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the
 “ faith. In witness whereof and as a testimonial of the
 “ same, we have subscribed our marks, as followeth,

OBQUAMHUD
 CANACOCOME
 OBBATINNA
 NATTAWAHUNT

CAWKATANT
 CHIKKATABUT
 QUADAQUINA
 HUTTAMOIDEN
 APANNOW.”

CHAP. X.

*Of the Government, Civil and Military, established in the
 Colony of New Plymouth.*

THAT which our Saviour once affirmed concerning a kingdom, is as true of the smallest colony, or puny state, or least society of mankind, that if it be divided against itself it cannot stand; and how can divisions be avoided where all sorts of people are to be at their liberty, whether in things civil or sacred, to do all that doeth, and nothing but what doeth seem good in their own eyes. Our first founders of this new colony, were aware of this, before they removed themselves from the parts of Europe, whether England or Holland, to those of America; and therefore, according to the prudent advice of Mr. Robinson, their Pastor, they had procured a patent for themselves, or had a power granted from their Sovereign Prince, whereby they might form themselves into a body politic in the place specified in their patent. But missing of the place, the things

contained therein were utterly invalidated, and made useless thereby, which they wisely considered in the first place, as was said before, and therefore they all signed an instrument, concerning some way of order and government, which they, according as necessity required, intended to mould themselves into, upon the first opportunity, which should offer itself, after they had found a place of habitation fit to settle upon. By the aforesaid accident, things so fell out, that for the present they could not fall into any order of government, but by way of combination; with which they intended to content themselves till occasion might serve for the obtaining another patent from the King, for that place where Providence now had cast their lot. For the present therefore they devolved the sole power of government upon MR. JOHN CARVER, in whose prudence they so far confided, that he would not adventure upon any matter of moment without consent of the rest, or at least advice of such as were thought to be the wisest amongst them, and not to increase the number of rulers, where the persons were so few to be ruled; knowing also that they could at their pleasure add more as there might be occasion, much better than to have eased themselves of the burden, if they should pitch upon too many at first. One Nehemiah is better than a whole Sanhedrim of mercenary Shemaiahs.

The Laws they intended to be governed by were the Laws of England, the which they were willing to be subject unto, though in a foreign land, and have since that time continued in that mind for the general, adding only some particular municipal laws of their own, suitable to their constitution. In such cases, where the common laws and statutes of England could not well reach or afford them help in emergent difficulties of the place, possibly on the same ground that Pacavius sometimes advised his neighbours of Capua, not to cashier their old magistrates, till they could agree upon better to place in their room; so did these choose to abide by the Laws of England, till they could be provided of better.

As for their military affairs, they were at this time as necessary to be provided for, in regard of enemies without, as were the civil concernments within amongst themselves; and although the order thereof be founded in the same authority with the former, yet is it, at least in our days, usual and needful it should be managed by other hands, for which purpose they were well furnished by a person of that company, though at that time not of their church, well skilled in the affair, and of as good courage as conduct, Capt. Miles Standish by name, a gentleman very expert in things of that nature, by whom they were all willing to be ordered in those concerns. He was likewise improved with good acceptance and success in affairs of greatest moment in that colony, to whose interest he continued firm and stedfast to the last; and always managed his trust with great integrity and faithfulness. What addition and alteration was made afterwards in and about the premises, there may be an occasion to observe afterward.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Religion, Worship, and Discipline, professed or practised, by those of Plymouth.

As of old notice was taken in the Sacred Records, how happy it was with Israel, when they were led like a flock by the hand of Moses and Aaron, so hath it been observed in all ages, as a certain token of God's presence with and amongst his people, when their ecclesiastical, as well as civil affairs, are carried on by the same care and endeavour. The faith and order of the church of the Colossians, was a desirable sight in the eyes of the Apostle. The addition of civil order forementioned in the new colony, without doubt, did not a little increase the beauty of this small society, rendering this little citadel of Sion, that was now begun to be erected in America, hopeful to become beautiful as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem, terrible at the last as an army with banners, that the

powers of darkness and the gates of hell have not yet been able to prevail against, how strangely soever of late times they have endeavoured it. As for the doctrine of religion held forth by this people, together with their worship, it was for the substance little discrepant from that of the rest of the reformed churches of Europe, abating the discipline, with the rites and ceremonies observed in the church of England, ever since the first reformation begun in those kingdoms, under the English sceptre ; on which account those people that were a part of Mr. Robinson's church at Leyden, whose pedigree some that favour that interest derive from the English church at Frankford, settled afterwards at London, made a professed separation from the rest of the reformed churches, whence in the former age they were styled separatist, and generally known by that name, not only with relation to the rites and ceremonies of worship, but in special also in regard of the discipline and government of the church ; all which, because they were so well known to the world by several writings that passed between Mr. Robinson, with some of the like persuasion, and other learned persons of the contrary judgment, no further or no particular account need be given thereof in this place ; but when we come to speak of the settling of the other colonies, there will be a fitter occasion to treat more fully thereof, for as much as none of the rest of the planters came over in any settled order of government, only resolving when they came hither to carry on those affairs as near as they could exactly according to the rule and pattern laid before them in the word of God, wherein they cannot be blamed for endeavouring, according to their best understanding, to approve themselves faithful to the Supreme Lord of his church, as opportunity might be afforded. It is easy to observe a difference between him that is about repairing of a building, by age and time fallen into some decay, and one that is about to rear a new fabric ; with whom it is no harder work, if he have materials at hand, to square every thing according to the best pattern and method made known, than it is for the other to endeavour the bringing of things to

their primitive structure and fashion, in a word therefore, only to satisfy the reader how a christian church could in any tolerable measure carry on the public worship of God without suitable officers, as was the case of those people of Plymouth, we must know that these were a serious and religious people that know their own principles, not like so many of their followers in some parts of the country, properly termed Seekers ; of whom it may be said, as our Saviour Christ sometimes said of the Samaritans, "ye worship ye know not what." Now these knew and were resolved on the way of their worship ; but in many years could not prevail with any to come over to them, and to undertake the office of a pastor amongst them, at least none in whom they could with full satisfaction acquiesce ; and therefore in the mean while they were peaceably and prudently managed by the wisdom of MR. BREWSTER, a grave and serious person that only could be persuaded to keep his place of ruling elder amongst them ; having acquired by his long experience and study no small degree of knowledge in the mysteries of faith and matters of religion, yet wisely considering the weightiness of the ministerial work, (and therein he was also advised by MR. ROBINSON,) according to that of the Apostle, "who is sufficient for these things ;" he could never be prevailed with to accept the ministerial office, which many less able in so long a time could have been easily drawn unto. Besides also several of his people were well gifted, and did spend part of the Lord's day in their wonted prophecy-ing, to which they had been accustomed by Mr. Robinson. Those gifts, while they lasted, made the burden of the other defect more easily borne, yet was not that custom of the prophecy-ing of private brethren observed afterwards in any of the churches of New England besides themselves, the ministers of the respective churches there not being so well satisfied in the way thereof, as was Mr. Robinson. The elders likewise of the said churches or the most judicious and leading amongst them, as Mr. Cotton, &c. that were not absolutely against the thing, were yet afraid that the wantonness of the present age,

would not well bear such a liberty, as that reverend and judicious divine, the great light of those churches, expressed to a person of great quality, to whom he bore no small respect, a few hours before he departed this life.

CHAP. XII.

The general affairs of the colony of New Plymouth, during the first lustre of years, from March 25, 1621, to March 25, 1626.

ALTHOUGH the dispensations of God towards his people under the gospel be not like those under the law, in respect of the outward prosperity, so as any time it could be said as in Solomon's reign during the time of his building the house of God or his own palaces, that there was neither adversary nor evil occurrent; yet did the Almighty water this new planted colony with many blessings, causing it by degrees to flourish, taking root downward, that it might in after time bring forth fruit upward. For now the spring of the following year was come, they began to hasten the ships away, which had tarried the longer, that before it had left the country, it might carry the news back of the welfare of the plantation. The ships' company also during the winter, growing so weak that the master durst not put to sea till they were better recovered of their sickness and the winter well over.

Early in the spring they planted their first corn, being instructed therein by their friend Squanto, and had better success therein than in some English grain they sowed that year, which might be imputed to the lateness of the season, as well as their own unskilfulness in the soil. But the month of April added much heaviness to their spirits by the loss of Mr. John Carver, who fell sick in that month, and in a few days after died. His funeral rites were attended with great solemnity, as the condition of that infant plantation would bear; as indeed the respect due to him justly deserved, if not for

the good he had actually done in the foundation of their colony, yet for that he was like to have done, if God had spared him his life ; he being a gentleman of singular piety, rare humility, and great condescendency ; one also of a publick spirit, as well as of a publick purse, having disbursed the greatest part of that considerable estate God had given him, for carrying on the interest of the company, as their urgent necessity required. Extreme grief for the loss of him, within a few weeks, hastened the removal of a gracious woman, his wife, which he left behind. At his decease the eyes of the company were generally upon Mr. William Bradford, as in the next place fittest to succeed him in the government : wherefore, as soon as ever he recovered of his great weakness, under which he had languished to the point of death, they chose him to be their governour instead of Mr. Carver, adding Mr. Isaac Allerton only, to be his assistant. The second of July following, in imitation of David, who was as ready to acknowledge kindnesses received, as to ask or accept them in the time of his distress, they sent Mr Edward Winslow, with Mr. Stephen Hopkins, to congratulate their friend Massasoit, by the late league firmly allied to them, partly also to take notice what number of men he had about them, and the other Sachems, as likewise of what strength they were. They found his place 40 miles distant from their town, and his people, but few in comparison of what formerly they had been, before the great mortality forementioned, that had swept away so many of them. They returned in safety, giving a good account of the business they were sent about ; adding moreover what they understood of the nation of the Indians, called Narragansetts, seated on the other side of the great bay, adjoining to the country of Massasoit : a people many in number, and more potent than their neighbours at the present juncture, and grown very insolent also, as having escaped the late mortality, which made them aspire to be lords over their neighbours. On that occasion, the establishing of their peace with the natives near about them was much furthered by an Indian, called Hobbamacke, a proper lusty young man,

and of good account amongst the other Indians in those parts for his valour. He continued faithful and constant to the English until his death. The said Hobbamacke with Squanto, being a while after sent amongst the other Indians about business for the English, were surprised about Namasket, (since called Middleborough,) by an Indian Sachem not far off, called Corbitant, upon the only account of their friendship to the English. The said Corbitant, picking a quarrel with Hobbamacke, would have stabbed him, but he being a strong man easily cleared himself of his adversary; and after his escape, soon brought intelligence to the governour of his danger, adding withal that he feared Squanto was slain, having been both threatened on the same account; but Capt. Standish sent forth with 12 or 14 men well armed, beset the house, and himself adventuring to enter, found that Corbitant had fled, but yet that Squanto was alive. Two or three Indians pressing out of the house when it was beset, were sorely wounded, whom notwithstanding the English brought to their chirurgeon, by whom, through God's blessing, they were soon cured. After this exploit they had divers congratulatory messages from sundry of the other Sachems, in order to a settled amity, and Corbitant soon after made use of Massasoit, as a mediator to make peace, being afraid to come near himself for a long time after: the Indians also of the Island Capowake, since called Martha, commonly Martyne's Vineyard, sent to them to obtain their friendship. By this means the colony, being better assured of a peace with their neighbours, improved the opportunity to acquaint themselves with such of the Indians that lived more remote, especially those of the Massachusetts; for which purpose they sent thither a boat with ten men, and Squanto for their interpreter, on September 18 following, in part to discover and view the said bay, of which they had heard a great fame, and partly to make way for after trade with the natives of the place, for having lived with the Dutch in Holland, they were naturally addicted to commerce and traffick; and which at this time was very necessary for their support. Therein they were kind-

ly entertained by the natives of that place, wishing, it seems, they had been seated there ; but he who appoints to all men their inheritance, and sets to the inhabitants of the earth the bounds of their habitation, had by his providence otherwise disposed of them ; and by his purpose reserved that place for such of their friends, as should come after ; thus far those people had experience of the outgoing of divine favour, blessing their going out and their coming in, and giving them encouragement, so they might be instrumental to lay a foundation for many generations. But the remembrance of the cold winter the year before gave them an item that it was time now to fit up their cottages against the same season, now fast approaching upon them, which they suddenly attended after harvest, for now their old store of provision being by this time all finished, they welcomed the first harvest fruits with no little joy. The hand of providence also in the beginning of winter increased them, as by sending in great plenty of fish and fowl to their great refreshing.

The ninth of November ensuing added 35 persons more to their company, which was no small rejoicing to the first planters, nor were the new comers a little glad to see such plenty of provisions beyond expectation. The commander of the vessel was one Mr. Robert Cushman, an active and faithful instrument for the good of the publick ; yet herein was he overseen, that he so overstored the plantation with number of people in proportion to the provision he brought with them, for the whole company, having nothing to trust to but the produce of the earth, and what they could procure by fishing and fowling, they were in great straight for provision before the return of the next harvest ; nor had they at this time any neat cattle, to afford them any present relief or future increase ; nor did it appear they had any benefit considerable, by other creatures. Presently after the dispatch of this ship, whose stay in the country was not above 14 days, the Narragansetts sent an uncouth messenger unto the plantation, with a bundle of arrows tied together with a snake's skin, not much unlike that which sometimes the Scythians of old sent to the Per-

sian King Darius, when he without cause went to invade their country, of which those of Plymouth were not a whit guilty. Squanto their friend told them, he being their interpreter, that the English of it was a threatening and a challenge, at which the governour, relying more on the power and promises of God, than the strength or number of his own company, was not a whit dismayed; but did, by another messenger, let him know how he resented their message, sending back their snake's skin full of powder and bullets, with this word, that if they loved war better than peace they might begin when they would; that as they had done them no wrong, so neither did they fear them, nor if they minded to try, should they find them unprovided. It is thought that their own ambitious humour prompted them to this insolent message, supposing the English might be a bar in their way in raising a larger dominion upon the ruins of their neighbours, wasted by late sickness, observing that Massasoit their next rival for sovereignty, had already taken shelter under the wings of the English; however it was a seasonable caution to the English to be more watchful and continually stand upon their guard, closing their dwellings with a strong pale, made with flankers at the corners, and strengthening their watches, having first divided their company into 4 squadrons, appointing to each their quarter, to which they were to repair, in case of danger upon any alarm, and in case of fire; assigning one company for a guard of their weapons, while the others were employed in putting out what was kindled. Thus having gotten over another of the cold winters, to which their bodies began now to be pretty well inured, they designed the succeeding spring, Anno 1622, to prosecute their commerce with the Massachusetts, as they had certified the natives, about which there was some demur, in the first hand of the year upon some jealousies between Hobbamacke and Squanto, grounded on some surmises raised by one of them, as if the natives of Massachusetts were like to join in a conspiracy with the Narragansetts. But this tempest being soon blown over, they accomplished their voyage with good

success, and returned in safety, having for the greater security carried both the said Indians along with them; but after their return they discerned that Squanto, notwithstanding his friendship pretended to the English, began to play the Jack on both sides, endeavouring to advance his own ends betwixt the English and the Indians, making his countrymen believe that he could make war and peace when he pleased, or at his pleasure. And the more to affright his countrymen and keep them in awe, he told them the English kept the plague under ground, and could send it amongst them when they pleased, meaning, as he said, a barrel of gunpowder hid under ground. By this means however he drew the Indians from their obedience to their Sachem, Massasoit, making them depend more upon himself than upon him, which caused him no small envy from the Sachem, insomuch as it had cost him his life, had it not been for the English, to whom he was constrained ever after to stick more close, so as he never durst leave them till his death, which the other did endeavour to hasten openly as well as privately, after the discovery of those practices. By this it appears that the very same spirit was then stirring in the father which of late did kindle this late rebellion and war between Philip his son and the English, occasioned by a jealousy the said Philip had conceived against Sausaman, whom he had entertained as his secretary, and sure counsellor, yet harbouring a jealousy in his mind against him, for the respect he bore to the English, which made him contrive his death, so thence have risen all the late differences or mischiefs as shall be shewed more fully afterwards, but as for the emulation that grew between Hobbamacke and Squanto, the English made good use thereof; the governour seemed to favour one, and the captain the other, whereby they were the better ordered in point of their observance to the English, which was a prudent consideration. The same course was taken of late by the governour of Plymouth, and him that immediately preceded, with reference to Philip and Josiah, two sagamores within their jurisdiction, but not

with the like success ; for when governour Prince only seemed more to favour Philip, as the other gentleman, at that time commander in chief of all the military forces, did Josiah, Philip conceived such a mortal hatred against the honourable gentleman, that at last it raised this fatal war, and ended in the ruin of himself and all his people, and all those that engaged with him therein.

CHAP. XIII.

Mr. Weston's Plantation of Wessagusquasset.

ABOUT this time, viz. towards the end of May, Anno 1622, it appeared that Mr. Thomas Weston, (who was one of those adventurers that were first engaged in the foundation of Plymouth colony, and as is said had disbursed five hundred pounds to advance the interest thereof,) observing how the plantation began to flourish, was minded to break off and set up for himself, though little to his advantage, as the sequel proved. When men are actuated by private interest and are eager to carry on particular designs of their own, it is the bane of all generous and noble enterprises, but is very often rewarded with dishonour and disadvantages to the undertakers. At the last, this Mr. Weston had gotten for himself a patent for some part of the Massachusetts about Wessagusquasset, by the English since called Weymouth, for the carrying on a plantation there, he sent over two ships on his own particular account ; in the one of them, which came first, were sixty young men which he ordered to be set ashore at Plymouth, there to be left till the ship that brought them was returned from Virginia, whither she was to convey the rest of her passengers ; and likewise seven more that a little before arrived at Plymouth, sent thither from Damarill's Cove, out of a ship employed there by said Weston, and another on a fishing design. In the mean time Mr. Weston's men were courteously entertained by them of Plymouth the most part of that summer, many of them being sick, and all of them wholly unacquainted with setting up of new plantations. At the ship's return from

Virginia, those that were well and sound were carried to the place designed to plant, leaving their diseased and infirm at Plymouth till the rest were settled, and fitted with housing to receive them. But as Solomon saith, "wisdom is good with an inheritance," which was much wanting at this time, either in him that undertook or in those that were sent to manage the inheritance of this patent, by which means the whole soon after came to nothing; for the company ordered to plant the said patent land proving unruly, and being destitute of a meet person to govern and order them, they fell first into dissoluteness and disorder, then into great want and misery, at last into wickedness, and so into confusion and ruin, as came to pass soon after; which followeth nextly to be related, premising only a short passage or two, which will but make way thereunto. By the vessel which brought the seven men bound for Virginia, as was mentioned before, was sent a courteous letter from one Hudson, master of one of the fishing ships about the eastern parts, giving them notice of the late massacre at Virginia, in the spring of this year, advising them to beware, according to old rule, by other men's harms; which seasonable hint was wisely improved by those of Plymouth in raising an edifice thereupon, which served them as well for a meeting-house wherein to perform their publick worship, as for a platform to plant their ordnance upon, it being built with a flat roof, and battlements for that purpose; for at this time they were filled with rumors of the Narragansetts rising against them, as well as alarmed by the late massacre at Virginia. The courteous letter of the said Hudson did encourage those of Plymouth to return a thankful acknowledgment by Mr. Edward Winslow, sent by a boat of their own, with intent also to procure what provisions he could of that ship or any other in those parts; the plantation at that time being in great want thereof, to which they received a very comfortable return from the said master, who not only spared what he could himself, but wrote also in their behalf to other vessels upon the coast to do the like, by which means the plantation was well supplied at that time,

which yet was soon spent by the whole company, that had no other relief to depend upon. Their fear also for the following year increasing with their present wants, for a famine was threatened by a great drought which continued that summer from the third week in May to the middle of July; their corn beginning to wither with the extremity of parching heat, accompanying the great want of rains, which occasioned the poor planters to set a day apart solemnly to seek God by humble and fervent prayer in this great distress; in answer whereunto the Lord was pleased to send them such sweet and gentle showers in that great abundance that the earth was thoroughly soaked therewith, to the reviving of the decayed corn and other withering fruits of the earth, so that the very Indians were astonished therewith to behold it, that before were not a little troubled for them, fearing they would lose all their corn by the drought, and so would be in a more suffering condition for want thereof than themselves, who, as they said, could make a shift to supply themselves of their wants with fish and other things, which the English they could not well do; yea some of them were heard to acknowledge the Englishmen's God's goodness, as they used to speak, that had sent them soft, gentle rains, without violence of storms and tempests, that used to break down their corn, the contrary which they now to their great astonishment beheld. It was observed that the latter part of the summer was followed with seasonable weather, amounting to the promised blessing of the former and latter rain, which brought in a plentiful harvest, to their comfort and rejoicing; the which was now more welcome in that the merchants, that at first adventured, and on whom they relied for their continual supply, had now withdrawn their hands, nor had they ever after this time from any of them supply to any purpose; for all that came afterwards was too short for the passengers that came along therewith, so as they were forced to depend wholly on that they could raise by their own industry, by themselves. And that which was raised out of the field by their labour, for want of skill either in the soil or in the sort of grain, would hardly make one year

reach to another ; so if they could not supply themselves otherwise they many times were in want and great sufferings for provisions. But at this time for encouragement, another comfortable supply was occasionally brought in by one Capt. Jones, that a little before came into the harbour with intent and order to discover the harbours between this place and Virginia. He had much trading stuff, with which he might have furnished the plantation, but he took his advantage by their wants to raise his price at cent per cent, yet exacting in exchange coat beaver at three shillings per pound, which more than trebled his gain, with which it is well if his ship was not overburthened, and no doubt his conscience was, if it were not lightened by repentance, before the storm of death approached. However, the planters, that by their necessity were driven by him to buy at any rates, found means thereby for a present relief. The Memorial of Plymouth Colony makes more honourable mention of one Mr. Pory, formerly Secretary in Virginia, who taking our new plantation onward in his way to Virginia, returned to governour and church a very grateful letter of the acknowledgment of the good he received by the perusal of some of Mr. Ainsworth's and Mr. Robinson's works, which it seems were not so common in the world as they have been since ; and in way of his requital after his return, procured no small advantage to the plantation of New Plymouth, and amongst persons that were not of the meanest rank. But by this time Mr. Weston's plantation at Weymouth had made havock of all their provisions ; and whatever their boastings were, what great matters they would do, and never be brought into such streights as they found their friends at Plymouth in, at their first coming amongst them, yet now they saw poverty and want coming upon them like an armed man ; wherefore, understanding that their friends at Plymouth had supplied them formerly with trading stuff for the procuring of corn from the Indians, wrote to the governour that they might join with them, offering their small ship to be improved in that service, requesting the loan or sale of so much of their trading stuff as their price might come

to, which was agreed unto on equal terms ; but going fol-
out in this expedition, by cross winds and foul weather,
and bending their course southward, they were driven
in at Manomet, whereby they procured the corn they
desired ; but lost their interpreter, Squanto, who there
fell sick and died. Not long before his death he desired
the governour of Plymouth, who at that time was there
present, to pray for him, that he might go to the place
where dwelt the Englishmen's God, of whom it seems
this poor Indian or heathen had a better opinion than
one of the Spanish Indians had of the Spaniards' God ;
who upon his death bed inquiring of some of their relig-
ion whither the Spaniards went when they died, and
being told they went to heaven, replied, that he would
go to the contrary place, whether purgatory or hell, im-
agining the place to be more desirable where he might
be sure to find fewest of them. Thus we see blind
heathens are apt by their natural consciences, to judge
both of men's religions and worship, and the God to
whom it is performed, according to their lives and man-
ners that profess it. But after their return with a con-
siderable quantity of corn, which with frugal improve-
ment might have answered the necessities of both their
plantations for a long time, before the month of February
was ended, John Sanders, that was left as the guide or
overseer of Mr. Weston's plantation, sent a sorrowful
messenger to the colony at Plymouth, informing of their
great straits they were in for want of corn, and that they
had tried to borrow corn of the Indians and were denied ;
to know whether he might take it by force for the relief
of his company, till he returned with supply from the
ships eastward, whither he was then bound. It is more
than probable that the poor heathen judged of them by
their former manners to be like the wicked, Solomon
speaks of, that borroweth and payeth not again, which
made them so unwilling to lend. Yet as to case of
conscience propounded by the men of this new planta-
tion, an ordinary casuist might easily have resolved it at
home, especially at that time, when it might have en-
dangered the welfare of both plantations, those Indians

that lived in or about the Massachusetts being so exasperated by some of their former pranks, stealing their corn, &c. that they were in great danger of being all cut off by them. Yea, it is reported by some that survived sometime after the planting of the Massachusetts colony, that they were so base as to inform the Indians that their governour was purposed to come and take their corn by force, which made them combine against the English. Certain it is, they were so provoked with their filching and stealing, that they threatened them as the Philistines did Samson's father-in-law, after the loss of their corn; insomuch that the company, as some report, pretended in way of satisfaction to punish him that did the theft, but in his stead hanged a poor, decrepit old man, that was unserviceable to the company, and burthensome to keep alive, which was the ground of the story with which the merry gentleman that wrote the poem called Hudibras did, in his poetical fancy, make so much sport. Yet the inhabitants of Plymouth tell the story much otherwise, as if the person hanged was really guilty of stealing, as may be were many of the rest, and if they were driven by necessity to content the Indians, at that time to do justice, there being some of Mr. Weston's company living, it is possible it might be executed not on him that most deserved, but on him that could be best spared, or who was not like to live long if he had been let alone. In conclusion, the people of Weston's plantation were brought to that extremity by their folly and profuseness, that they were all beggared by parting with all they had, to get a little relief from the Indians at any rate, and some of them starved. One going to get shell fish on the flats at low water was so enfeebled with hunger that he could not get his feet out of the mud, but stuck there fast till he died. Others that were more hale and strong lived by stealing from the Indians, with which they were so provoked, that they entered into a general conspiracy against all the English, as those of Plymouth understood by the persons whom they sent to visit and relieve Massasoit, of whom they heard in the following year that he was dangerously sick. Conceiving that

if they began or meddled only with Weston's men, those of Plymouth would revenge it; therefore to prevent the danger, they plotted against them all. Massasoit discovered the conspiracy, that it was like speedily to be put in execution, in this opportunity of their weakness and want, advising them to surprise some of the chief in the plot, before it were too late. One Phineas Pratt, yet living, (1677) and that was one of the company, having made a strange yet happy escape by missing the path, (for being pursued by two Indians, he escaped their hands by that occasion, and so saved his life by losing his way,) when he came to Plymouth, they being fully satisfied both of the danger and distress those creatures were in, presently hasted away a boat to fetch them off, under the command of Capt. Standish, who according to the advice given by the Sachem, and his governour's order, finding their condition more miserable, if well it could, than it had been represented, offered to carry them off to Plymouth, but they rather desired his assistance to get them shipped away in their own vessel, towards the fishing ships to the eastward, which he granted, and then seeing them safe under sail out of the bay, he returned home, but first called the conspirators to an account, rewarding the chief of them according to their desert, (but Mr. Robinson wishes they had converted some, before they had killed any of the poor heathen.) Not long after this, Mr. Weston himself came over among the fishermen, too soon to understand the confusion of his plantation, though not soon enough to remedy it; yet not satisfied therewith, he must needs go to see the ruins thereof; but meeting with a sad storm he was driven ashore in Ipswich bay, and hardly escaped with his life, where he was stript by the Indians of all but his shirt. But not giving over of his purpose, he got to Pascataqua, where he furnished himself with clothes, he sailed over to Plymouth. He was there beheld with some astonishment and pity by such as knew him in his former prosperity, but now was become so great an object of pity after he had undone himself by helping to make others. The inhabitants of Plymouth, as prudent and frugal as they were to improve

all advantages for their more comfortable subsistence, yet could hardly make a shift to live. How could it then otherwise fall out, but that idleness and riotousness should clothe the prodigal spendthrifts with rags, and bring them to a morsel of bread !

CHAP. XIV.

The necessities and sufferings of the inhabitants of New Plymouth, during their first lustre of years : their patent, how and when obtained.

THE inhabitants of Plymouth in the beginning of the year 1623 were reduced to that exigent, that by that time they had done planting, all their victuals was spent, so as for the following part of the summer they were to depend only on what the providence of God should cast in; being now driven to make it one constant petition in every of their daily prayers, "Give us this day our daily bread," not knowing when they went to bed where to have a morsel for the next meal, leaving no fragments to lay up for the morning, yet through the goodness of divine bounty never wanted wherewith to satisfy their hunger at the least. In these straits they began to think of the most expedient ways how to raise corn for their necessary support. To that end at the last it was resolved, that every one should plant corn for their own particular, which accordingly was yielded unto : for it seems hitherto they had been all maintained out of the common stock, like one entire family. Thus they ranged all their youth under some family, which course had success accordingly ; it being the best way to bring all hands to help bear the common burden. By this means was much more corn produced than else would have been ; yet was it not sufficient to answer the desired end. However, those sufferings were borne by them with invincible patience and alacrity of spirit, and that for the most part of two years, before they could overcome this difficulty. In these considerations, it may be said to them that succeed in the present generation, those that went before have plowed and sowed, and borne the heat and burden

of the day, but these have entered into the harvest of their labours.

In the year 1623 they had but one boat left, and that none of the best, which then was the principal support of their lives : for that year it helped them for to improve a net wherewith they took a multitude of bass, which was their livelihood all that summer. It is a fish not much inferiour to a salmon, that comes upon the coast every summer, pressing into most of the great creeks every tide. Few countries have such an advantage. Sometimes fifteen hundred of them have been stopped in a creek, and taken in one tide. But when these failed, they used to repair to the clam banks, digging on the shores of the sea for these fish. In the winter much use was made of ground nuts instead of bread, and for flesh they were supplied with all sorts of wild fowls, that used to come in great flocks into the marshes, creeks, and rivers, which used to afford them variety of flesh enough and sometimes to spare. Thus were they fed immediately by the hand of Providence, in a manner almost like as was Elijah by the ravens, and Israel in the wilderness, after they had for a long time struggled with those difficulties and temptations ; no new thing to those that venture upon new plantations, as may be seen by what Peter Martyr in his *Decades* writes of the sufferings of the Spaniards in their conquests and first planting the West Indies. At the last, letters were received from the adventurers, putting them in some hopes of fresh supplies to be sent in a ship called the *Paragon*, under the command of Mr. John Peirce. This man it seems was employed to procure them a patent for the place which they then possessed, and some part of the country adjoining, as might be convenient for a whole colony to settle upon. But this gentleman thus employed had a design of his own, which all were not aware of, that made him speak two words for himself where he spake one for them ; for it seems a little before this time, Nov. 3d. eighteenth year of king James' reign, the affairs of New England were put into the hands of a great number of worthy adventurers, some of the nobility not being unwilling to the attend-

ing so good a work, commonly called the Grand Council of Plymouth, by the grant of a patent, confirmed to them by king James of blessed memory, about the year 1620, of which more in the next chapter. Now this Peirce aforesaid had insinuated by some friends into the said council, and obtained a considerable patent for a large tract of land in his own name, intending to keep it for himself and his heirs, purposing to allow the company of Plymouth liberty to hold some parts thereof as tenants under him, to whose court they must come as chief Lord; but he was strangely crossed in his enterprises, and was forced to vomit up what he had wrongfully swallowed down. The ship he had bought in his own name, and set out at his own charge, upon hopes of great matters, by taking in goods and passengers for the company on the account of freight, and so to be delivered here, but though the lot be cast into the lap, the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord: here was to appearance a notable contrivance for great advantage; but time and chance happens to all men, whereby their purposes are oft times disappointed, that are contrived with the greatest appearance of seeming policy: this ship was sadly blasted from its first setting out: that which is conceived in mischief, will certainly bring forth nothing but a lie: by what time it had sailed to the Downs, it sprang a leak, which was enough to have stopped their voyage: but besides that, one strand of their cable was casually cut, by an accidental chop, so as it broke in a stress of wind that there befel them, where she rode at anchor; so as they were in great danger to have been driven on the sands. By these accidents, the ship was carried back to London, where, after fourteen days, she arrived. But being hauled into the dock to be repaired, it cost the owners an hundred pounds for her repairs; for the recruiting of which loss more passengers were taken in, with which she was so pestered, that after she had got half way the second time, either the old sins of the owner and undertaker, or the new ones of the last passengers, raised such a storm as sent her back to London a second time, or to some other port in England. The storm is

reported to be one of the saddest that ever poor men were overtaken with, that yet escaped with their lives, since that wherein the apostle Paul suffered shipwreck ; of the same length for continuance, and like violence for danger. The pilot, or he that was to command the ship, being some days fastened to the vessel for fear of being washed overboard : and sometimes the company could scarce tell whether they were in the ship or in the sea ; being so much overraked with the waves. But at last, they were in mercy to some that were embarked with them driven into Portsmouth, with the lives of all the sailors and passengers ; but having spent their masts, their roundhouse and all the upper works beaten off, a sad spectacle of a weather beaten vessel, yet as a monument of divine goodness being drawn out of the depths and jaws of destruction : the said John Peirce, embarked with the rest, by all this tumbling backward and forwards, was at last forced to vomit up the sweet morsel which he had swallowed down ; so as the other adventurers prevailed with him to assign over the grand patent to the company, which he had taken in his own name : whereby their former patent was made quite void. But Anno 1629 they obtained another patent by the earl of Warwick and Sir Ferdinando Gorges' act, and a grant from the king for the confirmation thereof, to make them a corporation in as large and ample manner as is the Massachusetts.

It is probable, the foresaid ship being made unserviceable by the last disasters, the goods and passengers were sent to New England with Mr. William Peirce in another vessel called the Anne, which was said to arrive there in the middle of July, 1623, wherein came sundry passengers ; two of the principal of them were Mr. Timothy Hatherley and Mr. George Morton. The first meeting with a sore trial soon after his arrival, by the burning of his house, was so impoverished and discouraged thereby, that he returned for England the winter following, where, having recruited his estate, by the blessing of God upon him, he came again to New England some years after, where he lived a long time after, a profitable in-

strument of good both in church and commonwealth ; and a great support of another plantation in Plymouth colony called Scituate. The other, Mr. George Morton, continued but a while, yet was found always an unfeigned wellwisher, and according to his sphere and condition, a faithful promoter of the publick good, labouring always to still and silence the murmurings and complaints of some discontented spirits, by occasion of the difficulties of those new beginnings. But he fell asleep in the Lord, within a year after his first arrival, in June 1624, when it pleased the Lord to put a period to the days of his pilgrimage here. Towards the end of July aforesaid, came in also the other vessel, which the former had lost at sea, in which, as well as in the former, came over sundry considerable persons, who sought the welfare of the plantation. Among the rest, special notice was taken of Mr. John Jenny, a leading man, and of a publick spirit, that improved the interest both of his person and estate, to promote the concernments of the colony ; in which service he continued faithful unto the day of his death, which happened in the year 1644, leaving this testimony behind, that he walked with God, and served his generation. As for the rest of the passengers, when they came and saw in what a low condition they found their friends, they were diversly affected, according to their different humours : some relenting with pity toward their friends, while others were surprised with grief, foreseeing their own sufferings in the glass of their neighbours' sorrowful condition. In short, it fared with them in general as sometime it did with those that were rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem after the captivity, when some wept things were no better, while others rejoiced they were like to go so well. Yet was the glory of that temple, whose foundation was then laid, foretold by the prophet to be greater than that of the former temple, although it was a long time afore that prophecy came to be fulfilled, in the full extent thereof : " who hath despised the day of small things ? " so in a sense it happened with this colony of Plymouth, which was the foundation of the flourishing and prosperity that in following years was seen in the other colonies.

CHAP. XV.

The council established at Plymouth in the county of Devon, for the ordering the affairs of New England, and their proceedings with reference thereto.

LETTERS patent were, as is intimated before, granted by his majesty in the year 1606, for the limitation of Virginia, which did extend from the 34 to the 44 degree of north latitude, distinguished into two colonies, a first and a second, (which last, called New England, was first christened by Prince Charles, and was appropriated to the cities of Bristol, Exon, and town of Plymouth in the west parts of England.) The adventurers had liberty to take their choice for plantations, any where between the degrees of 38 and 44, provided one hundred miles distance was left between the two colonies aforesaid. Those that first adventured thither, whatever were the misfortunes, calamities, and hindrances, they met withal in their first enterprises of planting, were not so discouraged, as wholly to lay aside the design, finding at last much encouragement to go on therewith, by the prudent endeavours of Mr. Rocraft, Capt. Darmer, and others employed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, yet held it most convenient to strengthen themselves by a new grant from his royal majesty; and were the rather induced thereunto because they found those of Virginia had by two several patents settled their bounds, and excluded all from intermeddling with them, that were not free of their company, and had wholly altered the form of their government, from the first grounds laid for the managing the affairs of both colonies, leaving those of New England as desperates, and their business as abandoned. These considerations, together with the necessity of settling their own affairs and limits, distinct from theirs, made them at last rather to petition his majesty for the renewing their grant, because, whatsoever hopes they had of obtaining their desires, the rumour thereof was soon spread abroad; and the commodities of the place, both fish and trade, began to be so looked into, that they met with

many interruptions, before they could effect their purpose. Many desired, that all that coast might be made free, both to those of Virginia, as well as themselves. Others intended to bring the business into the Parliament, which about that time was to assemble, hoping to prove the same to be a monopoly, and much tending to hinder the common good. Upon these motions the adventurers were much questioned about it, before way could be made for a new patent. But both parties being heard by the Lords of the Council, and by the Parliament also, as Sir Ferdinando Gorges writes, in the description of New England published in his name, Anno 1658, the business was by them so ordered, that they were directed to proceed, and to have their grant agreeable to the liberty of the Virginia company, the form of their government only excepted. All parties not being satisfied herewith, it was heard another time before it was concluded : yea, after it had passed the seals, it was stopped upon new suggestions to the king, and by his majesty returned to the council to be settled ; by whom the former order was confirmed, the differences cleared, and they ordered to have their patent at last delivered to them, bearing date at Westminster, Nov. 3, 1620, as is recited in the beginning of that afterwards granted to the company of the Massachusetts. The substance of the said grand charter is set down in the thirty-first chapter of this history following. But those honourable persons to whom the said patent was made, having laid their foundation upon the royal grant, of so great and sovereign a prince, imagined it could never fail, and so cast their designs in the mould of a principality, or royal state, intending to build their edifice proportionable to their platform, after the mode of the realm, from whence the country had its first denomination. For they proposed to commit the management of their whole affairs to a general government, assisted by so many of the patentees as should be there resident upon the place, together with the officers of state, as Treasurer, Admiral, Master of the Ordnance, Marshal, with other persons of judgment and experience, as by the President and Council then

established, for the better governing those affairs, should be thought fit : resolving also, (because all men are wont most willingly to submit to those ordinances, constitutions, and orders, themselves have had an hand in the framing of,) the general laws whereby the state should have been governed, should be first framed, and agreed upon by the General Assembly of the states of those parts, both spiritual and temporal.

In prosecution of this purpose and intendment the council of Plymouth aforesaid, or some that acted their power, did in the year 1623, send over to New England some of the forementioned general officers ; for about the end of June 1623 arrived in New England Capt. Francis West, who was sent with a commission from the said council, to be Admiral of all the country, to restrain interlopers, and such as came either to fish or trade upon the coast, without license from them. In the end of August following,* arrived there Capt. Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando, sent from the council, as lieutenant-general over all New England, for preventing and reforming all such evils and abuses as had been complained of, to be committed by the fishermen and others, who not only without order and leave frequented those coasts, but when they were there, brought a reproach upon the nation, by their lewdness and wickedness among the savages, abusing their women openly, and teaching their people drunkenness, with other beastly demeanours : for the regulation of all which matters was the said general governour sent over, not without intent also to begin some new plantation, in some part of the Massachusetts Bay, for which end the said Capt. Gorges had a patent assigned him, for a place called Massachusick, on the northeast side of the said bay, containing thirty miles in length, and ten in breadth up into the main land. Capt. West aforesaid and Christopher Lovet, Esq. (who came over about the same time with intent to begin another plantation somewhere else, but without success,) with the governour of Plymouth colony for that time being, was appointed to be his council, yet granting him authority to choose such other as he should

* Middle of September. P. I. 141.

think fit. Divers of his friends, it seems, promising to send suitable supplies after him, but they withdrew when they understood how Sir Ferdinando was like to speed in the Parliament, where Sir Edward Cooke, the speaker at that time, (a great patron of the liberties of the people, and as great an enemy to all projectors,) endeavoured to have the whole design of the council of Plymouth condemned as a monopoly, and a breach of the liberties of the subject. The gentlemen on whom Capt. Gorges had his dependence for supplies, upon this occasion withholding their assistance, they who were personally engaged in the design were thereby made incapable of doing any thing to purpose, and so the whole business came to nothing. For after some troublesome agitations between Capt. Gorges and Mr. Weston, who was by him called to account for the ill managing his plantation at Weymouth, and for abusing his license from Sir Ferdinando for carrying over ordnance, (which matter was composed betwixt them by the wisdom of the governour of Plymouth,) the general governour, Capt. Robert Gorges, soon returned home, scarce having saluted the country in his government, nor continued much longer in it than Tully's vigilant consul, that had not leisure during his whole consulship, so much as once to take his sleep. For finding the place to answer neither his quality nor condition, nor the hopes he had conceived thereof, he had but small encouragement for longer abode in such a remote and desert land, not like in a long time to be inhabited. By this experiment of Capt. Robert Gorges, it appears how great a difference there is between the theoretical and practical part of an enterprise. The Utopian fancy of any projector, may easily in imagination frame a flourishing plantation, in such a country as was New England; but to the actual accomplishing thereof there is required a good number of resolved people, qualified with industry, experience, prudence, and estate, to carry on such a design to perfection, much of which were wanting in the present design.

It is said that one Mr. Morel came over with the said captain, who was to have had a superintendency over

other churches, but he did well in not opening his commission, till there appeared a subject matter to work upon. By this means the design of a royal state, that so many honourable persons had been long travailing with proved abortive: and the persons concerned therein not long after were in danger to have fallen into a contrary extreme, by as great an error; viz. in cantoning the whole country into so many petty lordships, and smaller divisions, that little or nothing for the future, could for a long time be effectually carried on, amongst so many pretenders to grants of lands, charters, and patents, for want of establishing an orderly government under which all the planters might have been united for the publick and general good. For after the Parliament in the year 1621 was broken up into some discontent, the king not being well pleased with the speeches of some particular persons, that seemed to trench further on his honour and safety, than he saw meet to give way unto; and all hope of alteration in the government of the church, expected by many, being thereby taken away, several of the discreeter sort, to avoid what they saw themselves obnoxious unto at home, made use of their friends to procure liberty from the council of Plymouth to settle some colony within their limits, which was granted; besides those of Mr. Robinson's church, which was first obtained in the west of England. And so far was the matter proceeded in, that within a short time after king James' death, a great number of people began to flock thither, insomuch that notice was so far taken thereof by the king's council, that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, (as himself relates,) who had been instrumental to draw over those that began the colonies of New Plymouth and the Massachusetts, was ordered to confer with such as were chiefly interested in the plantation of New England, to know whether they would wholly resign to his majesty and his council their patent, leaving the sole management of their publick affairs to them, with reservation of every man's right formerly granted, or whether they would stand to the said patent, and execute the business among themselves; and to have the said patent renewed,

with the reformation or addition of such things as should be found expedient. The gentlemen, to whom this proposition was made, were willing to submit all to his majesty's pleasure, yet desired that upon the resignation of their patent the whole might be divided among the patentees. This, as was said, happening about the year 1635, sundry parcels thereof that had been granted by mutual consent, were confirmed anew. By this occasion Sir William Alexander, (since earl of Sterling,) had a tract of land assigned him to the eastward from St. Croix to Pemaquid, on his account called Nova Scotia, to whom was added on some such account, Long Island, then called Mattanwake; or else he obtained it from the earl of Carlisle as is by many affirmed. Captain Mason obtained a grant for Naumkeag, about the year 1621, and the land between Naumkeag and Pascataqua, which he had confirmed in the year 1635, as is said. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in like manner, obtained afterwards a grant for all the land from Pascataqua to Saga de Hock, which was confirmed to him by a distinct charter about the year 1639, &c. But the other divisions not being perfected in king James' days, were never looked after, and new ones were made in the beginning of king Charles' reign; by whom were patents granted to several adventurers, which at that time presented themselves. And as some particular persons put in for their several grants, so did the merchants and other gentlemen belonging to some cities and towns, as of Shrewsbury, Dorchester, Plymouth, who obtained several grants for themselves, about the mouth and upper branches of Pascataqua river, who employed as their agent Mr. Thomson, Capt. Neale, Capt. Wiggon, and one Mr. Williams, with Mr. Samuel Maverick and others. And among the rest some knights, gentlemen, and merchants about Dorchester, by the advice of one Mr. White, an eminent preacher there, obtained a patent for all that part of New England that lies between three miles to the northward of Merrimack river, and three miles to the southward of Charles river, the seat of the Massachusetts colony; the affairs of which, principally intended for the subject of the following dis-

course, shall in what follows be more particularly and distinctly spoken unto in their place, after the affairs of Plymouth and the planting thereof are a little further laid open.

CHAP. XVI.

The addition of more assistants to the government of Plymouth colony, with some passages most remarkable there in the years 1624, 1625.

OF the people that came along with Capt. Robert Gorges, in hope of raising their fortunes by some new colony or plantation in New England, some returned back with their captain that brought them ; others went on to Virginia, either out of discontent and dislike of the country, or out of necessity for want of means to subsist longer therein : Plymouth people were not able to supply them, (having not enough for themselves.) After their own provisions were burnt up by a fire accidentally kindled by some roystering seamen, that were entertained in the common house, that belonged to the inhabitants, where their goods were lodged. It was strongly suspected, by a long firebrand, which was found in a shed at the end of the storehouse, by some that put out the fire, that it was done on purpose. However, those of Plymouth accounted themselves bound to acknowledge the goodness of God in preserving their own store of ammunition and provision from a dangerous fire, (whether casually or wilfully kindled.) With such difficulties as have been forementioned was the third year concluded, after the first settling of that plantation. That which happened as most remarkable in the following year, 1624, was, first, the addition of five assistants to their governor, Mr. Bradford, upon whose motion it was done. His judgment and prudence had now for the three years past, commended him to the highest place of rule amongst them, by the unanimous consent of all the people. But now he solemnly desired them to change the person, when they renewed their election, and to add more for help and counsel, and the better carrying on of publick affairs, using this plausible reason, that if it were

any honour or benefit, it was fit that others should be made partakers thereof, and if it were a burden, (as it was judged in Jotham's parable by all the trees, save the ambitious bramble,) it was but equal that others should help to bear it. This reason was found more cogent in the succeeding colonies, when several persons were ready at hand equally fitted for the government, where the governor was often changed, at least in two of them, till of latter times, in which the choice of the people hath always run in the same channel, pitching upon the same person so long, if not longer, than he was well able to stand under the weight and burden thereof. And indeed, though it is safe when there is a liberty reserved for a change in case, yet too frequent making use thereof, was never found advantageous to the subjects.

But as to the people of New Plymouth in their General Court of this year, they dealt very honourably with their governour, in that having yoked five men besides himself in the government, they gave him the advantage of the yoke, by a double voice, on the casting vote. And with that number of assistants they rested contented till the year 1633, when two more were added, which number since that time, was never exceeded in any of their elections.

That which, in the second place, was looked upon as remarkable, was the safe return of their agent Mr. Edward Winslow, who being employed for the colony in occasions of great weight, now arrived there in the beginning of this year, bringing with him considerable supplies for their spiritual good, as was thought at first, as well as for their temporal. For he brought over with him one Mr. Lyford, a minister of the gospel, upon the account of the adventurers at London, approved by them as an able minister, and willing to run the hazard of a wilderness life, to enjoy the liberty of his own judgment in matters of religion. When he came first over he was received with great joy and applause, making a [profession] of more respect and humility than the people knew well how to understand. But upon a little further experience, finding his principles in matter of church

discipline not to suit so well with theirs, they took up a great displeasure against him, and could not be contented till they had shut their hands of him, alleging things against him of another nature, than difference of his judgment. For some that kept the records of their principal affairs, have left a very bad character of him, as of one that was not only very fickle and inconstant in his judgment about the things of religion, but as one that wanted soundness and uprightness in his practice and conversation. For at his first receiving into the church, they say he blessed God for such an opportunity of liberty and freedom from his former disorderly walking, and sundry corruptions he had been entangled with, yet in short time after fell into acquaintance with Mr. Oldham, and was partner with him in all his (as those of Plymouth accounted them) seditious after-practices, growing both of them very perverse,* and drawing as many as they could into the same faction with them, though of the viler and looser sort, (a thing too common where faction, either in church or state doth much prevail, witness the experience of the perilous times in these latter as well as in former days,) feeding themselves and others with vain hopes of what they should bring to pass in England by means of the adventurers, who since, as they of that place account, have proved adversaries to the plantation. It is said also, that they who were of the faction writ many private letters to England full of complaints against the colony and church of Plymouth, using great endeavors to turn things about to another form of government, at least to some considerable alteration therein. But the government outwitted them, finding a handsome way to get either their letters or copies of them, before the return of the ship in which they were to be sent; whereby both the principal actors, and all their confederates were easily convicted, as soon as ever they were called to an account. Whereupon sentence was passed upon them, more favourably as some report, than their fact deserved, yet such as required their departures out of the colony within a short time after, and not to return without leave. Yet at the next court of election, in the year 1625, Mr. Oldham returned without license, set on by others as was thought,

carrying it very badly withal, and giving too much vent to his unruly passions, which forced the court to commit him till he was tamer, and then they granted him an honourable passport through a military * * guard, toward the place where he was to take boat, yet using no worse word as he passed by, than bidding him amend his manners, which it is reported that afterwards he did, drawn thereunto by divine conviction in a sad storm; upon which he confessed his miscarriages, and was afterward permitted to come and go at his pleasure, and as his occasions led him, spending his time for the general in trading with the Indians, amongst whom afterwards he lost his life, which was one occasion of the Pequod war, as shall be declared afterwards.

As for Mr. Lyford, who was sent over for their minister, it is said, that after his dismissal from Plymouth, he never returned thither again; but took up his station first at Nantasket, whither some of his most charitable friends repaired with him, affording him the best encouragement they could for his support, during his abode with them. However, Mr. Lyford, finding the company to be but small, and unable to do much for him, and he unable to do any thing for himself, and seeing little hopes of the addition of more to them, removed soon after to Virginia, where he ended his days. Some that came over with him, that knew nothing of the wickedness he was guilty of in Ireland, out of too much charity judged of him much better than ever he deserved, both of him and of Mr. Oldham, and speaks in a manner quite contrary to what is recorded in New England's Memorial: and that his greatest error, and that which made him and the rest be looked upon as so great offenders amongst them, was, their antipathy against the way of the separation, wherein those of Plymouth had been trained up under Mr. Robinson. As to other things, some of their friends yet surviving do affirm, upon their own knowledge, that both the forenamed persons were looked upon as seemingly, at least, religious: and that the first occasion of the quarrel with them was, the baptizing of Mr. Hilton's child, who was not joined

to the church at Plymouth: which, if there were any tolerable ground that it should pass for a truth, the terms of wickedness wherewith their practices are branded in the Memorial of New England seem a little, if not much too harsh, for according to the old rule, "*de mortuis nil nisi bene*," speak well of the dead. The difference of men's principles and disadvantages of their natural temper (wherein they are apt much to be misled in the managing of their designs,) ought rather, when there is sincerity, to be imputed to the weakness of their virtues, than the wickedness of their vices. Whatever may be said this way about the present difference amongst the planters of Plymouth colony, the sad effects of that storm were not so soon over, as the story of the things said or done was told. A small tempest may hazard the loss of a weak vessel, as an inconsiderable distemper may much endanger the welfare of a crazy body. For it seems sundry of the adventurers, more studious of their profit than the advancing of the religion of the separation, were pretty stiffly engaged in the business; and from that time ever after withdrew their supplies, leaving the plantation to shift for itself, and stand or fall as it could. Yet this was their comfort, that when man forsook them, God took them up, succeeding their after endeavours with his blessing in such wise, that they were in some measure able to subsist of themselves; especially for that, within a while after, they began to be furnished with neat cattle, the first brood of which was brought to Plymouth by Mr. Winslow, in the year 1624.

In the year following, viz. 1625, they fell into a way of trading with the Indians more eastward, about the parts of Kennebeck; being provided of so much corn by their own industry at home, that they were able, to their no small advantage, to lend or send rather to those in other parts, who by reason of the coldness of the country used not to plant any for themselves. For what was done this year, with reference to Kennebeck, proved an inlet to a further trade that way, which was found very beneficial to the plantation afterwards.

One other passage of Providence is here also taken

notice of, by the inhabitants of Plymouth, Anno 1625 ; a very remarkable one. The adventurers, having left this their new colony to subsist of itself, and trade up and down the world, before it was well able at home to stand alone, did notwithstanding send two ships upon a fishing design upon the coast that year. In the lesser of them was sent home by the plantation to the merchants, the adventurers, a good quantity of beaver and other furs, to make payment for a parcel of goods sent them before, upon extreme rates ; but the said vessel, though in company of the other that was bigger, all the way over, and shot deep into the English channel, yet was then surprised by a Turk's man of war, and carried into Sallee, where the said furs were sold for a groat a piece, which was as much too cheap, as the adventurers' goods, by which they were produced, were thought by the purchasers to be too dear ; the master and his men being made slaves into the bargain, which both adventurers and planters had reason much to bewail.

In the bigger of the said ships was Capt. Miles Standish sent over as agent for the plantation, to make an end of some matters of difference yet depending betwixt them and the merchants of London, their correspondents, as also to promote some business with the honourable council of New England ; both which, notwithstanding the difficulty he met withal, relating to those occasions by reason of the pestilence then rife at London, were happily accomplished by him, so far as he left things in a hopeful way of composition with the one, and a promise of all helpfulness and favour from the other. By this turn of Providence the common opinion of Providence is confuted, of men's venturing their persons where they venture their estates. Had Capt. Standish so done, he had been carried to a wrong port, from which he had certainly made a bad return for their advantage that sent him out, as well as his own ; for his goods were sent home in the small vessel, taken by the men of Sallee, (where the beaver skins were sold but for a groat apiece,) but he wisely embarked himself for greater safety in the bigger vessel, and so arrived in safety at his desired port.

CHAP. XVII.

Affairs in the colony of New Plymouth, political and ecclesiastical, during the second lustre of years, viz. from March 26, 1626, to March 26, 1631.

THE first year of this second lustre was ushered in to the church of New Plymouth with the doleful news of the death of Mr. John Robinson, their faithful and beloved pastor, about the fiftieth year of his age, who with the rest of the church was left behind at Leyden, when these transported themselves into America; which was yet made more grievous by the report of the loss of some of their other friends and relations, swept away by the raging pestilence aforesaid: which happening together with the forementioned losses suffered by their friends, much increased the sorrow of their hearts; so that it turned their joy which the safe arrival of their agent, Capt. Standish, called for, into much heaviness. They having thereby the experience of the apostle's words verified upon them, sorrowing most of all for that they must now conclude they should see his face no more. For before the arrival of these sad tidings, they were not without all hope of seeing his face in New England, notwithstanding the many obstructions laid in the way, by some ill affected persons as they conceived. He was, as it seemed, highly respected of his people, (now dispersed into two companies, further asunder than was Dothan and Hebron,) as they were also of him. That which was the principal remora that detained him with the rest in Holland is not mentioned by any of his friends here, yet may it easily be supposed, viz. the sad difficulties, and sore trials, that his friends in New England had hitherto been encountered withal; so as those that were here could not seriously advise him and the rest to follow them, till things were brought to some better settlement in this their new plantation, together with some back friends that did all they could to obstruct his coming over. The temptations of a wilderness, though not invincible, yet may be very hard to overcome; witness the experience of Israel

of old, who were only to pass through it, and not first plant it, as were those here. The small hopes these had of their pastor's coming over to them, being heretofore revived by the new approach of the shipping every spring, possibly made them more slow in seeking out for another supply, as also more difficult in their choice of any other. But these hopes being now quite extinct, they found it no easy matter to pitch upon a meet person at so great a distance: nor was it easy to have obtained him whom they might have chosen, and therefore were they constrained to live without the supply of that office, making good use of the abilities of their ruling elder, Mr. Brewster, who was qualified both to rule well, and also to labour in the word and doctrine, although he could never be persuaded to take upon him the pastoral office, for the administration of the sacraments, &c. In this way they continued till the year 1629, when one Mr. Ralph Smith, who came over into the Massachusetts, and finding no people there that stood in any need of his labours, he was easily persuaded to remove to Plymouth; him they called to exercise the office of a pastor, more induced thereunto possibly by his approving the rigid way of the separation principles, than any fitness for the office he undertook; being much overmatched by him that he was joined with in the presbytery, both in the point of discretion to rule, and aptness to teach, so as through many infirmities, being found unable to discharge the trust committed to him with any competent satisfaction, he was forced soon after to lay it down. Many times it is found that a total vacancy of an office is easier to be borne, than an under-performance thereof. However those of Plymouth comforted themselves, that they had the honour to set an example for others to imitate, and lay the foundation for those that came after, to build upon—scil. to raise up the tabernacle of David in those days of the earth, not that was fallen down, but that which was never set up there before, that this last residue of the Gentiles in America, might seek after God, at least have an opportunity to turn unto him, before their times should be fulfilled. And at this

day the hopefullest company of christian Indians do live within the bounds of Plymouth Colony.

But to return to the state of the civil affairs of this our new plantation: the first part of this lustre being thus run out without any considerable matter acted in the plantation, the following or second year put them upon some further attempts for setting things in a way of better subsistence. For in the first place Mr. Isaac Allerton was sent to England to make a final issue, by composition or otherwise, of the matter depending there between the adventurers and the plantation, according to what had been the year before begun by Capt. Standish: accordingly the said Allerton returned in the usual season of the following year, when he dispatched the affair he was imployed in according to expectation. But for matters at home among themselves, in the said year 1627, in the first place they apprehended a necessity of granting a larger distribution of land, than ever yet they had done: for it seems hitherto they had allowed to each person but one acre for his propriety, besides his homestead, or garden plot, that they might the better keep together, for more safety and defence, and better improvement of the general stock, therein following the prudent example of the conquering Romans in their first beginnings, when every man contented himself with two acres of land, or as much ground as he could till in one day; thence it came to pass with them, that the word Jugerum was used to signify the quantity of an acre with us, i. e. so much as a yoke of oxen did usually eare (from the Latin *arare*) in one day. And amongst them he was looked at, as a dangerous person, that did aspire to more than seven such acres: the reason of which division among the Romans seems rather to be taken from the good quality of the soil, than the greatness or quantity of the portion, it being more than probable that seven acres of their land well improved would bring forth more good grain, than four times that number in or about Patuxet, now called Plymouth. But to be short, our friends in this their second distribution did arise but to twenty acres a man, i. e. five acres in breadth at the water side, and four in breadth up-

wards toward the main land. Resolving to keep such a mean in the division of their lands, as should not hinder the growth of the plantation by the accession of others, to be added to their number, which example and practice it had been well for New England it had been longer followed ; for then probably, though they had had fewer plantations, those which they had would have more easily been defended against the barbarous assaults of their savage and cruel enemies.

During this time the painful and diligent labour of this poor people is not to be forgotten, who all this while were forced to pound their corn in mortars, not having ability in their hands to erect other engines to grind, by the help either of the winds or water, as since hath been commonly obtained.

This year also happened a memorable accident (recorded by the inhabitants themselves) of a ship with many passengers bound for Virginia, who having lost themselves at sea, (either through the insufficiency, or bodily inability of the master and his men, or numbers of the passengers, the scurvy having strangely infected the bodies or minds of the whole company,) did in the night stumble over the shoals of Cape Cod, and the next day were forced over a sandy bar that lay at the mouth of a small harbour in Merrimack Bay, by which means their lives were all preserved. For news thereof being brought to the governour of Plymouth, he afforded them assistance to repair their vessel, but for want of good mooring, she was forced ashore, where at last she laid her bones ; the company being all courteously entertained by the inhabitants, till they could get themselves transported to their intended port, all but some that remained as monuments of special mercy in the country, where they had been so eminently delivered.

This year (1627) likewise began an intercourse of trade between our friends of New Plymouth, and a plantation of the Dutch, that had a little before settled themselves upon Hudson's river, Mr. Isaac De Rosier, the Dutch Secretary, being sent to congratulate the English at Plymouth in their enterprise, desiring a mutual cor-

respondency, in way of traffick and good neighbourhood, upon account of the propinquity of their native soil and long continued friendship between the two nations. This overture was courteously accepted, by the governour and people of New Plymouth, and was the foundation of an advantageous trade that in following years was carried on between the English in these parts, and the said plantation of the Dutch, to their mutual benefit. But whatever were the honey in the mouth of that beast of trade, there was a deadly sting in the tail. For it is said, they first brought our people to the knowledge of *Wampampeg*; and the acquaintance therewith occasioned the Indians of these parts to learn the skill to make it, by which, as by the exchange of money, they purchased store of artillery, both from the English, Dutch, and French, which hath proved a fatal business to those that were concerned in it. It seems the trade thereof was at first by strict proclamation prohibited by the king. “Sed quid non mortalia pectora cogis? Auri sacra fames!” “The love of money is the root of all evil.” No banks will keep out the swelling sea of their exorbitant desire, that make haste to be rich, which is ready to drown men’s bodies as well as souls in perdition, that are resolved so to be, right or wrong. For the remaining years of this second lustre, little else is kept in mind, by any of the inhabitants, worth the communicating to posterity, save the death of some principal men that had borne a deep share in the difficulties and troubles of first settling the plantation; such as Mr. Richard Warren and others, who ended their pilgrimage here on earth; and after much labour and anxiety, both of body and mind, quietly fell asleep in the Lord. Foundation and corner stones, though buried, and lying low under ground, and so out of sight, ought not to be out of mind; seeing they support and bear up the weight of the whole building. “The memory of the just shall be blessed.”

During all this lustre also the people of Plymouth held the same course in their elections; nor did they make any alteration till the year 1633, when Mr. Edward Winslow was first chosen governour.

But for as much, as about the beginning of this lustre, at least before it was half run out, the Massachusetts bay was begun to be planted ; so that after 1628 the history of the affairs of New England is to be turned into that channel ; we must in what follows look a little back, till we come to the springhead of that stream, and take notice of every turn of Providence that helped to raise or increase that broad river with streams ; of which more in the next and following chapters.

About September, 1630, was one Billington executed at Plymouth for murder. When the world was first peopled, and but one family to do that, there was yet too many to live peaceably together ; so when this wilderness began first to be peopled by the English, when there was but one poor town, another Cain was found therein, who maliciously slew his neighbour in the field, as he accidentally met him, as himself was going to shoot deer. The poor fellow perceiving the intent of this Billington, his mortal enemy, sheltered himself behind trees as well as he could for a while ; but the other not being so ill a marksman as to miss his aim, made a shot at him, and struck him on the shoulder, with which he died soon after. The murderer expected that either for want of power to execute for capital offences, or for want of people to increase the plantation, he should have his life spared ; but justice otherwise determined, and rewarded him, the first murderer of his neighbour there, with the deserved punishment of death, for a warning to others.

CHAP. XVIII.

The discovery and first planting of the Massachusetts.

SEVERAL mariners, and several persons skilled in navigation, (whether employed by others in a way of fishing and trading, or to satisfy their own humours, in making further and more exact discoveries of the country, is not material,) had some years before looked down into the Massachusetts Bay. The inhabitants of New Plymouth had heard the fame thereof, and in the first

year after their arrival there, took an occasion to visit it, gaining some acquaintance with the natives of the place, in order to future traffick with them ; for which purpose something like an habitation was set up at Nantaskit, a place judged then most commodious for such an end. There Mr. Roger Conant, with some few others, after Mr. Lyford and Mr. Oldham, were (for some offence, real or supposed) discharged for having any thing more to do at Plymouth, found a place of retirement and reception for themselves and families, for the space of a year and some few months, till a door was opened for them at Cape Anne, a place on the other side of the bay, (more convenient for those that belong to the tribe of Zebulon, than for those that chose to dwell in the tents of Issachar,) whither they removed about the year 1625. After they had made another short trial there, of about a year's continuance, they removed a third time a little lower towards the bottom of the bay, being invited by the accommodations which they either saw or hoped to find on the other side of a creek near by, called Naumkeag, which afforded a considerable quantity of planting land near adjoining thereto. Here they took up their station upon a pleasant and fruitful neck of land, invironed with an arm of the sea on each side, in either of which vessels and ships of good burthen might safely anchor. In this place, (soon after by a minister that came with a company of honest planters,) called Salem, from that in Psal. lxxvi. 2. was laid the first foundation on which the next colonies were built. The occasion which led them to plant here, shall be mentioned afterwards. For the better carrying on the story of which, mention must in the first place be made of what was doing on the other side of the bay, towards Plymouth, by a company of rude people there, left by one Capt. Wollaston, called Mount Wollaston, from his name that first possessed it; but since, it is by the inhabitants, after it arose to the perfection of a township or village, called Braintree. This captain, not taking notice of the great estate and whole stock of credit which Mr. Weston had not long before shipwrecked at a place near by, called Wessagus-

quasset, attempted in like manner to try his fortune in this fatal place, about the year 1625, yet had he this consideration, as not to venture all his own stock in one single bottom; for three or four more were embarked with him in the same design, who rather took New England in their way to make a trial, than to pitch their hopes ultimately thereon.

These brought with them a great many servants, with suitable provisions, and other requisites necessary to raise a plantation; with which they might have effected their purpose well enough, as they have done that came after, had it not been for one Morton, a master of misrule, that came along in company with the rest, that sometimes had been a pettifogger of Furnivall's inn, and possibly might bring some small adventure of his own, or other men's, with the rest. But after they had spent much labour, cost, and time in planting this place, and saw that it brought in nought but a little dear bought experience, the captain transports a great part of the servants to Virginia; and that place at the first sight he likes so well, that he writes back to Mr. Rasdale, his chief partner, to bring another part of them along with him, intending to put them off there, as he had done the rest, leaving one Filcher behind, as their lieutenant to govern the rest of the plantation, till they should take further order.

But in their absence, this Morton took the counsel of the wicked husbandmen about the vineyard in the parable: for making the company merry one night, he persuaded them to turn out Filcher, and keep possession for themselves, promising himself to be a partner with them, and telling them, that otherwise they were like all to be sold for slaves, as were the rest of their fellows, if ever Rasdale returned. This counsel was easy to be taken, as suiting well with the genius of young men, to eat, drink, and be merry, while the good things lasted, which was not long, by that course which was taken with them; more being flung away in some merry meetings, than with frugality would have maintained the whole company divers months. In fine, they improved what

goods they had, by trading with the Indians awhile, and spent it as merrily about a may-pole ; and, as if they had found a mine, or spring of plenty, called the place Merry Mount. “ Thus stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant ;” till it be found, that “ the dead are there, and her guests in the depths of hell.”

News of this school of profaneness opened at Merry Mount being brought to Mr. Endicott, the deputed governour of the Massachusetts, soon after his arrival, in the year 1628, he went to visit it, and made such reformation as his wisdom and zeal led him unto. After this, Morton, like the unjust steward in the gospel, to provide himself of a way of subsistence, after he was turned out of his office, began to comply with the Indians, being, as is reported by those of Plymouth, the first that taught them the use of guns, and furnished them with powder, shot, and brass plates, wherewith to make arrow heads ; not regarding what mischief he brewed for others in after time, provided he might drink a little of the sweet in the present time. But the trade was not to last long ; for upon a general complaint of all the inhabitants on either side, he was seized by force, and sent over to the council of New England, who, it is said, dealt more favourably with him than his wickedness deserved ; so as, sometime after, he found means to return into the country again, with a malicious purpose to do all the mischief he could to the colony, both by writing scurrilous pamphlets, and other evil practices, on which account he was divers times sent backward and forward over the sea, imprisoned, and otherwise punished, till at last he ended his wretched life in obscurity at Pascataqua, as may be more particularly declared afterwards. By this means Mr. Wollaston’s plantation came much what to the same conclusion as Mr. Weston’s ; so as the place, being now wholly deserted, fell into the hands of persons of another temper, by whom it is since improved to become the seat of an honest, thriving, and sober township. Thus, notwithstanding the many adventures which had hitherto been made, by sundry persons of estate and quality, for the discovery and improvement of this part

of America, called New England, nothing could as yet be settled by way of planting any colony upon the coast, with desirable success, save that of New Plymouth, discoursed of before. As for the rest of the plantations, they were, like the habitations of the foolish, as it is in Job, cursed before they had taken root.

In the year 1623, some merchants about Plymouth and the west of England, sent over Mr. David Tomson, a Scotchman, to begin a plantation about Pascataqua; but out of dislike, either of the place or his employers, he removed down into the Massachusetts Bay within a year after. There he possessed himself of a fruitful island, and a very desirable neck of land, since confirmed to him or his heirs by the Court of the Massachusetts, upon the surrender of all his other interest in New England, to which yet he could pretend no other title, than a promise, or a gift to be conferred on him, in a letter by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, or some other member of the Council of Plymouth.

But the vanishing of all the forementioned attempts did but make way for the settling the colony of the Massachusetts; and this was the occasion thereof. As some merchants from the west of England had a long time frequented the parts about Monhiggon, for the taking of fish, &c.; so did others, especially those of Dorchester, make the like attempt, upon the northern promontory of the Massachusetts bay, in probability first discovered by Capt. Smith, before, or in the year 1614, and by him named Tragabizanda, for the sake of a lady, from whom he received much favour while he was a prisoner amongst the Turks, by whom also the three small islands at the head of the cape were called the Three 'Turks' Heads. But neither of them glorying in these Mahometan titles, the promontory willingly exchanged its name for that of Cape Anne, imposed, as is said, by Capt. Mason, and which it retaineth to this day; in honour of our famous queen Anne, the royal consort of king James; and the three other islands are now known by other names.

Here did the foresaid merchants first erect stages

whereon to make their fish, and yearly sent their ships thither for that end, for some considerable time; until the fame of the plantation at New Plymouth, with the success thereof, was spread abroad through all the western parts of England so far, as that it began to revive the hopes of some of those merchants, who had not long before adventured their estates to promote so honourable a design, as was the planting and peopling this new world, although finding hitherto but small encouragement that way, they were ready to withdraw their hands.

On this consideration it was, that some merchants and other gentlemen about Dorchester did, about the year 1624, at the instigation of Mr. White, the famous preacher of that town, upon a common stock, together with those that were coming to make fish, send over sundry persons in order to the carrying on a plantation at Cape Anne; conceiving that planting on the land might go on equally with fishing on the sea, in those parts of America.

Mr. John Tylly and Mr. Thomas Gardener were employed as overseers of that whole business, the first with reference to the fishing, the other with respect to the planting on the main land, at least for one year's time; at the end of which Mr. White, with the rest of the adventurers, hearing of some religious and well affected persons, that were lately removed out of New Plymouth out of dislike of their principles of rigid separation, of which number Mr. Roger Conant was one, a religious, sober, and prudent gentleman, yet surviving about Salem till the year 1680, wherein he finished his pilgrimage, having a great hand in all these forementioned transactions, about Cape Anne, pitched upon him, the said Conant, for the managing and government of all their affairs at Cape Anne. The information he had of him, was from one Mr. Conant, a brother of his, and well known to Mr. White. And he was so well satisfied therein, that he engaged Mr. Humphry, the Treasurer of the joint adventurers, to write to him in their names, and to signify, that they had chosen him to be their governour in that place, and would commit unto

him the charge of all their affairs, as well fishing as planting. Together with him, likewise, they invited Mr. Lyford, lately dismissed from Plymouth, to be the minister of the place, and Mr. Oldham, also discharged on the like account from Plymouth, was invited to trade for them with the Indians. All these three at that time had their dwelling at Nantasket. Mr. Lyford accepted, and came along with Mr. Conant. Mr. Oldham liked better to stay where he was for a while, and trade for himself, and not become liable to give an account of his gain or loss; but after a year's experience, the adventurers, perceiving their design not like to answer their expectations, at least as to any present advantage, threw all up; yet were so civil to those that were employed under them, as to pay them all their wages, and offered to transport them back whence they came, if so they desired.

It must here be noted, that Mr. Roger Conant, on the foresaid occasion made the superintendant of their affairs, disliked the place, as much as the adventurers disliked the business; and therefore in the mean while had made some inquiry into a more commodious place near adjoining, on the other side of a creek, called Naumkeag, a little to the westward, where was much better encouragement as to the design of a plantation, than that which they had attempted upon before, at Cape Anne; secretly conceiving in his mind, that in following times, (as since is fallen out) it might prove a receptacle for such as upon the account of religion would be willing to begin a foreign plantation in this part of the world, of which he gave some intimation to his friends in England. Wherefore that reverend person, Mr. White, (under God one of the chief founders of the Massachusetts Colony in New England,) being grieved in his spirit that so good a work should be suffered to fall to the ground by the adventurers thus abruptly breaking off, did write to Mr. Conant, not so to desert his business; faithfully promising, that if himself with three others, (whom he knew to be honest and prudent men,) viz. John Woodberry, John Balch, and Peter Palfreys, employed by the adventurers,

would stay at Naumkeag, and give timely notice thereof, he would provide a patent for them, and likewise send them whatever they should write for, either men or provision, or goods wherewith to trade with the Indians. Answer was returned that they would all stay, on those terms, intreating that they might be encouraged accordingly; yet it seems, before they received any return according to their desires, the three last mentioned began to recoil, and repenting of their engagement to stay at Naumkeag, for fear of the Indians, and other inconveniences, resolved rather to go all to Virginia, especially because Mr. Lyford, their minister, upon a loving invitation, was thither bound. But Mr. Conant, as one inspired by some superiour instinct, though never so earnestly pressed to go along with them, peremptorily declared his mind to wait the providence of God in that place, where now they were, yea, though all the rest should forsake him; not doubting, as he said, but if they departed he should soon have more company. The other three, observing his confident resolution, at last concurred with him, and soon after sent back John Woodberry for England to procure necessaries for a plantation. But that God, who is ready to answer his people before they call, as he had filled the heart of that good man, Mr. Conant, in New England with courage and resolution to abide fixed in his purpose, notwithstanding all opposition and persuasion he met with to the contrary, had also inclined the hearts of several others in England to be at work about the same design. For about this time the Council, established at Plymouth for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England, had by a deed indented under the common seal, bearing date March 19, 1627, bargained and sold unto some knights and gentlemen about Dorchester, viz. Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, knights; Thomas Southcoat, John Humphry, John Endicot, and Simon Whetcomb, Gent. that part of New England that lies between Merrimack and Charles River, in the bottom of the Massachusetts Bay. And not long after, by the means of Mr. White, the foresaid gentlemen were

brought into acquaintance with several other religious persons of like quality in and about London, such as Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Cradock, and Mr. Goffe, and Sir Richard Saltonstall, who being first associated to them, at last bought of them all their right and interest in New England aforesaid, and consulting together about settling some plantation in New England upon the account of religion, where such as were called Non-conformists might, with the favour and leave of the king, have a place of reception if they should transport themselves into America, there to enjoy the liberty of their own persuasion in matters of worship and church discipline, without disturbance of the peace of the kingdom, and without offence to others, not like minded with themselves, did at the last resolve, with one joint consent, to petition the king's majesty to confirm unto the forenamed and their associates, by a new grant, or patent, the tract of land in America forementioned, which was accordingly obtained.

Soon after, the company having chosen Mr. Cradock governour, and Mr. Goffe deputy governour, with several others for assistants, sent over Mr. Endicot, scil. in the year 1628, to carry on the plantation of the Dorchester agents at Naumkeag, or Salem, and make way for the settling of another colony in the Massachusetts. He was fully instructed with power from the company to order all affairs in the name of the patentees, as their agent, until themselves should come over, which was at that time intended, but could not be accomplished till the year 1630. With Mr. Endicot, in the year 1628, came Mr. Gotte, Mr. Brakenberry, Mr. Davenport, and others, who being added to Capt. Traske, and John Woodberry, (that was before this time returned with a comfortable answer to them that sent him over,) went on comfortably together to make preparation for the new colony, that were coming over; the late controversy that had been agitated with too much animosity betwixt the forementioned Dorchester planters, and their new agent Mr. Endicot and his company, then sent over, being by the prudent moderation of Mr. Conant, agent before for the Dor-

chester merchants, quietly composed ; that so *meum* and *tuum* that divide the world, should not disturb the peace of good christians, that came so far to provide a place, where to live together in christian amity and concord.

In the same year were sent over several servants upon the joint stock of the company, who arriving there in an uncultivated desert, for want of wholesome diet and convenient lodgings, were many of them seized with the scurvy and other distempers, which shortened many of their days, and prevented many of the rest from performing any great matter of labour that year, for advancing the work of the plantation. Yet was the good hand of God upon them, so far as that something was done, which tended to advantage ; nor was upon that account an evil report brought upon the place by any of them, so as to discourage others from coming after them.

During this whole lustre of years from 1625, there was little matter of moment acted in the Massachusetts, till the year 1629, after the obtaining of the patent ; the former years being spent in fishing and trading by the agents of the Dorchester merchants, and some others of the West Country.

In one of the fishing voyages about the year 1625, under the charge and command of one Mr. Hewes, employed by some of the West Country merchants, there arose a sharp contest between the said Hewes and the people of New Plymouth, about a fishing stage, built the year before, about Cape Anne by Plymouth men, but was now, in the absence of the builders, made use of by Mr. Hewes his company, which the other, under the conduct of Capt. Standish, very eagerly and peremptorily demanded : for the company of New Plymouth, having themselves obtained an useless patent for Cape Anne, about the year 1623, sent some of the ships which their adventurers employed to transport passengers over to them, to make fish there, for which end they had built a stage there, in the year 1624. The dispute grew to be very hot, and high words passed between them, which might have ended in blows, if not in blood and slaughter,

had not the prudence and consideration of Mr. Roger Conant, at that time there present, and Mr. Perise his interposition, that lay just by with his ship, timely prevented. For Mr. Hewes had barricadoed his company with hogsheads on the stagehead, while the demandants stood upon the land, and might easily have been cut off; but the ship's crew by advice promising them to help them build another, the difference was thereby ended. Capt. Standish had been bred a soldier in the Low Countries, and never entered the school of our Saviour Christ, or of John Baptist, his harbinger; or if he was ever there, had forgot his first lessons, to offer violence to no man, and to part with the cloak rather than needlessly contend for the coat, though taken away without order. A little chimney is soon fired; so was the Plymouth captain, a man of very little stature, yet of a very hot and angry temper. The fire of his passion soon kindled, and blown up into a flame by hot words, might easily have consumed all, had it not been seasonably quenched.

In transactions of this nature were the first three years spent, in making way for the planting of the Massachusetts.

CHAP. XIX.

Several planters transport themselves into New England. Ministers invited to join with them. The first plantation in the Massachusetts, called Salem.

Now those that first promoted the design in England, were not unmindful that this fair beginning being made, unless it were followed with proportionable endeavours for an orderly settlement of this, all would come to nothing, as the attempts of some others had done before; therefore were they very solicitous, not without all due preparation, to proceed in this solemn undertaking.

In the first place, therefore, they considered where to find two or three able ministers, to send over to them that or the next year; not doubting but if they could meet with any such, they should be sure not to fail of a

considerable number of serious and religious people, that would be willing to go over with them in order to a plantation, specially if there were any grounded hopes of a settled and orderly government, to direct, protect, and defend the people, and promote the cause of God and of religion amongst them, as well as their civil rights and liberties. Before that spring was over, they were informed of one Mr. Higginson, an eminent minister of Leicester, silenced for nonconformity, of whom they were probably assured that he might be obtained to make a beginning that way. Upon an address made unto him by Mr. Humphry and Mr. White, he looked at it as a call from God, and as Peter did the message from Cornelius, a motion which he could not withstand; so as within a few weeks after this intimation of theirs, himself with his whole family were ready to take their flight into this American wilderness; with whom also was sent Mr. Skelton, a minister of Lincolnshire, another nonconformist, as also a Mr. Bright, a godly minister, though not altogether of the same persuasion as to church discipline.

With these three ministers came over sundry honest and well affected people, in several ships that were employed to transport planters into New England, in the year 1629; all who arrived safe at Naumkeag, intending to settle a plantation there.

Besides the three forementioned ministers, came over one Mr. R. Smith, soon after called to supply the place of a teaching elder at Plymouth. The prospect of New England did at that time more resemble a wilderness, than a country whose fields were white unto the harvest, that needed labourers to be thrust thereinto.

The number of planters being at that time but few, and all resident at that one plantation, two of their four ministers were supernumerary.

Naumkeag at that time received the christian name of Salem. All that were present were ambitious to have an hand in the christening of this infant plantation; for some, that liked not such affected names, had provided another, but "*usus obtinuit*," &c. for ever since, custom hath imposed that name, by which it is like to be known

to after ages : the inhabitants being brought under the strong obligation, to live in love and peace one with another, as being the most expedient way to obtain the God of love and peace to be with them, as in a special manner he was, while Mr. Higginson continued amongst them, with Mr. Skelton. But of the four ministers that came hither this year, the plantation needing but two, that are forementioned, to take care of its instruction, one of them was called to be pastor of the church at New Plymouth, viz. Mr. R. Smith, as was said before, to whom another was afterward added for an assistant, viz. Mr. R. Williams, who arrived here about the year 1631 : an unhappy thing for them who had wanted the benefit, though not of a judge, yet of a teaching priest, near ten years, should after so long delay meet with so great a disappointment, as soon after they found by uncomfortable experience in them both. Concerning the fourth, viz. Mr. Bright, there is at this time little known, and therefore the less is to be said, although one who affected him never the better for his conformity, gives this character of him ; that he began to hew stones in the mountains wherewith to build, but when he saw all sorts of stones would not suit in the building, as he supposed, he, not unlike Jonah, fled from the presence of the Lord, and went down to Tarshish. The like character is as freely, by the same author, bestowed on another clergyman, called Mr. Blackstone, who on the like occasion, as he saith, betook himself to till the ground, wherein probably he was more skilled, or at least had a better faculty, than in the things pertaining to the house of God ; as if he had retained no symbol of his former profession but a canonical coat. Antiquity was always wont to distinguish persons and places by their garb or habit, whose authority and example cannot well be questioned by the skeptics and juniors of the present age. But indeed for any one to retain only the outward badge of his function, that never could pretend to any faculty therein, or exercise thereof, is, though no honour to himself, yet a dishonour and disparagement to the order, he would thereby challenge acquaintance with.

CHAP. XX.

Of the civil polity and form of government of the Massachusetts Company of New England by patent.

ORDER and government being as necessary to the uniting together, and upholding a civil society, as is the foundation or the studs to support and conjoin the parts of a building, therefore it cannot be supposed that the chief undertakers who had the honour to lay the foundation of this colony, were not aware of a necessity to provide for that in the first place, as may be seen by the form of government they are directed unto in his majesty's royal charter and patent, confirmed by the great seal of England; wherein the patentees with their associates, are declared to be a body politick incorporate together, and to hold [as] of the manor of East Greenwich, in free and common soccage, and not in capite, or knight's service, and are to be styled, The Governour and Company of New England, and by that name to plead and be impleaded upon all occasions. To the governour are to be added, a deputy governour and eighteen assistants, who with the rest of the company free of the corporation, have power to make orders and laws within themselves, for the good of the whole, not repugnant to the laws of England, and to correct and punish all offenders according to the said orders and laws, as is more at large described in the said charter. But this corporation or body of people being but then an embryo, was willingly subject to, and governed by those wholesome and known laws of the kingdom of England, acknowledging only its willing obedience to such rules and ordinances as were by the corporation agreed upon as necessary for the carrying on of their present affairs, and yearly sent over from England, while the charter remained, with the principal part of the patentees, in England. They empowered Mr. John Endicot, as was said before, one of their number, to manage the company, sent over thither, as agent, in the year 1628, and him they appointed their deputy governour in the year 1629, according to his best discretion,

with due observance of the English laws, or such instructions as they furnished him with, till the patent was brought over, 1630: the patentees themselves, most of them, coming along at that time therewith.

The principal duty for those two years, incumbent on the agent aforesaid or deputy governour, was to take care of the welfare of the company, to order the servants belonging to them, and to improve them in making preparation for the reception of the gentlemen, when they should come; the which were carefully minded by the said Mr. Endicot. And also some endeavours were used to promote the welfare of the plantation, so far as he was capable in the beginning of things, by laying some foundation of religion, as well as civil government, as may appear by the ensuing letter sent by him in the beginning of the year, viz. May 11, 1629 to Mr. Bradford, governour of New Plymouth, to obtain the help of one Mr. Fuller, a deacon of Mr. Robinson's church, skilled in the designs of the country, which those people that first came over in those two years were filled withal, and also well versed in the way of church discipline practised by Mr. Robinson's church; which letter was the foundation on which was raised all the future acquaintance, the Christian love and correspondency, that was ever after maintained betwixt their persons and respective colonies, in which are these words: "I am satisfied by Mr. Fuller touching your judgment of the outward form of God's worship. It is, as far as I can gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained, ever since the Lord revealed himself to me."

CHAP. XXI.

The affairs of religion in the Massachusetts Colony in New England, during the first lustre of years after the first attempt for the planting thereof; from the year 1625 to the year 1630.

It doth evidently appear by the premises, that what purses soever were improved, or what charges they were

at that first appeared, in laying the foundation of the Massachusetts Colony, the chiefest intentions and aims of those that managed the business were to promote religion, and if it might be, to propagate the gospel, in this dark corner of the world. Witness the industry and solicitousness of Mr. White of Dorchester in England, that first contrived the carrying on a plantation of sober and religious persons, together with a strange impression on the mind of Mr. Roger Conant, to pitch upon Naumkeag for that end, and his confidence and constancy, there to stay with intent to carry on the same, notwithstanding the many cross providences, that seemed at the first view to thwart that design : so as in the conclusion, it may truly be said in this, if in any other of like nature, the hand of the Lord hath done this, which therefore should be the more marvellous in the eyes of men.

In the beginning of that plantation at Cape Anne, they had the ministry of Mr. Lyford, that had been dismissed from Plymouth ; with whom came some others, out of dislike of the rigid principles of separation that were maintained there. After he went to Virginia, they were without, till Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton came over, who that they might foreslow no time in the matters of the house of God, they did like Abraham, (as soon as they were hither transported, and here safely arrived,) who applied himself to build an altar to God that had appeared to him, and brought him out of Ur of the Chaldees ; and so began in the first place to call upon the name of the Lord.

In like manner did those in the first place endeavour to set up some publick form of worship, that so coming thus far into a remote wilderness to enjoy the liberty of their consciences in matters of religion, and to plant and preach the gospel amongst a barbarous people, that never had heard the joyful sound before, they made as much expedition in the said work as well they could. For having had sufficient experience, and acquaintance one with another in the way, as they came over the sea, and a month or two after they were here planted, they resolved to enter into church fellowship together, setting a day

apart for that end; which was the 9th day of August, next after their arrival here. They had beforehand, in order thereunto, acquainted the present deputy governor with their purpose, and consulted one with another, about settling a reformed congregation, according to the rules of the gospel, as they apprehended, and the pattern of the best reformed churches, that they were acquainted with, it being their professed intention in this great and solemn undertaking, to go on therein as they should find direction from the word of God. Concerning the way and manner of their first covenanting together, and entering into church fellowship one with another, it doth not appear that these were, like those of New Plymouth, aforehand moulded into any order, or form of church government; but were honest minded men, studious of reformation, that only had disliked some things in the discipline and ceremonies of the church of England, but were not precisely fixed upon any particular order or form of government, but like *rasa tabula* fit to receive any impression, that could be delineated out of the word of God, or vouched to be according to the pattern in the mount, as they judged. Nor are their successors willing to own, that they received their platform of church order from those of New Plymouth; although there is no small appearance that in whole or part they did, (further than some wise men wish they had done,) by what is expressed in Mr. Endicot's letter, above inserted; or else good wits, as they use to say, did strangely jump very near together, into one and the same method and idea of church discipline. And it were well if Mr. Skelton, when he was left alone soon after by the death of Mr. Higginson, did not in some things not only imitate and equal, but strongly endeavour to go beyond that pattern of separation set up before them in Plymouth, in the pressing of some indifferent things, that savoured as much or more than they of Plymouth did, of the same spirit; as in that of enjoining all women to wear veils, under the penalty of noncommunion, urging the same as a matter of duty, and absolute necessity, as is by some reported, as well as in refusing communion with the church of England.

It is certainly known, that the old nonconformists, and good old puritans of queen Elizabeth and king James his time, did in many things not symbolize with the separatists, whose way and form of discipline was always disowned and disclaimed, yea publicly condemned by the writings of the learned nonconformists of that age, such as Mr. Robert Parker, Dr. Ames, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Hildersham, that *malleus Brownistarum*, as he used to be called, especially as to their notions about separation from the church of England as antichristian. The one endeavouring only a reformation of some corruptions, retained, or crept into the church, as they thought, either before or after its reformed state; the other, not content therewith, stood as stiffly to maintain a necessity of abrogating and disannulling their former church state, and begin all anew, as if things had been so far collapsed in the days of our fathers, that like a vessel once infected with the contagion of leprosy it must be broken in pieces, to be new cast and moulded, or else to be judged unclean, and unfit for the service of God. It is affirmed by some that had more reason to be best acquainted with the said Mr. Higginson, when he first went over thither, that Mr. Hildersham, upon their first removing, advised him and other ministers looking this way, to agree upon their form of church government, before they came away from England. The which counsel, if it had been attended, might have prevented some inconveniency that hath since fallen out, or at least have saved some of the succeeding ministers from the imputation of departing from their first principles, because they were not publicly professed and declared, when the foundation of their church order was here laid in the beginning of things.

But they had not as yet waded so far into the controversy of church discipline, as to be very positive in any of those points wherein the main hinge of the controversy lay between them and others; yet aiming, as near as well they could, to come up to the rules of the gospel, in the first settling of a church state;

and apprehending it necessary for those, who intended to be of the church, solemnly to enter into a covenant engagement one with another in the presence of God, to walk together before him according to the word of God, and then to ordain their ministers unto their several offices, to which they were by the election of the people designed, scil. Mr. Skelton to be their pastor, and Mr. Higginson to be their teacher. In order to the carrying on of that work, or preparation thereunto, the said Mr. Higginson, according as he was desired, drew up a confession of faith, and form of a church covenant, according to the scriptures; several copies whereof being written out, they publickly owned the same, on the day set apart for that work, a copy of which is retained at this day, by some that succeed in the same church. Further also, notice was given of their intended proceedings to the church at New Plymouth, that so they might have their approbation and concurrence, if not their direction and assistance in a matter of that nature, wherein themselves had been but little before exercised. There were at that time thirty persons joined together in that church covenant; for which end so many copies being prepared beforehand, it was publickly read in the assembly, and the persons concerned solemnly expressing their assent and consent thereunto, they immediately proceeded to ordain their ministers, as was said before. Mr. Bradford and others, as messengers of Plymouth church, were hindered by cross winds from being present in the former part of the day, but came time enough to give them the right hand of fellowship, wishing all prosperity and success to those hopeful beginnings, as they then accounted them, although in some points of church discipline Mr. Higginson's principles were a little discrepant from theirs of Plymouth. Those that were afterward admitted unto church fellowship, were with the confession of their faith required to enter into a like covenant engagement with the church, to walk according to the rules of the gospel, as to the substance, the same as at the first; but for the manner and cir-

cumstances, it was left to the wisdom and faithfulness of the elders, to be so ordered as was judged most conducing to the end, respect being by them always had to the liberty and ability of the person. The day appointed for this work, and which was solemnly kept in a way of fasting and prayer, was the 9th of August 1629, as was mentioned before, from which time to the 6th of August in the year following, that church and their officers lived peaceably together; but at that time Mr. Higginson, their teacher, being called off by an [un]expected stroke of death, Mr. Skelton was left alone, who, though he survived not long after, yet continued so long, as to see his church involved in some troubles, by adhering too strictly to his own notions, and could not but foresee more of the like nature approaching, which he could not prevent.

CHAP. XXII.

Transactions of the patentees at London after the patent was obtained; debates about carrying it over. Transportation of the patentees and many others in the year 1630.

Who were the principal actors, in laying the foundation of the Massachusetts colony, hath been declared already. After they were framed into a body politick by mutual agreement among themselves, and confirmed or rather so constituted by the royal charter; the first governour, chosen by the company, was Mr. Matthew Cradock, a prudent and wealthy citizen of London, ready to promote any design of publick utility, which if himself and all the rest engaged therein had not minded more than their own particular benefit, things of that nature would either never have been undertaken, or have been broken off in a manner as soon as they had been begun. The said Cradock was chosen and sworn in chancery March 23, 1628, and so were the rest also, de fide et obedientiâ jurati, viz. Mr. Thomas Goffe, sworn deputy governour to the said company; and Sir Richard Saltonstall, Capt. Ven,

Mr. John Humphry, Mr. Simon Whetcomb, Mr. Thomas Adams, Samuel Vassall, William Vassall, George Foxcroft, Richard Perry, and Thomas Hutchins, were sworn assistants: to whom were added Mr. Wright and Mr. John Browne, who were sworn April 6th, 1629, when also Mr. Harwood of London was sworn to the office of treasurer to the said company.* And Mr. †John Higginson, the silenced minister of Leicester, was accepted, on condition that he might be removed without scandal, and that the best amongst his people approved thereof, which it seems they did, and that not without the advice of Mr. Arthur Hildersham, the famous preacher of Ashby de la Zouch, who, though he was no way inclinable to the rigid separation, yet was very forward in this way to promote the planting of the gospel in America. Mr. Higginson, Mr. Samuel Skelton, and Mr. Francis Bright, were all at the same time entertained as ministers, for the planting of the Massachusetts, on the publick account, April 8, 1629, with this difference only, that Mr. Higginson having eight children to bring up, he had 10*l*. a year added for his stipend yearly, more than the other two. Mr. Ralph Smith was likewise at the same time proffered to be accommodated with his passage to New England, provided he would give under his hand, that he would not exercise the ministry, either in publick or private, without the approbation of the government established there, nor yet to disturb their proceedings, but to submit unto such orders as should there be established; whereby it appears how apprehensive the first founders of the Massachusetts were, of any that might become any occasion of disturbance by their rigid principles of separation, of which there was no small suspicion in the said Smith, as was found by experience soon after, as is hinted before.

It must not be forgotten, that this present undertaking being like to prove very chargeable and expensive, there were, beside the forementioned gentlemen that were chosen to be assistants, twenty or thirty others, who subscribed the sum of 1035*l*. to be as a common stock

* See Prince's Annals, i. p. 182. note. E.D.

† Francis. E.D.

to carry on the plantation; and June 17th, 1629, 745*l*. more was lent on the same accompt, by several other gentlemen, the most of which ventured but their 25*l*. a piece. Some few advanced 50*l*. as Mr. S. Vassall, Mr. Young, Mr. William Hubbard, Mr. Robert Crane, Mr. Wade, and many others; and two or three more, viz. Mr. Aldersly added 75*l*. Mr. S. Whetcomb 85*l*. the Governour 100*l*. From so small beginnings sprang up that hopeful plantation.

But forasmuch as the publick affairs of the intended colony were like to be but ill managed at so great a distance, as was between the Massachusetts and London, April 10, 1629, Mr. John Endicot, that went thither as agent the year before, was chosen as governour under the company in London, to whom was sent a commission that year into the Massachusetts, for him to preside in all publick affairs, for the year following, which was to begin when he should take his oath, which was framed by a committee, viz. Mr. Pelham, Mr. Nowel, Mr. Humphry, and Mr. Walgrave, and sent to be administered by Mr. Higginson, Mr. Skelton, Mr. Bright, Mr. Samuel Browne, Mr. J. Browne, and Mr. Sharpe. In case of all their absence, it was to be done by Abraham Palmer and Elias Stileman.

The foresaid six, with Mr. Graves, were to be as a council to Mr. Endicot, with two more, that were to be chosen by the old planters. If any of the forementioned should refuse, then was to be added three of the discreetest of the company, who were also to choose a deputy, to be joined with the governour, to assist him and the council, or supply the place in his absence, with a secretary and other officers, necessary for such a purpose. These had power to make laws and ordinances upon the place, according to patent, not contrary to the laws of England.

May 13, 1629. The second court of election was kept at London, when the old governour and deputy were chosen again, with the former assistants, with the addition only of two men, viz. Mr. Pecoock* and Mr. Coulson, to make up the number of eighteen, according

* Pecoock. *Prince*, i. 187.

to the order of the patent, two of the former being lately gone over to the plantation.

At the court of election it was agreed that every adventurer who had advanced 50*l*. should have two hundred acres of land allowed him; and that fifty acres a piece should be allowed them, that went over at their own charge. It seems the adventurers had an higher esteem of land in America at that time than since it ever reached unto, or else were much mistaken as to the nature of the soil; when an whole province might have since been purchased almost for such a sum, viz. at three pence and four pence an acre. But men must be allowed to guess as well as they can, at so great a distance. But at one of their next meetings, viz. May 27, 1629, a letter from Mr. Endicot, their agent in New England, was read in court, complaining of the great irregularity in trading of sundry persons with the Indians, contrary to the proclamation set out, Anno Dom. 1622, an evil timely enough foreseen, although it could never be prevented: whereupon it was agreed to petition the king and council for renewing the said proclamation; which was granted, with other beneficial clauses, by the Lord Keeper and Mr. Secretary Cooke.

By these and the like occasions, at one of their next meetings, July 28, 1629, there arose a debate about transferring the government to such as should inhabit upon the place, and not to continue it in subordination to the company there in London, for the inducing and encouraging persons of worth and quality to transplant themselves and families thither, and for other weighty reasons. The company then met were desired to set down their reasons in writing, pro and con, with the most considerable consequences depending thereon, that they might be maturely debated; which was accordingly done. And August 28, 1629, the deputy acquainted the court that several gentlemen, intending for New England, desired to know, whether the chief government with the patent should be settled in Old or New England, which occasioned a serious debate about the matter, so as, the meeting of the court being adjourned to the next day, it

was then, by erection of hands, fully decreed to be the general mind of the company, and their desire, that the government and patent of the plantation should be transferred to New England and settled there. Accordingly, an order to that end was soon drawn up and consented unto; in prosecution of which order, a court was appointed to be kept, Oct. 20, 1629, for the election of a new governour and deputy, that were willing to remove with their families, on the next occasion.

Mr. John Winthrop was at that time chosen governour, and Mr. J. Humphry deputy governour; but Mr. Humphry not being ready to attend the service so soon, Mr. Thomas Dudley was (the next spring) chosen in his room. At that time also assistants were chosen anew, fit for the present design, viz. Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Endicot, Mr. Nowel, Mr. William Vassall, Mr. Pynchon, Mr. Sharp, Mr. Rossiter, Mr. Goffe, Mr. Adams, Mr. Eaton, &c.

March 23 following, Mr. Dudley was chosen deputy governour, and sworn in the room of Mr. Humphry, at which time also were several assistants chosen, in the room of such as were not willing, (at least for the present not resolved,) to transport themselves and families into that new colony, scil. Mr. Coddington, Mr. Sharp, Mr. Simon Bradstreet, Sir Bryan Janson, and others. The said court was kept aboard the *Arbella** at South-Hampton; at which time, or soon after, was published a declaration, in the name of the governour and company, giving an account of their whole design; the principal scope whereof was to clear themselves from any suspicion of rigid separation, at that time not in the least thought upon or owned, much less was it purposed, or intended by any of the foresaid gentlemen. How far since that, they have been or are liable to the like aspersion, there may be occasion to speak more afterwards.

* So the MS. *uniformly*; and Prince adopts the same orthography, quoting Mass. Col. Records, MSS. as his authority. ED.

CHAP. XXIII.

The proceedings of the patentees at South-Hampton, when they took their leave of England. The solemn manner thereof.

THE principles which those gentlemen acted from, who first enterprised that great undertaking of transplanting themselves and their families into the remote deserts of America, hitherto seemed to be so strong, as to enable them to get over the most insuperable difficulties and obstructions that lay in the way. Yet when it came to the pinch and upshot of the trial, it appeared that what resolution soever they had taken up or put on, yet that they had not put off human and natural affection; "Naturam expellas," &c. Religion never makes men stoicks; nor is it to be conceived that natural relations should be rent one from another without the deepest sense of sorrow; such a kind of removal carrying along with it so great a resemblance of departure into another world.

That honourable and worthy gentleman, Mr. John Winthrop, the governour of the company, at a solemn feast amongst many friends a little before their last farewell, finding his bowels yearn within him, instead of drinking to them, by breaking into a flood of tears himself, set them all a weeping, with Paul's friends, while they thought of seeing the faces of each other no more, in the land of the living. Yet did not this put such a damp upon any of their spirits, as to think of breaking off their purpose so far carried on.

After they came to South-Hampton, the place appointed for taking ship, they judged it meet to declare to the world the ground of their removal, which here followeth. Whatever any of their successours may judge thereof, it is sufficient to discover what was then in the minds of those that removed from their dear native land. If there be found any sort of persons that since that time have imbibed other principles or opinions, it is more than the writer hereof was ever acquainted with the reason of. However, in those very words they did both beg

the prayers, and bespeak the charitable construction concerning their proceedings, of their Christian friends, whom they left behind. It is commonly said, that the declaration was drawn up by Mr. White, that famous minister of Dorchester, of whom there is oft mention made in this history ; if so, it had a reverend, learned, and holy man for its author, on which account a favourable acceptance thereof may be expected from any that shall vouchsafe to peruse the same.

The humble request of his Majesty's loyal subjects, the governour and company late gone for New England, to the rest of their brethren, in and of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND ; for the obtaining of their prayers, and the removal of suspicions and misconstructions of their intentions. *London, printed for John Bellamie, 1630. [4to.]*

REVEREND FATHERS AND BRETHREN ;

The general rumour of this solemn enterprise, wherein ourselves with others, through the Providence of the Almighty are engaged, as it may spare us the labour of imparting our occasion unto you, so it gives us the more encouragement to strengthen ourselves by the procurement of the prayers and blessings of the Lord's faithful servants. For which end we are bold to have recourse unto you, as those whom God hath placed nearest his throne of mercy ; which, as it affords you the more opportunity, so it imposeth the greater bond upon you to intercede for his people in all their straits. We beseech you, therefore, by the mercies of the Lord Jesus, to consider us as your brethren, standing in very great need of your help, and earnestly imploring it. And howsoever your charity may have met with some occasion of discouragement through the misreport of our intentions, or through the disaffection or indiscretion of some of us, or rather, amongst us, for we are not of those that dream of perfection in this world ; yet we desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals and body of our company, as those who esteem it our honour to call the church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother : and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes, ever acknowledg-

ing that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breasts. We leave it not, therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there ; but, blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body shall always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow shall ever betide her, and while we have breath sincerely desire and endeavour the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdom of Christ Jesus.

Be pleased, therefore, reverend fathers and brethren, to help forward this work now in hand ; which, if it prosper, you shall be the more glorious ; howsoever, your judgment is with the Lord, and your reward with your God. It is an usual and laudable exercise of your charity to commend to the prayers of your congregations the necessities and straits of your private neighbours. Do the like for a church springing out of your own bowels. We conceive much hope that this remembrance of us, if it be frequent and fervent, will be a most prosperous gale in our sails, and provide such a passage and welcome for us, from the God of the whole earth, as both we which shall find it, and yourselves with the rest of our friends who shall hear of it, shall be much enlarged to bring in such daily returns of thanksgivings, as the specialties of his providence and goodness may justly challenge at all our hands. You are not ignorant, that the Spirit of God stirred up the apostle Paul to make continual mention of the church of Philippi, (which was a colony from Rome ;) let the same spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind, that are the Lord's remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing, (who are a weak colony from yourselves,) making continual request for us to God in all your prayers.

What we intreat of you that are the ministers of God, that we also crave at the hands of all the rest of our brethren, that they would at no time forget us in their private solicitations at the throne of grace.

If any there be, who through want of clear intelligence

of our course, or tenderness of affection towards us, cannot conceive so much of our way as we could desire, we would intreat such not to despise us, nor to desert us in their prayers and affections; but to consider rather, that they are so much the more bound to express the bowels of their compassion towards us, remembering always that both nature and grace doth ever bind us to relieve and rescue, with our utmost and speediest power, such as are dear unto us, when we conceive them to be running uncomfortable hazards.

What goodness you shall extend to us, in this or any other Christian kindness, we, your brethren in Christ Jesus, shall labour to repay, in what duty we are or shall be able to perform; promising, so far as God shall enable us, to give him no rest on your behalfs, wishing our heads and hearts may be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably befall us.

And so commending you to the grace of God in Christ, we shall ever rest your assured friends and brethren,

JOHN WINTHROP, Gov.	RICH: SALTONSTALL,
CHARLES FINES,	ISAAC JOHNSON,
GEORGE PHILLIPS,	THO: DUDLEY,
&c.	WILLIAM CODDINGTON,
	&c.

From Yarmouth, aboard the Arbella,
April 7, 1630.

CHAP. XXIV.

The fleet set forth to sea for New England: their passage, and safe arrival there.

THINGS being thus ordered at Hampton, four of the principal ships, viz. the Arbella, a ship of three hundred and fifty tons, Capt. Milbourne being master, manned with fifty two seamen, and furnished with twenty eight pieces of ordnance; the Talbot, whereof was master Mr. Tho: Belcher; the Ambrose, whereof was master Mr. John

Low; and the Jewel, whereof was master Mr. Richard Harlston, having left their former harbour, were riding at the Cowes, March 29, 1630, being Easter Monday, and ready to sail: they were advised so to do by Mr. Cradock, (who was that morning aboard the Arbella,) the late governour, and owner of the two last ships, where, upon conference, it was so argued, in regard the rest of the fleet, viz. the Charles, the Mayflower, the William and Francis, the Hopewel, the Whale, the Success, and the Tryal, being at Hampton not then ready, and uncertain when they would, that these four ships should consort together, and take the first opportunity of wind and weather to sail. Accordingly, articles of consortship were drawn between the said captain and mariners; the Arbella to be the admiral, the Talbot vice-admiral, the Ambrose rear admiral. After this was done, Mr. Cradock took leave of his friends aboard the Arbella: then weighing anchor, about ten o'clock, on the 29th of March, they attempted to sail; but meeting with contrary winds, they made it the 12th of April before they could clear the channel; before which time the rest of the fleet came up with them. And on the 10th of April, while they were at a distance, they took them for Dunkirkers, and provided to fight them, and were much comforted to see how cheerful all the company were, as they were preparing for an expected engagement; not aman, woman, or child seeming to fear, though all were apprehensive of no small danger, if they had not mistaken their friends for enemies: for it had been told them, at the Isle of Wight, that ten ships of Dunkirk, with brass guns, were waiting for them, the least of which carried thirty ordnance a piece. But if their confidence had not, next under God, depended more on the courage, care, and diligence of the captain of the admiral, than in their own company's valour or skill, their hearts might soon have failed. But this tempest of fear being thus happily blown over, they took their course forward for the Massachusetts, where, on Saturday, June the 12th, the Arbella, admiral of the whole fleet, found her port to be very near, about two in the morning;

when, shooting off two pieces of ordnance, they sent their skiff aboard the *Lyon*, whereof was master Mr. William Peirse, which was some days arrived there before, though none of the present fleet that was now expected. According as the wind would bear, they stood in towards the harbour ; and by the assistance of some shallops that in the morning came aboard them, they passed through the narrow strait betwixt Baker's Island and another little island, and came to an anchor a little way within the said island. Mr. Peirse came presently aboard them, but returned to fetch Mr. Endicot, who came to them about two o'clock in the afternoon, bringing with him Mr. Skelton and Capt. Levit. The governour, with those of the assistants aboard the said admiral, with some other gentlemen and gentlewomen, returned with them that night to Naumkeag, by the English called Salem, as is noted before, where they supped, with a good venison pasty and good beer, (which probably was not their every day's commons ;) but most of them returned back to the ship that night, liking their supper better than the lodging which, at the time, could be provided on the sudden ; or else, that they might leave the same free for the gentlewomen that went ashore with them, who, like Noah's dove, finding sure footing on the firm land, returned no more to their ark, floating on the unstable waves. In the mean time, many of the rest of the people went ashore on the other side of the harbour, toward Cape Anne, where they were as well feasted, with strawberries, (with which, in those times, the woods were every where well furnished,) and it is like, as merry, as the gentlefolks at their venison pasty and strong beer ; those fruits affording both meat and drink, and peradventure physick also, to some that were inclining to scorbutick distempers.

The next morning, Masconomo with one of his men came aboard, being the sagamore, (which is, the lord proprietor) of that side of the country towards Cape Anne, to bid them welcome, staying with them all the day.

About two in the afternoon they descried the *Jewel*,

another ship belonging to the fleet; and manning out their skiff, they wafted them in as near the harbour as the wind and tide would suffer.

The next morning early, June 14, the admiral weighed anchor, and because the channel was narrow, and the winds against them, they warped her in within the inner harbour, where they came to an anchor; and in the afternoon most of the passengers went ashore.

On the Thursday after, June 17, the chief of the gentlemen, with the governour, travelled to the Massachusetts, to find out a place where to begin a plantation; but returned on the Saturday, taking Nantasket in their way, where they met the Mary and John, a ship that sailed from the West Country, which brought Mr. Rositer and Mr. Ludlow, two of the assistants, with several other passengers: who, missing of Salem, needed the help of the governour, and the rest of the assistants with him, to make the harbour, where they were set ashore, a Salem, or place of peace to them and the master, which afterward they did; the difference that had fallen out betwixt the master and the other gentlemen, being on that occasion composed.

July the 5th, the Mayflower and Whale arrived safe in the harbour of Charlestown; the passengers being all in health, but most of their cattle dead. If Jacob himself had been there, he could not have, with all his skill and care, prevented the over driving of cattle, shut up in the narrow room of those wooden walls, where the fierceness of the wind and waves would often fling, or throw them on heaps, to the mischieving and destroying [of] one another.

July the 2d, came in the Talbot, which had been sore visited with the small pox in her passage, and whereof fourteen died in the way. In one of them came Mr. Henry Winthrop, the governour's second son, accidentally left behind at the Isle of Wight, or Hampton, whither he went to provide further supply of provisions for the gentlemen in the Admiral. A sprightly and hopeful young gentlemen he was, who, though he escaped the danger of the main sea, yet was unhappily drowned in a small creek, not long after he came ashore, even the

very next day, July the 2d, after his landing, to the no small grief of his friends, and the rest of the company.

July the 3d, arrived the William and Francis, and two days after the Tryal and Charles ; on the 6th day came in the Success.

The Ambrose was brought into the harbour at Salem, before the governour and company returned from the Massachusetts. So as now, all the whole fleet being safely come to their port, they kept a publick day of thanksgiving, July the 8th, through all the plantations, to give thanks to Almighty God, for all his goodness, and wonderful works, which they had seen in their voyage.

On the 20th of August, arrived another ship in Charles-town harbour, called the Gift ; which ship, though she was twelve weeks at sea, yet lost but one passenger in her whole voyage.

There were no less than ten or eleven ships employed, to transport the governour and company, with the rest of the planters, at that time bound for New-England ; and some of them ships of good burthen, that carried over about two hundred passengers apiece ; who all, by the good providence of God, arrived safe at their desired port, before the 11th of July, 1630 ; and some of them about the middle of June. Yet many of them were, soon after their arrival, arrested with fatal distempers, which (they being never accustomed to such hardships as then they found) carried many of them off into the other world. It was a sad welcome to the poor planters, that after a long and tedious voyage by sea, they wanted house room, with other necessities of entertainment, when they came first ashore, which occasioned so many of their friends to drop away before their eyes ; none of them that were left knowing whose turn would be next. Yet were not the surviving discouraged from attending such services, as their undertaking necessarily required of them.

Amongst others, that were at that time visited with mortal sickness, the lady Arbella, the wife of Mr. Isaac Johnson, was one, who possibly had not taken the counsel of our Saviour, to sit down and consider what the cost would be, before she began to build. For, coming from a paradise of plenty and pleasure, which she enjoy-

ed in the family of a noble earldom, into a wilderness of wants, it proved too strong a temptation for her; so as the virtues of her mind were not able to stem the tide of those many adversities of her outward condition, which she, soon after her arrival, saw herself surrounded withal. For within a short time after, she ended her days at Salem, where she first landed; and was soon after solemnly interred, as the condition of those times would bear, leaving her husband (a worthy gentleman of note for piety and wisdom) a sorrowful mourner, and so overwhelmed in a flood of tears and grief, that about a month after, viz. September 30, 1630, carried him after her into another world, to the extreme loss of the whole plantation.

Of this number of ships that came this year for New England, and were filled with passengers of all occupations, skilled in all kind of faculties, needful for the planting of a new colony, some set forth from the west of England. But the greatest number came from about London, though South-Hampton was the rendezvous where they took ship; in the three biggest of which were brought the patentees, and persons of greatest quality, together with Mr. John Winthrop, the governour, that famous pattern of piety, wisdom, justice, and liberality, which advanced him so often to the place of government over the whole jurisdiction, by the annual choice of the people: and Mr. Thomas Dudley, a gentleman, who by reason of his experience, and travels abroad, as his other natural and acquired abilities qualified him in the next place, above others, for the chief place of rule and government; wherein, according to his just desert, he oft shared more than some others.

Besides the abovenamed, there came along with the same fleet several other gentlemen of note and quality, as Mr. Ludlow, Mr. William Pynchon, Mr. Simon Bradstreet, Mr. William Vassall, Mr. Sharp, and others; as likewise some eminent and noted ministers, as Mr. Wilson, (who had formerly been a minister of one of the parishes of Sudbury, in the county of Suffolk,) Mr. George Phillips, (who had been minister of Bocksted, in Essex,) with Mr. John Maverick, and Mr. Warham,

who had been ministers in the West Country. These were among the first adventurers that came over to New England to plant the wilderness, and lay a foundation for others, in after time, to build upon.

CHAP. XXV.

The first planting [of] the Massachusetts Bay with towns, after the arrival of the governour, and company that came along with him; and other occurrents that then fell out. 1630, 1631, 1632.

THE people that arrived at the Massachusetts in the fleet, Anno 1630, were not much unlike the family of Noah, at their first issuing out of the ark; and had, as it were, a new world to people; being uncertain where to make their beginning. Salem was already planted, and supplied with as many inhabitants as at that time it was well able to receive. Therefore, the governour, and most of the gentlemen that came along with him, having taken a view of the bottom of the Massachusetts Bay, and finding that there was accommodation enough for several towns, took the first opportunity of removing thither with their friends and followers; and at the first pitched down on the north side of Charles river, where they laid the foundation of the first township. But the chiefest part of the gentlemen made provision for another plantation on the neck of land on the south side of the said river, (which was after, on the account of Mr. Cotton, called Boston,) by erecting such small cottages, as might harbour them in the approaching winter, till they could build themselves more convenient dwellings another year. And accordingly, the governour and deputy governour with most of the assistants, removed their families thither about November; and being settled there for the present, they took further time for consideration, where to find a convenient place to make a fortified town, which then was their aim. Some scattering inhabitants had a few years before taken up their habitations on each side the said Charles river: some at a place called Mattapan, (since Dorchester,) situate on the south side of the Massachusetts Bay, three

or four miles from Boston, and faced on two sides with the sea. This place was at the same time seized by Mr. Ludlow, and his friends, with whom joined Mr. Maverick and Mr. Warham, as their ministers. Mr. Pyncheon and some others chose a place in the midway between Dorchester and Boston for their habitation; and the year after obtained Mr. Eliot, that came the same year, for their minister, and called the place Roxbury. Sir Richard Saltonstall settled his family and friends at a place higher up the north side of Charles river, with whom joined Mr. Phillips, as their minister, and called the place Watertown. The reason of the name was not left upon record, nor is it easy to find; most of the other plantations being well watered, though none of them planted on so large a fresh stream as that was.

Those who at first planted on each side of Charles river, at the bottom of the bay, made but one congregation for the present, unto whom Mr. Wilson was minister at the first. But he going to England the next spring, and not returning with his family until the year 1632, those of the north side called one Mr. James to be their pastor, and named their town, from the river it was seated upon, Charlestown: as those on the other side, being now become a distinct town of themselves, and retaining Mr. Wilson for their minister, afterward called their plantation Boston, with respect to Mr. Cotton, who came from a town in Linconshire so called, when he came into New England.

The whole company being thus, as it were, disposed into their winter quarters, they had the more leisure, (though, no doubt, in those their first beginnings they had all their heads full of business, and their hands full of work,) to consider of a convenient place for their fortified town.

The 6th of December following, the governour, and most of the assistants, with others, had a meeting at Roxbury; when they agreed to build it on the neck of land between Roxbury and Boston; and a committee was appointed, to consider of all things requisite thereunto. But the week after, the committee meeting again, upon further consideration concluded, that the former

place would not be convenient, for want of running water, and other reasons. On the 21st of December they met again at Watertown, where, upon view of a place a mile beneath the town, they pitched upon that as a place convenient for their purpose, and there agreed to build the fortified town; yet took time to consider further about it. Till that time, they had fair open weather, with only gentle frosts in the night; but soon after, the wind coming at north-west very sharp and cold, made them all betake themselves to the fireside, and contrive to keep themselves warm, till the winter was over. But in the spring, they were forward with the design again, and intended to carry it on amain. The governour had the frame of an house set up in the place where he first pitched his tent; and Mr. Dudley had not only framed but finished his house thereabouts, and removed himself and family thereinto before the next winter. But upon some other considerations, which at first came not into their minds, the governour took down his frame, and brought it to Boston, where he intended to take up his residence for the future; which was no small disappointment to the rest of the company that were minded to build there on the north side of the river, and accompanied with some little disgust, between the two chief gentlemen; but they were soon after satisfied in the grounds of each other's proceedings. The place wherein Mr. Dudley and others had built, was after called New-Town; who yet were without any settled minister, till Mr. Hooker came over in the year 1633. Mr. Winthrop, the governour, still remaining at Boston, which was like to be the place of chiefest commerce, he prepared his dwelling accordingly, and had liberty to attend the publick affairs of the country, which then needed the exerting of his authority, for the settling of things as well relating to the civil, as the ecclesiastical state of the country. For though the company that came over in the fleet, were all of one heart and mind, and aimed at one and the same end, to make and maintain a settled and orderly plantation, yet there wanted not secret enemies on the place, as well as some more open

further off, that laboured what they could, either to undermine their power, or obstruct their proceedings: as some also soon after were raised up from among themselves, who if not false brethren, yet acting upon false principles, occasioned much disturbance to the towns and churches of the whole plantation. The chief of the first sort were Thomas Morton, (of whom there hath been too much occasion to speak before,) and one Philip Ratcliffe, that had been employed there, the one by Mr. Weston, the other by Mr. Cradock, or some other gentlemen, to trade with the Indians; and being accustomed to a loose and dissolute kind of life, knew not how to bear restraint, and therefore, perceiving what government was like to be set up, and carried on in the Massachusetts, they set themselves, what they could, to oppose the authority that was like to be there established, and make disturbance: and therefore were they, as soon as ever the governour and assistants had any liberty to keep courts, called to an account; the one in the year 1630, the other in the year following. They were both sentenced to undergo imprisonment, as well as other severe punishments for their several misdemeanours, till they could be sent back to England, that the plantation here might be no longer pestered with them. Captain Brock, master of the ship called the Gift, (arrived here the 20th of August, and was to return the next month,) might have had the honour to carry one of them, viz. Morton, back into England; but he professed he was not gifted that way, nor his ship neither, for such a purpose, as not willing to trouble himself nor his country with such vagabonds, from which they had been happily freed for some years before.

The same summer, viz. 1630, arrived at Pascataqua one Capt. Neale, sent from Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others, in the bark or ship Warwick; sent, as was said, while the New English fleet lay at the Isle of Wight, to find out the great lake at the northward, and so to interrupt the trade of beaver. It was feared she had been taken by those of Dunkirk, with whom our nation at that time was at variance. But Providence so favouring,

she came with her passengers to Pascataqua in the end of that summer, 1630 ; of whose designs there may be occasion to speak more afterwards.

In this manner, was the remaining part of the summer and autumn spent ; in looking out convenient places where to bestow themselves, so as the winter came upon them before they were well aware : although it held off that year till the end of December, when it began in good earnest to bite their fingers' ends, with greater severity than ever the new planters had known in Europe ; of which three of the governour's servants had a very sensible demonstration on the 24th of December, meeting with the sharpest Christmas eve that they had felt before. However, they were fairly warned for the future to betake themselves to their winter quarters before that time of the year ; the necessity of which, others were taught by the sad calamity which befel one Richard Garn, and one Harwood, both counted godly, and of the congregation of Boston. They, with three or four more, would needs adventure toward Plymouth in a shallop, contrary to the advice of their friends. They set out on the 22d of December that winter, and came well to the point called Gurnett's nose, entering into Plymouth harbour : but then the wind so overblew at northwest, that they were put by the mouth of the harbour, driven from their anchor, and at last forced ashore at Cape Cod, fifty miles from the place they were bound to ; and were so frozen with the severity of the cold, and boisterousness of the waves, that many of them lost either their limbs or lives thereby. And those that escaped best, yet continued long under the surgeon's hands before they recovered the use of their hands and feet : notwithstanding they might say, as Paul at Malta, that the barbarians shewed them no small kindness at their first landing. But it was to be feared that they had not so good a call to run the hazard of a winter's voyage, in an unknown country. And the words of Paul himself might have been applied to them : that they should have hearkened to their friends, and not to have sailed from a good

harbour at Boston, to have gained that harm and loss to themselves and friends.

But thus were these poor people, for want of experience and judgment in things of such a nature, ready to expose themselves to many hazards in an unknown wilderness, and met with much hardship, some by fire, as others by water, in their first settlement, before they were well acquainted with the state of new plantations, and nature of the climate. Some suffered much damage by the burning of their hay-stacks, left in the meadows, to the starving of their cattle; as others had by burning their small cottages, either framed or covered with very combustible matter, to which they were not accustomed in their former dwellings; and so were taught, by many temptations and sufferings, to stoop to a wilderness condition, which they had freely chosen to themselves, for the quiet of their minds, and good of posterity. Many of those that were compelled to live long in tents, and lie upon, or too near, the cold and moist earth, before they could be provided of more convenient dwellings, were seized of the scurvy, of which many died about Boston and Charlestown. But it pleased God of his great mercy very seasonably, the 5th of February following, to send in Mr. William Peirse, in the ship *Lyon* of Bristol, of about two hundred tons, who (being acquainted with the nature of the country, and state of the people,) brought in store of juice of lemons, with the use of which many speedily recovered from their scorbutick distempers, as was observed for the most part, unless it were in such persons as had the said disease in their minds, by discontent, and lingering after their English diet; of all which scarce any were known ever to recover. And many, that out of dislike to the place, and for fear of death, would return back to their own country, either found that they sought to escape, in their way thither, or soon after they arrived there.

It went much the harder with this poor people, in their first beginnings, because of the scarcity of all sorts of grain that year in England; every bushel of wheat meal standing them in fourteen shillings, and every bushel of

peace in ten shillings, and not easy to be procured neither ; which made it the more excusable in them that at that time sold the Indian corn, which they brought from Virginia, at ten shillings per bushel. For at this time, the people of that country in general were, like the poor widow, brought to the last handful of meal in the barrel, before the said ship arrived, which made them improve part of the new supply in a solemn day of thanksgiving that spring.

Things thus happening in the plantations of New England, it carried the resemblance of a cloud of darkness to some, as of light to others ; which appeared by the return of some to England the next opportunity, with intent never to see New England again, as did Mr. Sharp and some others : while others returned only to fetch over their families, and the residue of their estates, as did Mr. Wilson, who with Mr. Coddington, that went from Boston, April the 1st, 1631, and arrived at London, April the 29th of the same month, having commended the congregation of Boston to the grace of God by fervent prayers when he took his leave of them, and to the care of Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Dudley, with other godly and able Christians in the time of his absence, for carrying on the worship of God on the Lord's day, by prophesying (as they called it in those times at Plymouth,) till his return. No doubt but these prayers were heard, as well for the protection and preservation of them that staid, as of them that were going to sea, both for themselves, and them that were going that way about the same time : as was found in several of the fleet that returned not till the spring, and were at that time mercifully preserved.

The Ambrose being new masted at Charlestown, had spent all her masts by a storm about Newfoundland, and was left as a wreck upon the sea in a perishing condition, had not Mr. Peirse in the Lyon, (with whom they consorted,) towed them home to Bristol. Three other ships of the fleet, viz. the Charles, the Success, and the Whale, were set upon by the Dunkirkers, near Plymouth in England, and after long fight, having lost many men,

and being much torn, (especially the Charles,) they gat safe into Plymouth at last.

But as some were earnestly striving by prayer, travels, and other endeavours, to promote the welfare of this colony of the Massachusetts, so were others found as active and busy to obstruct and hinder the progress thereof; stirred up no doubt by the same spirit which moved Amalek of old to set upon Israel in their rear, when they were weak and unable to defend themselves.

For about the 14th of June, 1631, a shallop from Pascataqua arrived at Boston, which brought news of a small English ship, by the which Capt. Neal, governour of Pascataqua, sent a packet of letters to the governour, directed to Sir Christopher Gardiner, which were opened, because they were sent to one that was their prisoner; and thereby it was understood that they came from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who claimed a great part of the bay of Massachusetts. In the same packet came another letter to Thomas Morton, sent prisoner before into England by order from thence. By that letter it was perceived likewise, that the writer of them had some secret design to recover his pretended right, and that he reposed much trust in Sir Christopher Gardiner, for that end. But the said Gardiner being now imprisoned at Boston, (of which more shall be said afterwards, chap. xxvi.) in order for his sending home for England, after Morton; the said letters were opened by authority of the country, being sent to them that were illwillers to the place. And Ratcliffe also being fallen under the same or worse condemnation, the colony was now at peace and quiet to attend their necessary occasions at home, leaving their three grand enemies to carry on their purposes (as they saw good) elsewhere. But it appeared in the issue, that no weapon formed against them, whom God hath a mind to preserve and bless, shall ever prosper and take place.

July the 6th of this year, 1631, a small ship, called the Plough, came into Nantasket; with a company of Familists, called the Husband and company, bound for Sagadahock, called by some the Plough-Patent. But not liking the place, they returned to Boston, and carrying

their vessel up towards Watertown, (a plantation for husbandmen principally,) they laid her bones there; but themselves soon after vanished away, and came to nothing.

October 22, 1631, came a letter from Capt. Wiggan of Pascataqua river, informing of a murder committed by an Indian sagamore and his company upon one Walter Bagnall, called Great Watt, and one I. P. that kept with him, at Richmond's Island. The Indians having killed the two men, burnt the house, and carried away the goods. He persuaded the governour to send twenty men presently after them to take revenge. But the governour, advising with the council, understood that Capt. Neal had sent after them, and having no boats fit for such an expedition, thought it best to sit still awhile.

It was commonly reported that the said Bagnall had been servant to one in the Bay, and the last three years had lived alone with one other in his company, at the said isle, where he had shewed himself a very wicked fellow, and had much wronged the Indians, who were now, by the just hand of God, let loose upon him. "He that gathereth riches, and not by right," (for he had gotten 300*l.* estate by such ways,) "is like a partridge that scrapeth eggs together and hatcheth them not; and in the end shall die a fool."

But these things being premised, it is in the next place to be considered, what troubles did arise among themselves. For the people at their first coming over hither, were not much unlike a stock of bees newly swarmed from their old hive, which are not oftentimes without much difficulty settled in their new one, and are very apt to be disturbed with every little occasion, and not easily quieted again, as may appear by what fell out in one of the first churches. For in the congregation settled at Watertown in the year 1630, under the charge of Mr. George Phillips, (an able and faithful minister of the gospel at Bocksted near Groton in Suffolk,) was no little trouble raised by Richard Browne, their ruling elder, (who was thought sometimes to overrule the church there,) a man of a violent disposition, and one of the separation in England, and by his natural temper fit for

their purpose. He had raised a great dust in the place, by the eager defending of a question (at that time needlessly started) about the truth of the present church of Rome : the said Browne stiffly maintained the truth of the said church. Sure it was not out of his charity to the Romish Christians, to provide them a place of safety to retreat unto, in case other churches should declare against them as a synagogue of Satan, rather than the spouse of Christ, (although the reformed churches did not use to rebaptize those that renounce the religion of Rome and embrace that of the reformation,) and so unchurch them : but the violence of some men's tempers makes them raise debates, when they do not justly offer themselves, and like millstones grind one another when they want other grist.

The governour wrote a letter to the congregation, directed to the pastor and brethren ; to advise them to take it into consideration, whether the said Browne was fit to be continued their elder or not. The congregation was much divided about him, upon that and some other errors, and both parties repaired to the governour for assistance, who promised to give them a meeting at Watertown, December 8, 1631, which accordingly he did, being accompanied with the deputy governour and others of the assistants, with the elder of the congregation of Boston. When they were assembled, the governour told them they might proceed either as magistrates, their assistance being formerly desired by them, or as members of a neighbour congregation ; in which respect they yielded to let the matters in controversy be declared ; when after much agitation they came to this conclusion, that their ruling elder was guilty of errors in judgment and conversation, on which account they could not communicate with him till they were reformed. Whereupon they agreed to seek God in a day of humiliation, and so by solemn writing, each party promised to reform what was amiss ; yet this agreement was not so well observed, but that afterward new stirs were raised in that town, but upon a civil and not ecclesiastical account. For in February following, those of Watertown made some op-

position against a levy that was to be raised upon them towards publick charges, of which their share was but 8%. which yet they stood so much upon their liberty, as to refuse the payment, because they took the government to be only like that of a mayor and aldermen, who have no power to make laws, or raise taxes, without the people. But being called before the governour and assistants, they were told that the government was rather in the nature of a parliament, in that the assistants were chosen by the people at a general court every year, when the people had free liberty to choose assistants and remove them, if need were, to consider and propound matters of that nature, or any matter of grievance, without being subject to question; with which they were not only fully satisfied, but convinced of their former error, which they publickly acknowledged.

Yet for all this did some further leaven of the former schism still continue at Watertown; so as they saw it necessary, in July following, to set the separatists a day, wherein to come in, or else to be liable to church censure. All persons submitted within the time, save one, who had so much stomach as not to yield till he was censured; soon after which he submitted himself.

During the infancy of the government, in these their weak beginnings, when they were both feeble and few in number, it pleased God, who hath the hearts of all men in his hand, to lay such a restraint on the heathen, (or else the false alarums, in September, 1632, that made such distraction, might have been to their destruction, if it had been a true one,) so that their chief sagamores both near by and more remote, made divers overtures of friendship with them, proffering some of them many kindnesses, which they know not well how to refuse, nor accept; not much unlike them that hold a wolf by the ears.

Amongst the rest, August 5, 1632, one of the great sachems of the Narragansets, (that most populous company of all the Indians in those parts,) called Mecumel, but afterwards Miantonimo, of whom there will be more occasion to speak in the year 1643, came down to Boston to make peace or a league with the English, either out

of fear or love. And while himself and his followers were at the sermon, three of them withdrew from the assembly; and being pinched with hunger, (for “*venter non habet aures,*”) broke into an English house in sermon time to get victuals. The sagamore, (an honest spirited fellow, as his after actions declared,) was hardly persuaded to order them any bodily punishment; but to prevent the shame of such attendants, forthwith sent them out of town, and followed himself not long after.

About the same time, came a company of eastern Indians, called Tarratines, and in the night assaulted the wigwam of the sagamore of Agawam. They were near an hundred in number, and they came with thirty canoes, (a small boat, made with the bark of birchen trees.) They slew seven men; and wounded John and James, two sagamores that lived about Boston; and carried others away captive, amongst whom one was the wife of the said James, which they sent again by the mediation of Mr. Shurd of Pemaquid, that used to trade with them, and sent word by him that they expected something in way of ransom. This sagamore of Agawam (as was usually said) had treacherously killed some of those Tarratine families, and therefore was the less pitied of the English that were informed thereof.

These are the principal occurrents that happened at the first settling of the plantation of the Massachusetts, wherein are briefly hinted the troubles they met withal upon the place. But Sir Christopher Gardiner, Thomas Morton, and Philip Ratcliffe, being sent back to England for several misdemeanours, endeavoured what they could to undermine the plantation of the Massachusetts, by preferring complaints against them to the king and council; being set on by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. Mason, which had begun plantations about Pascataqua, and aimed at the general government of New England, for their agent, Capt. Neale, as was said. Their petition was affirmed to contain many sheets of paper, wherein among some truth represented, were many false accusations laid to their charge; as if they intended rebellion, having cast off their allegiance, and that their ministers and people did

continually rail against the State, Church, and Bishops of England. But Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Humphry, and Mr. Cradock, the first governour of the company, being then in England, gave a full answer to all those bold allegations and accusations, the effect of which shall more particularly be declared in the following chapters.

Capt. Levet, about this time returning for England, died at sea; by which occasion some letters, sent from indiscreet persons, fell into the hands of them that had no good will for the plantation; and by that means clamours were raised against them, which furnished their enemies with matters of complaint against them, which their petitions were stuffed withal. Information hereof was brought by Mr. Trevore, that arrived February 22, 1633, who brought goods and passengers for the Massachusetts. Yet, notwithstanding all their endeavours, multitudes of passengers came over every year, in all the succeeding years of the two first lustres, scil. till 1640; when by the turn of times in England, great hopes of reformation possessed men's minds, that they need not travel so far for liberty of conscience, which they expected should be granted them where they were: which put a stop to the coming over of any more passengers to New England, and occasioned a great change of their affairs thereby.

CHAP. XXVI.

The first courts kept in the Massachusetts, after the coming over of the governour. The carrying on of their civil affairs, from the year 1630 to 1656, with the accusations against them before the King and council.

THE first court of assistants, after the arrival of the governour and patentees in the Massachusetts, was held at Charlestown, August 23, the same year, 1630; at which time orders were made concerning the planting of the colony, in the several plantations that soon began to be erected; as likewise for the regulating the wages of artificers, employed in buildings, &c. it being commonly found that men, gotten from under the reins of govern-

ment, are but like cattle without a fence, which are thereby apt to run wild, and grow unruly, without good laws.

September 7, 1630. At another session of the court, the governour and assistants considering the danger they might be exposed unto, in the midst of several nations of Indians, (in most of which they had little reason to put much confidence :) to prevent any possibility of arming such, as in future time might prove as goads in their eyes, and thorns in their sides, it was enacted to be 10*l*. fine for any that should permit an Indian the use of a gun, the first offence ; the second offence they were to be imprisoned and fined at discretion ; which it had been well if it had been observed. But all the foresight in the world will not prevent a mischief that is designed upon a place or people, as the fruit of their own folly, as in after time came to pass. And in some regard, it had been well such laws had never been made, unless they had been better observed.

At the next meeting of the court, some care was had about the more orderly settling of the civil government, for the preserving the liberty of the people, and preventing any entrenching thereon by the power of the rulers ; (it being feared, at least it was then supposed by some, that the waves of the sea are not more ready to overflow their banks, when driven by the wind and tide, than the minds of men, naturally carried with that of ambition, are to invade the rights and liberties of their brethren.) Therefore, to prevent all inconveniences of like nature possible to arise, October 19, 1630, at a general court of the whole company, it was with joint consent agreed, and by erection of hands declared, that the freemen of the company should choose the assistants, from among themselves ; and that the assistants should choose the governour and deputy, from among themselves ; and those so chosen should have power to make all laws, and choose officers to execute them : which order was not very long lived, for it remained in force only till the court of election, Anno 1632, when the election of the governour was ordered otherwise. The next thing most material, happening at this session,

was the addition of one hundred and seven persons to the number of the freemen, enough for a foundation.

The first court of election that happened in the Massachusetts was on May 18, 1631, when the former governour and deputy governour, viz. Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Dudley, were chosen again into the same place they had before. In the like manner did the choice proceed amongst the assistants, scil. to as many of them as were then found in the land of the living: some of them being, before that time came about, received into another world.

At the said court of election, for the explanation of the former order of October 19, it was ordered by the full consent of all the commons present, that once every year shall be a General Court, when the commons shall have power to nominate any one whom they desire, to be chosen assistant, and to remove any one or more that was before chosen in that place, as they should see occasion. And if the vote were not clear, it should be tried by the poll. And further, that the body of the commons might be preserved of good and honest men, it was ordered and agreed, that for time to come, no man be admitted to the freedom of the body politick, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same.

Within the compass of the year 1631, arrived not so many ships as did the year before, fraught with sundry passengers with their families, bringing along with them all sorts of cattle, for the storing of the country therewith, fit for the beginning of a new plantation; which with the blessing of heaven so increased, that within a few years the inhabitants were furnished with not only enough for themselves, but were able also to supply other places therewith. For many that wished well to the plantation were desirous to see how their friends liked, that went first. But in the third year, many ships with passengers arrived there; and sundry persons were this year added to the number of the freemen; the whole, within two or three years after, amounting to two hundred and seventy.

The General Court in the year 1632 happened on the 9th of May ; when it was ordered, that the governour, deputy governour, and the assistants, should be chosen by the whole court of governour, deputy, assistants, and freemen ; and that the governour should be chosen out of the assistants, to prevent any inconveniency in case it should be otherwise, as was found by experience not many years after.

At this time Mr. Winthrop was again, by the general consent of the people, called to the place of governour, and Mr. Dudley to that of deputy, as before, and the same assistants which were in the former year.

* Amongst those that came to New England in the year 1630, mention was made of one Sir Christopher Gardiner, being (as himself said) descended of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who was so great a persecutor of good protestants in queen Mary's days. He being a great traveller, received his first honour of knighthood at Jerusalem, being made knight of the sepulchre there, and very well became that title, being himself a mere whited sepulchre, as he soon discovered afterwards. He came into these parts in pretence of forsaking the world, and to live a private life in a godly course ; not unwilling to put himself upon any mean employment, and take any pains for his living, and sometimes offered himself to join to the church in sundry places. He brought over with him a servant or two, and a comely young woman, whom he called his cousin ; but it was suspected that (after the Italian manner) she was his concubine. He living at the Massachusetts, for some miscarriages there, for which he should have answered, fled away from authority, and got amongst the Indians, in the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. The government of the Massachusetts sent after him, but could not get him, and promised some reward to those that should find him. The Indians came to the governour of Plymouth, and told where he was, and asked if they might kill him. But the said governour told them, no, they should not kill him by no means ;

• This account of Gardiner, &c. to p. 152, is also in MORTON'S Memorial. See year 1632, p. 116—119. ed. 1721, 12mo. Bost. or p. 93—97. ed. 1772. 4to. Newport. Ep.

but if they could take him alive, and bring him to Plymouth, they should be paid for their pains. They said he had a gun, and a rapier, and he would kill them if they went about it; and the Massachusetts Indians said they might kill him. But the governour aforesaid told them, no, they should not kill him; but watch their opportunity, and take him; and so they did. For when they lighted on him by a river side, he got into a canoe to get from them; and when they came near him, whilst he presented his piece at them to keep them off, the stream carried the canoe against a rock, and threw both him and his piece and rapier into the water. Yet he got out, and having a little dagger by his side, they durst not close with him; but getting long poles, they soon beat his dagger out of his hand: so he was glad to yield, and they brought him to the governour at Plymouth. But his hands and arms were swelled very sore, with the blows the Indians had given him. But he used him kindly, and sent him to a lodging, where his arms were bathed and anointed, and he was quickly well again. And when the governour blamed the Indians for beating him so much, they said, they did but a little whip him with sticks. In his lodging, those that made his bed found a little notebook, that by accident had slipped out of his pocket, or some private place, in which was a memorial what day he was reconciled to the Pope and church of Rome, and in what university he took his scapula, and such and such a degree. It being brought to the governour of Plymouth, he kept it, and sent it to the governour of the Massachusetts, with word of his taking, who sent for him. But afterwards he was sent for England, and there showed his malice against the country; but God prevented him. Of which business it is thought meet here to insert a letter from Mr. Winthrop, governour of the Massachusetts, to Mr. Bradford, the governour of Plymouth, (in reference to this matter,) as also the copy of an order relating to the same, as followeth. And first of the letter:—

“SIR,

“Upon a petition exhibited by Sir Christopher Gard-

iner, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Capt. Mason, &c. against you and us, the cause was heard before the Lords of the Privy Council, and afterwards reported to the King; the success whereof makes it evident to all, that the Lord hath care of his people here. The passages are admirable, and too long to write. I heartily wish for an opportunity to impart them to you, being many sheets of paper. But the conclusion was, against all men's expectation, an order for our encouragement, and much blame and disgrace upon the adversaries; which calls for much thankfulness from us, all which we purpose (God willing) to express in a day of thanksgiving to our merciful God; (I doubt not but you will consider if it be not fit for you to join in it,) who, as he hath humbled us by his late correction, so he hath lifted us up, by an abundant rejoicing in our deliverance out of so desperate a danger; so as that which our enemies built their hopes upon, to ruin us by, he hath mercifully disposed to our great advantage, as I shall further acquaint you when occasion shall serve."

The copy of the order follows.

"At the court at Whitehall, January 19, 1632.

Sigillum Crescent.

Lord Privy Seal,	Mr. Trevers,
Earl of Dorset,	Mr. Vice-Chamberlain,
Lord Viscount Faulkland,	Mr. Secretary Cooke,
Lord Bishop of London,	Mr. Secretary Windebank.
Lord Cottington,	

"Whereas, his Majesty hath lately been informed of great distraction and much disorder in the plantations in the parts of America called New England, which if they be true and suffered to run on, would tend to the dishonour of this kingdom, and utter ruin of that plantation: for prevention whereof, and for the orderly settling of government, according to the intentions of those patents which have been granted by his Majesty, and from his late royal father king James, it hath pleased his Majesty that the Lords and others of his most honourable Privy Council should take the same into consideration. Their Lordships, in the first place, thought

fit to make a committee of this board to take examination of the matters informed ; which committee, having called divers of the principal adventurers in that plantation, and heard those that are complainants against them ; most of the things informed being denied, and resting to be proved, by parties that must be called from that place, which required a long expense of time ; and at present their Lordships finding they were upon despatch of men, victuals, and merchandise for that place, all which would be at a stand if the adventurers should have discouragement or take suspicion, that the state here had no good opinion of that plantation : their Lordships, not laying the fault or faults (if any be) of some particular men, upon the general government, or principal adventurers, which in due time is further to be inquired into, have thought fit in the mean time to declare, that the appearances were so fair, and hopes so great, that the country would prove both beneficial to this kingdom, and profitable to the particulars, as that the adventurers had cause to go on cheerfully with their undertakings, and rest assured, if things were carried as was pretended when the patents were granted, and accordingly as by the patent is appointed, his Majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but supply any thing further that might tend to the good government, prosperity, and comfort of his people there of that place," &c.

Upon the renewal of the same complaints, or other such like solicitations, there were other orders made by the Lords of the Privy Council, soon after. And as there was, some years before, cause given for the King's majesty to take the government of the plantation of Virginia into his own hands, the same was by some urged, and strongly endeavoured with reference to New England ; so as, in the year 1635,* an order was issued out for the patent of the Massachusetts to be brought to the council table, and a commission granted to several Lords of the Privy Council to regulate that as well as other foreign plantations in the year 1635, as shall be declared

* 1633. ED.

in its place : at present only to mention the order that was granted in the year 1633.

The Copy of an Order made at the Council Table, February 21, 1633, about the plantation in New England.

“Whereas, the Board is given to understand of the frequent transportation of great numbers of his Majesty’s subjects out of this kingdom, to the plantation of New England, amongst whom divers persons known to be ill affected, discontented not only with civil but ecclesiastical government here, are observed to resort thither; whereby such confusion and distraction is already grown there, especially in point of religion, as beside the ruin of the said plantation cannot but highly tend to the scandal both of church and state here : and whereas, it was informed in particular, that there are at this present, divers ships in the river of Thames, ready to set sail thither, freighted with passengers and provisions ; it is thought fit, and ordered, that stay should be forthwith made of the said ships, until further order from this Board : and the several masters and freighters of the same should attend the Board ; on Wednesday next in the afternoon, with a list of the passengers and provisions in each ship ; and that Mr. Cradock, a chief adventurer in that plantation, now present before the Board, should be required to cause the letters patents for the said plantations to be brought to this board.

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,	Lord Cottington,
Lord Archbishop of York,	Mr. Vice-Chamberlain,
Lord Privy Seal,	Mr. Secretary Cook,
Earl of Manchester,	Mr. Secretary Windebank.
Earl of Dorset,	Tho : Meantis.”

It seems Sir Christopher Gardiner, Thomas Morton, and Philip Ratcliffe, having been punished there for their misdemeanours, had petitioned to the king and council ; (being set on, as was affirmed, by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Capt. Mason, &c.) upon which, such of the company as were there in England, were called before the committee of the council, to whom they delivered an an-

swer in writing; upon the reading whereof it pleased God so to work with the lords, and after with the King's majesty, when the whole matter was reported to him by Sir Thomas Jermin, one of the council, (but not of the committee,) who yet had been present at the three days of hearing, and spake much in commendation of the governour, (both to the lords, and after to his Majesty,) that he said he would have them severely punished, who did abuse his governour and the plantation, that the defendants were dismissed with a favourable order for their encouragement, being assured from some of the council, that his majesty did not intend to impose the ceremonies of the church of England upon them; for that it was considered that it was the freedom from such things that made people come over to them. And it was credibly informed to the council, that this country would in time be very beneficial to England, for masts, cordage, pitch, &c. if the Sound should be debarred.

About this time, or in the year 1634, letters were brought into the country from one Mr. Leviston, a worthy minister in the north of Ireland, (himself being of the Scottish nation,) whereby he signified that there were many Christians in those parts resolved to go thither, if they might receive satisfaction concerning some questions and propositions which he sent over. Mr. Humphry, likewise, did that year, 1634, carry over into New England, certain propositions from some persons of good quality and estate, whereby they discovered their intentions to join with the people there, if they might receive satisfaction therein. The noise of such motions being carried to the lords of the committee for foreign plantations, caused them to take it into consideration as a matter of state; so that they sent out warrants, as was said before, to make stay of the ships bound to those parts. But upon petition of the ship masters, (alleging how beneficial that plantation would be to England, in regard of the trade of Newfoundland, which they took in their way homeward,) the ships were released, and no stop put unto them afterwards. Thus the tide of princes' favour is apt to ebb and flow, according to the disposal of his power, who hath the hearts of all in his hand.

And as concerning Mr. Leviston, it is known that himself and many of his friends were on their way thither, but were forced back by extremity of weather; and since, it appeared that God had other work for him to do in his own country, and that he would raise up other instruments to carry on the plantation of New England, as since hath been seen, both there and here.

But to return to the plantation, and the affairs thereof. The foundation of the Massachusetts colony being so happily laid, and hopefully thus far carried on, notwithstanding so much opposition, and strong endeavours to undermine all, the building went on comfortably, by the accession of several hundreds that flocked over thither in the four next years; so as the new inhabitants began to look out for more room, and commodious situations. About the end of the year 1632, was discovered a very desirable tract of land, ten miles to the north eastward of Salem, called by the Indians Agawam, a place since its first discovery much increased with a great number of inhabitants, both planters and other artificers; the most noted of which was Theodore de la Guard, the cobbler,* that here first opened his shop, but removed afterwards to his native soil, where he fell upon another profession, viz. that of a preacher, which he had before many years exercised in the said plantation, for his sake called Ipswich, or else by way of acknowledgment of the love and kindness done the people of New England which took ship there.

Thus the first planters in every township, having the advantage of the first discovery of places, removed themselves into new dwellings, thereby making room for others to succeed them in their old.

May the 29th, 1633, was the third court of election, where the honour, together with the burden of the government, was again laid upon the same gentlemen; the country having had so large experience of their wis-

* Rev. Nathaniel Ward—author of a satire, entitled, “The Simple Cobbler of Aggawam, &c. By Theodore de la Guard.” See ELIOT’S Biogr. Dict. ED.

dom and integrity in the former years: things still running in the same channel as formerly. And although the beginnings of this colony seemed so contemptible at the first, yet were they able to maintain the authority of their government in despite of all malignant opposers. For notice was that year taken of an impudent affront of one Capt. Stone, offered to Mr. Ludlow, one of the magistrates, calling him, just ass, for justice, when he sent men to apprehend him; which was so highly resented, that it, with other misdemeanours, cost the offender an 100*l*. and banishment: for he was indicted for adultery, on strong presumption; and was afterwards killed by the Pequod Indians, with Capt. Norton. He thought to have braved authority with insolent words, the conniving at which tends directly to the overthrow of any government whatsoever. The giving way to the first offenders doth but embolden and encourage others that next come. He that is mounted in the saddle, had need keep the reins straight, unless he intends to be thrown down and trodden under foot. They that are the ministers of God, for the good of mankind, should not bear the sword in vain.

May 14, 1634. The freemen, that they might not always burthen one person with the yoke of the government, nor suffer their love to overflow in one family, turned their respects into another channel this year, calling Mr. Dudley to the helm of government for the following year, with whom was joined Mr. Ludlow, in the place of deputy.

At this court townships being occasionally seated more remote, and the number of the freemen beginning to increase, so as it was somewhat inconvenient for them all to meet together at the general courts when convened; it was ordered, first, that there should be four general courts every year, and that the whole body of freemen should be present at the court of election only, and that the freemen of every town might choose their deputies to act in their names and stead, at the other general courts, (not much unlike the knights and burgesses here in England,) in the name of the commons, which occasioned some of the inhabitants to inquire into the nature of their liberty

and privileges, which had almost caused some disturbance; but by the wisdom of some private gentlemen, the trouble was prevented. For in the latter end of this year, the ministers, and other the most prudent of the inhabitants, were advised withal about a body of laws suited to the state of the colony, and about an uniform order of discipline in the churches; as also to consider how far the magistrate is bound to interpose for the preservation of the peace and unity of the churches; nor ought this appearance of discontent become a scandal, or be looked upon as a bad omen to the design in hand. For as we know there were some in the congregation of Israel, and those men of renown, who began to grow turbulent, rebelling against the order of government, although it were established by God himself; much less is it to be wondered at, if such forms of government which cannot pretend to a divine and infallible contrivement, being but the ordinance of man, be opposed and undermined by the spirit that is in us, which lusteth unto envy. But by prudent and moderate counsels the danger of innovation was removed, and the humours scattered, before they gathered to an head.

In the following year, the freemen of the country being willing that all the worthy gentlemen that had helped thus far to carry on the building, should also, in some measure, share in the honour that belonged thereunto, at the next election changed the governour again. Therefore, May 6, 1635, Mr. John Haynes, a worthy gentleman that had by his estate and otherwise much advanced the interest of the plantation, was invested with the honour of the government, as Mr. Bellingham, likewise, with the place of deputy governour with him.

During this lustre of years, the colony of the Massachusetts was so prosperously increased with the arrival of near twenty considerable ships, every year save the second, 1631, that repaired thither with such a number of passengers, that the inhabitants were forced to look out for new plantations almost every half year; so as within the compass of this first lustre, after the government and patent were transferred into America, every

desirable place fit for a plantation on the sea coast was taken up, so as they were then constrained to look up higher into the main, where were discovered some pleasant and fruitful places, fit for new townships, for the receiving of such inhabitants as every year resorted this way. For within the foresaid compass of years, there were plantations settled at Salem, in the first place, at Charlestown, at Boston, at Dorchester, [at] Roxbury, two miles from Boston, at Watertown, and New-Town, since Cambridge, up Charles river: then at Lynn, betwixt Salem and Boston; and next at Ipswich and Newberry, northeast from Salem; at Hingham, formerly called Bear Cove, and Weymouth, deserted by Mr. Weston's company some years before, seated on the other side of the bay, towards Plymouth; and last of all at Concord, about twelve miles westward from Watertown, right up into the woods, called by the Indians Muskeraguid.

Many new plantations going on at this time made labourers very scarce, and the scarcity made workmen demand excessive wages, for the excusing of which it was pleaded, that the prices of wares with the merchants was proportionable. For the preventing of oppression, in the one and in the other, orders were made in the general court, that artificers, such as carpenters and masons, should not receive above 2s. pr. diem, and labourers not above 18d. and proportionably, merchants should not advance above 4d. in the shilling, above what their goods cost in England. But those good orders were not of long continuance, but did expire with the first and golden age in this new world; things being raised since to treble the value well nigh of what at first they were. This order was made in November 1633.

The form of the civil government at the first seated in the Massachusetts, may easily be gathered of what sort it was, from the premises forementioned, and from the words of the patent, according to which it was delineated, as near as well might be: it being attempered with greatest resemblance to that of our own kingdom of England, and the several corporations thereof, where the power of jurisdiction, or the executive power,

is seated in some principal persons, one or more, to whom some few others are wont to be joined in like commission, reserving to the people meet liberty by their personal approbation, or that which is done by proxy, which tantamounts both in the election of the persons that are to rule, and in joining some of themselves with them in legislation, and laying of taxes upon the people : which is so equal a temperature to suit all the main ends of government and gratify all interests, that it is much any persons should be found ready to quarrel therewith : nothing being there established which savoured of an unlimited or arbitrary power, nor any unusual form of administration of justice, nor more severity than is ordinarily inflicted by the laws of England; and in some cases less, as in many offences by the laws of England called felony. In the court of September, 1635, they began the use of grand juries, when there were an hundred offences presented by the first grand jury. It had been well that all following juries had been as quicksighted; it might have prevented a great number of evils that are ready to break out in every place by men born in sin, unless it be by due severity provided against. Ever since that time, in criminal cases, they proceed by the inquest of a grand jury, and by petit juries as to matter of fact. In civil actions the process is by writ, or attachment, as they call it there, after the manner of England; the plaintiff giving notice to the defendant five days before he commences suit. Both the laws and administration of justice, according to this, being (as much as may be,) accommodated to the condition of the place, and ease of the people, and for the avoiding all unnecessary charges by fees, long delays, and vexatious suits; which makes it the more to be admired, that any should ever appear to complain, either of the laws or administrations of justice there; unless men would plead for a general impunity, to live as they list, without ever being called to an account, than which nothing was ever heard of more destructive to the peace of societies, or general good of mankind. There were never worse times in Israel, than when there

was no king, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes.

CHAP. XXVII.

Various occurrences in New England, from the year 1631 to 1636.

THE 21st of November 1632, the governour of the Massachusetts received a letter from Capt. Neal, that one Bull, with fifteen more of the English who kept beyond Pascataqua, were turned pirates, and had taken divers boats, and rifled Pemaquid, &c. Hereupon the governour called the council; and it was agreed to send his bark, (then newly built,) with twenty men, to join with those of Pascataqua for the taking the said pirates. But the extremity of the frost hindering the making ready the bark, and being informed that those of Pascataqua had sent out two pinnaces and two shallops, with forty men, above a fortnight before, they altered their resolution, and deferred any further expedition till they heard what Capt. Neal's company had done; from whom they were certified soon after, that the vessels they sent in pursuit of those pirates were wind bound three weeks at Pemaquid. From Penobscot they were informed that they had lost one of their chief men, by a musket shot from Pemaquid, and that four or five were detained amongst them against their wills, and that they had been at some English plantations, and used so much civility as to take nothing but what they paid for, and that they had compounded with Mr. Maverick, whose pinnace they had taken by force at first. They also sent a writing to all the governours, signifying their intent not to do harm to any more of their countrymen, and resolution to sink rather than be taken, and that their purpose was to go southward. This writing was signed, Fortune Le Gard.

Upon these informations, they surceased any further pursuit after them; only they took warning thereby, to look to themselves, not knowing but that some of the French in those parts might join with such loose fellows,

and mischief either their vessels or plantations. For on the 17th of January following, they had intelligence that the French had bought the Scottish plantation near Cape Sables, and that the fort there, with all the ammunition, was delivered to them, and that the cardinal of France, (supposed to be Richlieu,) having the managing of that affair, had sent some companies already, and that preparation was made to send more the next year, with divers priests and Jesuits among them. This news alarmed the governour and council to stand upon their guard, and look to themselves; and upon further debate and consultation with the chief of the country, it was agreed with all expedition to finish the fort began at Boston, and raise another at Nantasket, and to hasten the planting of Agawam, (since Ipswich,) one of the most commodious places in the country for cattle and tillage, lest an enemy should prevent them by taking possession of the place. To that end the governour's son was ordered forthwith to go and begin a plantation there, although he had but twelve men allowed him to make the attempt, which was that spring effected, but it was not long before many others came after. This was well advised, but as it proved in the sequel, they were more afraid than hurt, for the French aimed at nothing but trade, and therefore were not forward to molest any of the English plantations that intended something else. However it was just reason to take notice of these alarums; for the middle of June before, the French had rifled the trading house of Plymouth at Penobscot, and carried away three hundred weight of beaver, with what other goods they found there, which was but as the distressing of a landlord for his rent, for default of which it was not long before he seized the place itself, which happened in the year 1635, when a French ship came with commission from the king of France, (as was pretended,) and took the trading house of Plymouth men at Penobscot, and sent away the men which were in it, but kept their goods, and gave them bills for them, and bid them tell all the plantations as far as forty degrees, that they would come with eight ships next year, and displace them all.

But by a letter which the captain wrote to the governour of Plymouth he informed, that he had commission from Monsieur Rossillon, commander of the fort near Cape Brittain, called La Haver, to displace the English as far as Pemaquid, and by it he professed all courtésy to them that were planted westward.

The Plymouth men were not willing to put up an injury so quietly, being ready to believe they had a right to the place before God and man. Therefore they hired a great ship (called the Hope of Ipswich, Mr. Girling being master,) to displace the French and regain their possession. He was to have two hundred pounds if he effected the design. They sent a bark of their own, with him and twenty men. But the French having notice, so strongly fortified the place, and entrenched themselves, (about eighteen persons,) as that having spent near all his powder and shot, he was ready to give over the design. The Plymouth bark came to the Massachusetts to advise what to do. The General Court agreed to aid them with men and ammunition, and therefore wrote to Plymouth to send one with commission to treat with them. The next week they sent Mr. Prince and Capt. Standish with a commission so to do. They brought the matter to this issue, that they would assist their neighbours at Plymouth as their friends, and at their charge, but not as the common cause of the whole country, and every one to contribute their part. And at that time provision was so scarce, (by reason of a great hurricane that spoiled much of their corn, on the 15th of August that year,) that they knew not where, on the sudden, to find means to victual out an hundred men, which the expedition would require: so all was deferred to further counsel, by which occasion Mr. Girling was forced to return, without effecting their purpose. Nor did they find any means afterward to recover their interest there any more. In October following, a pin-nace sent by Sir Richard Saltonstall upon a design for Connecticut, in her return home was cast away upon the Isle of Sables. The men were kindly entertained by the French there, and had passage to La Haver, about twenty

leagues to the east of Cape Sables, where Rossillon afore-said was governour, who entreated them courteously, granting four of them passage for France, and furnishing the rest with a shallop to return back to New England; but made them pay dear for their vessel. In this their return they put into Penobscot, while Girling's ship lay there, but were kept prisoners till the said ship was gone, and then were sent home with a courteous letter to the governour.

Before this, in the year 1634, a pinnace, belonging to Mr. Allerton of Plymouth, going to Port Royal to fetch two or three men that had been carried from a place called Machias, where Mr. Allerton and some of Plymouth had set up a trading wigwam, and left five men and store of commodities, La Tour coming to displace them, and finding resistance, killed two of them as was said, and carried three away, of which he afterward cleared himself, Anno 1643: and when some were sent to demand the goods taken thence, Monsieur La Tour, then chief upon the place, made answer, that he took them as lawful prize, and that he had authority from the king of France, who challenged all from Cape Sable to Cape Cod, wishing them to take notice and certify the English, that if they traded to the eastward of Pemaquid he would make prize of them. And being desired to show his commission, he answered, like a French Monsieur, that his sword was his commission when he had strength to overcome, and where he wanted he would show his commission. But we shall afterwards find this Monsieur speaking softer words, when D'Aulney and he came to quarrel one with another, of which there will be much occasion to speak in the following part of this history; and to observe, how La Tour was dealt withal, as he had dealt with others, when his fort and all his goods were plundered by his neighbour Monsieur D'Aulney.

In November 1636, the same D'Aulney, captain of Penobscot, in his answer to the governour's letter said, that they claimed no further than Pemaquid, nor would unless they had further order: and that he supposed the cause why he had no further order was, that the English

embassadour had dealt effectually with the cardinal of France, for settling those limits for their peace.

Amongst other things which about that time befel the governour and council of the Massachusetts as matter of disturbance, one was occasioned by an over zealous act of one of the assistants of Salem, too much inspired by the notions of Mr. Roger Williams, who, to prevent the continuance or appearance of superstition, did of his own authority cut out the red cross out of the King's colours. Good men's zeal doth many times boil over. Complaint was made hereof by Richard Browne, the ruling elder of the church of Watertown, in the name of the rest of the freemen, at a court of assistants in November 1634. The offence was argued by the complainant as a matter of an high nature, as fearing it might be interpreted a kind of rebellion to deface the King's colours: much indeed might have been said, had it been done in his coin. It was done upon this apprehension, that the red cross was given to the King of England by the pope, as an ensign of victory, and so indeed by him as a superstitious thing, and a relique of Antichrist. No more was done therein at the first court, but the awarding of an attachment against R. D. the ensign bearer of Salem, to appear at the next court; and when that came about, many minds being much taken up about the matter, because several of the soldiers refused to follow the colours so defaced, the commissioners of military affairs (which at that time were established with power of life and limb) knew not well how to proceed in those matters. Therefore was the whole case left to the next general court, which was the court of election, May 6, 1635; when Mr. Endicot that had cut out the red cross, or caused it to be done, in the ensign at Salem, was not only left out from being an assistant by the freemen, but was also by a committee of the freemen of the several towns, (the magistrates choosing two to join with them,) judged to be guilty of a great offence, viz. rash indiscretion, in proceeding to act by his sole authority in a matter wherein all the rest of the magistrates were equally concerned, and thereby giving occasion to the court of England to think ill of them,

and therefore worthy of admonition, and to be disabled from bearing any publick office for one year. An heavier sentence was declined, because all were persuaded, that he did it out of tenderness of conscience, and not out of an evil mind ; and was also supposed, like Barnabas, to be carried away with the notions of rigid separation, imbibed from Mr. Roger Williams, the pastor of the church of Salem. He had this also to comfort him in one part of his sentence, that his brother-in law, Mr. Ludlow, fell into the same condemnation, of being made no assistant, by the choice of the freemen, though he were deputy governor the year before. The reason was, because he expected the deputy's place to be but a step into the highest degree of honour, but finding himself at the time of election to miss of both, he could not contain from venting his ambition in protesting against the election as void : for he said the choice was agreed upon by the deputies before they came to elect. But the choice was adjudged good, and the freemen were so disgusted at his speech, that in the next place they left him out from being a magistrate, which honour he had enjoyed ever since he came into the country till that time, for he was one of the patentees.

But as for the colours appointed for every company, (by the court referred to the commissioners of military affairs for that end,) they ordered the King's colours in the usual form to be set up on the Castle, and every company to have an ensign proper to themselves, and Boston to be the first company.

Some other occasions of trouble besides the foremen- ed fell out, within the first five years after the settling of the government. For after Mr. Hooker's coming over, it was observed that many of the freemen grew to be very jealous of their liberties. Some of them were ready to question the authority of the magistrates, affirming that the power of the government was but ministerial : and many arguments were by one or more produced in one of the general courts in the year 1634, against the negative voice in the magistrates ; but it was adjudged no good principle by the whole court, and

the deputy that had so declared himself, was adjudged by them to be disabled from bearing any publick office for three years, nor would they easily be persuaded to alter the sentence, when desired by a petition, presented for that end by many of the freemen at the next general court. But the matter was better understood by some afterwards, that at that time had so strongly asserted the notion.

But this essay did but strike at some of the upper branches, whereas Mr. Williams did lay his axe at the very root of the magistratical power in matters of the first table, which he drove on at such a rate, so as many agitations were occasioned thereby, that pulled down ruin upon himself, friends, and his poor family, as shall be shewed in a distinct chapter by itself: only let it be noted here, that one of the gentlemen forementioned, was so strongly bewitched with Mr. Williams his zeal, that at the general court, Sept. 1, 1635, he made a protestation in way of justification of a letter sent from Salem to the other churches against the magistrates and deputies, for some supposed injustice acted by them in determining the right of a piece of land lying between Salem and Marblehead, contrary to the sentiments of Mr. Roger Williams and his friends at Salem: for this the said gentleman was committed; but not standing too stiffly in his said protestation, he was the same day discharged, upon the acknowledging his fault.

One of the elders of the town of Roxbury was, upon the like occasion, ready to run into the same error, in crying up the liberties of the people, and condemning the proceedings of the magistrates, in yielding a peace to the Pequods in the year 1634, without the consent of the people. But he was easily taken off from his error, and became willing to lay the blame upon himself, that before he laid upon the magistrates, by a public explanation of his meaning, to prevent any from taking occasion thereby to murmur against authority; as it seems they were in those early days too ready so to do. There is no more certain sign of true wisdom, than for one to be as ready to see an error in himself as in another, which the wisest of men doth attest unto, when he tells us, that

there is more hopes of a fool than of one wise in his own conceit. But when Saturn hath too much influence upon men's natural tempers, Satan doth often take occasion thereby, to mislead even good men to pernicious practices. The smiting of the righteous becomes a precious balm to a David, to heal his errour, which will become a corroding medicine to increase the wound of men of another alloy.

But in the next place, to take notice of some other occasions of disturbance in the neighbouring plantations. About the 3d of May, 1634, news came to Boston of the death of some at Kennebeck, upon a quarrel about the liberty of trade in those parts, which accident caused no small trouble afterwards. The occasion of the quarrel was this: the Plymouth men had a grant from the grand patentees of New England for Kennebeck, and the liberty of sole trade there; but at that time one Hocking came in a pinnace belonging to the lord Say and lord Brooke at Pascataqua, to trade at Kennebeck. Two of the magistrates of Plymouth, being there at the same time, forbad him; yet would he go up the river; and because he would not come down again, they sent three men in a canoe to cut his cables; and having cut one of them, Hocking presented a piece, and swore he would kill him that went to cut the other. They bad him do if he durst, and went on to cut it. The other was as good as his word, and killed him. Hereupon, one in the Plymouth pinnace, that rode by them, (having five or six with him, whose guns were ready charged,) shot and killed Hocking. One of the magistrates of Plymouth, Mr. John Alden by name, coming afterwards to Boston in the time of the general court, a kinsman of Hocking's making complaint of the fact, Mr. Alden was called, and made to enter into bond, not to depart the jurisdiction without leave; and forthwith they wrote to Plymouth to certify them what was done, and to know whether they would do justice in the case, as belonging to their jurisdiction, and return a speedy answer. This was done, that notice might be taken, that they disavowed the said action, which was much condemned of all

men, and which was feared would give occasion to the King to send a general governour over thither, and besides, had brought them all, and the gospel, under a common reproach of cutting one another's throats for beaver.

Soon after, Mr. Bradford and Mr. Winslow, two of the magistrates of Plymouth, with Mr. Smith, their pastor, came to Boston to confer with the magistrates and ministers there (viz. Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson) about the case, which was brought to these two points : 1. Whether their right of trade in that place were such as that they might hinder others from coming thither on the same account. 2. Whether in point of conscience they might so far stand upon their right, as to take away or hazard any man's life in defence thereof. For the first, their right appeared to be good, for that, besides the King's grant, they had taken up this place as *vacuum domicilium*, and so had continued without any interruption of any of the natives for divers years, and also had by their charge and providence drawn down thither the greatest part of trade, by carrying Wampampeag, which none of the English had known the use of before. For the second, they alleged, that their servants did kill Hocking to save the rest of their men, whom he was ready to have shot. Yet they acknowledged, that they held themselves under the guilt of the sixth commandment, in that they did hazard a man's life for such a cause, and did not rather wait to preserve their right by some other means ; adding, that they would be careful for the future not to do the like. The governour, (who at that time was Mr. Dudley,) and Mr. Winthrop, wrote into England to mediate their peace. And the governour not long after received a letter from the Lord Say and Lord Brooke, that howsoever they might have sent a man-of-war to beat down the house at Kennebeck for the death of Hocking, yet they thought better to take another course, and therefore desired that some of the magistrates of the Massachusetts might be joined with Capt. Wiggon, their agent at Pascataqua, to see justice done. About this time, scil. in the winter of the year 1633, an Englishman of Saco,

travelling up into the woods to trade with the Indians, traded away his life, being killed by them. It is to be feared, divers of these considered not our Saviour's words, Matth. xvi. 26. "What shall it profit a man if he should gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

Not long after, Mr. Winthrop received a letter from the Earl of Warwick, wherein he congratulated the prosperity of the plantation, and encouraged their proceedings, and offered his help to further them therein.

The foresaid letter was a good antidote against the pestilent infection which he received the next month, viz. August 4th, 1634, from his good friend Thomas Morton, and delivered by the hand of Mr. Jeffrey, an old planter, (though not an old disciple,) full of railing speeches and bitter invectives against the plantation in general, and himself in particular, prophesying of a general governour, which was never yet fulfilled. In the mean time, Mr. Winthrop, who was, though not the general, yet generally the governour slept as quietly as ever before, and lived to see Morton a prisoner once again, though not of hope, but rather of despair, for he did see himself at liberty again, from the bonds of imprisonment, yet not from the bonds of misery and extreme poverty, wherein he ended his wretched life, Anno 1644, or thereabouts.

In the first creation of the world, the Almighty was pleased to provide a goodly habitable world before the inhabitants for it were produced: so was his creating providence observable in the people of this new plantation; for many new places were daily discovered, as persons were brought over to plant them.

Thus, in the beginning of September, 1633, when the ship Griffin arrived here, of three hundred tons, fraught with two hundred passengers, (the principal of which were Mr. Haynes, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone,) with divers other ships, (so as that sometimes a dozen or fourteen came into the harbour in one and the same month,) some were by special providence directed to travel an hundred miles westward into the country, as far as the river Connecticut, (that runs up into the country, north and south, a great way,) by name John Old-

ham, (afterwards killed by the Pequod Indians,) and Samuel Hall, who died lately about Malden in Essex, scil. about the year 1680, with two others, who, taking a view of the country, discovered many very desirable places upon the same river, fit to receive many hundred inhabitants.

The Dutch from Manhatos had some knowledge of the place some years before, and had given some intimation to their neighbours of Plymouth, by the name of the Fresh river; but they were so wise as to keep it to themselves, till some of the inhabitants of the Massachusetts had, by the forementioned occasion, made a fuller discovery thereof. And after their return, the next spring, they so filled the minds of many new comers with hope of great advantage thereby, that they presently were upon the wing to take possession thereof; having now, as it were, compassed it in their minds, as they had by their travels before. On which account those of Plymouth had the less reason to lay blame to the Massachusetts, for preventing them of their design and discovery, seeing it was the acquisition of their own labour and travel: for being not formerly taken up, though in part discovered, it became free for the use of them that first made the seizure. And, indeed, all the places on the sea coast being already preoccupied, there was no place left free, capable to receive so many hundred families in the year 1633, 1634, and 1635, if this river of Connecticut had not been possessed immediately after their first discovery thereof. That very year when that discovery was made, came over into New England several persons of note, amongst whom was Mr. Humphry, who, though he was formerly chosen deputy governour, came not over till the year 1634, bringing along with him his noble consort, the Lady Susan, sister to the Earl of Lincoln. He came with a rich blessing along with him, which made way for his joyful reception by all sorts, for he brought along with him sixteen heifers (at that time valuable at 20*l.* per piece,) sent by a private friend to the plantation; scil. by one Mr. Richard Andrews; to every of the ministers one, and the rest to the poor: And one

half of the increase of the ministers' part, to be reserved for other ministers. Mr. Wilson's charity so abounded, that he gave not only the increase of his, but the principal itself to Mr. Cotton. By Mr. Humphry's means much money was procured for the good of the plantation, and divers promised yearly pensions. But the gentleman had the same fate which many others before him have had the experience of, to sow that which others were afterwards to reap: for himself tarried not long enough in the country to enjoy the fruits of his own pious and charitable endeavours; though others have raised goodly fabricks upon the foundation which was laid by him and others.

Thus, as persons for their number and quality needed suitable places for their reception, so were there new discoveries daily made, both by sea and land, of commodious places fit to entertain them; and about the same time was a further discovery of Connecticut near the sea. For October the 2d of the same year, the bark *Blessing*, (built by the governour, Mr. Winthrop, at Mistick, July the 4th, 1631,) returned from the southward, having made a further discovery of that called Long Island, the easternmost end whereof lies over against the mouth of Connecticut river, which they entered into. It is near one hundred and fifty miles long; the east end ten leagues from the main, the west end about one mile. There they procured Wampampeag, both white and blue, (it being made by the Indians there,) which was improved by those of Plymouth in their trade with the eastern Indians. It was a place capable of many plantations, and since that time improved accordingly: supposed to have been at first granted to the Earl of Stirling, and received inhabitants partly from New Haven, and partly from Connecticut, eight or ten years after; and accordingly subject to their respective jurisdictions; though at the present the whole is taken to belong to his highness the duke of York's patent about Manhatos or New York. The said bark had also been at the Dutch plantation there upon Hudson's river. They were kindly entertained by the Dutch governour, called Gaulter Van Twilly; to whom they shewed their commission, which

was to signify to them that the King of England had granted the river and country of Connecticut to his own subjects, and therefore desired him to forbear building any more thereabouts. The Dutch governour wrote back to the governour of the Massachusetts, (his letter was very courteous and respectful, as if it had been to a very honourable person,) whereby he signified, that the Lords the States had granted the same parts to the West Indies Company; and therefore requested that they of the Massachusetts would forbear to challenge the same, till the matter were decided between the King of England and the said Lords.

The bark passed and repassed over Nantucket shoals, within three or four leagues of the islands, and found three fathom water at the least, though the breaches were very terrible on each side. But since that time there is discovered a channel betwixt the island and the main land, fit for smaller vessels to pass safely through at all times.

Plymouth men soon after, or at this time, sent a bark up Connecticut river to erect a trading house there. When they came, they found the Dutch had built there, and forbad them to proceed. But they set up their house notwithstanding, about a mile above that of the Dutch. A little higher up, are falls in Connecticut river, that stop their passage any further upward, as there are in Hudson's river also; else it were no difficult matter to trace them great rivers of Patomack in Virginia, Hudson's among the Dutch, and Connecticut among the English, to their heads, which are conceived by some to come out of the great lakes to the westward, from which it is supposed the great trade of beaver to come, that the French and Dutch have been furnished with, whereby they have drained away all the profit from the English.

But to let these things pass, and to return again to the Massachusetts. As the rumour of those discoveries was daily increased, so were men's desires enlarged to be possessed of them; by which occasion were many agitations set on foot about the latter end of the year 1634, which were not quietly composed again in many years after. For in the session of the General Court in September 4th of that year, the main business then agitated

was about the removal of the inhabitants of New-Town, consisting of such as came along with Mr. Hooker, and several other persons of quality, who also had ~~no~~ small dependence on his ministry, and abilities. They had leave the former court, to seek out some place for enlargement or removal, with promise of having it confirmed to them, if it were not prejudicial to some other plantation. And now, having viewed several other places about the sea coast without satisfaction, they petitioned they might have leave to remove to Connecticut. This matter was debated divers days, and many reasons alleged pro and con. The principal and procatarectical was want of accommodation where they were : they neither being able to maintain themselves, nor yet to receive any more of their friends, together with the fruitfulness and commodiousness of the country about Connecticut, with the danger of having it possessed by others, whether Dutch, or of their own nation. But that which was the *causa προηγουμένη*, or impulsive cause, (as wise men deemed,) and themselves did not altogether conceal, was the strong bent of their spirits to remove out of the place where they were. Two such eminent stars, such as were Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, both of the first magnitude, though of differing influence, could not well continue in one and the same orb. Against these it was said, 1. That in point of conscience they ought not to depart from their friends, being knit together in one body, and bound by oath to seek the welfare of the whole. 2. That in point of civil policy, they ought not to give them leave to depart : 1. Because that they were, though altogether, yet weak, and in danger to be assailed. 2. That the departure of Mr. Hooker would not only draw away many from them, but also divert many friends, that might be willing to come unto them. 3. That themselves that removed might be exposed to evident peril, both from the Dutch, (who laid claim to the same river, and had already built a fort there,) and from the Indians, and also from the state of England, who would not endure they should sit down without a patent, in any place which the King lays claim unto. 4. They might be accommodated where they were, by enlarge-

ment from other towns, or by removal to some place within the Massachusetts, as about Merrimack river, &c. 5. It would be as the removing of a candlestick, which they looked upon as a great judgment, which ought to be avoided.

The court being divided upon these and other arguments, it was put to the vote; where amongst the deputies were found fifteen for their departure, (possibly such as hoped to have a part with them on the other side their Jordan,) and six against it. Amongst the magistrates, the governour with two assistants were for it, but the deputy, (Mr. Winthrop,) and all the rest were against it. The secretary was neuter, and gave no vote. So as there was no record entered, because there were not six assistants, (as the patent required.) Upon this there grew a great difference between the court of magistrates and the deputies, who would not yield to the other, viz. the assistants, a negative voice. On the other hand, the deputy governour and the rest of the assistants, with the governour, (considering how dangerous it might be to the civil state of the place, if they should not keep that strength to balance the greater number of the deputies,) thought it safe to stand upon it. So when they could proceed no further, the court agreed to keep a day of humiliation to seek the Lord, which accordingly was done in all the congregations of the country, on the 18th of the instant September; and on the 24th of the same, the court met again. Before they began, Mr. Cotton preached, being desired by the whole court, (though it was kept at Mr. Hooker's town, upon his instant excuse of his unfitness for the occasion.) He took his text out of Hag. ii. 4. "Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord; and be strong, O Joshua, the son of Josedech, the high priest; and be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work: for I am with you, saith the Lord of Hosts." Out of which he laid down the nature, or strength, (as he termed it,) of the magistracy, ministry, and people: viz. the strength of the magistracy to be their authority, of the people to be their liberty, and of the ministry to be their purity, and shewed how all these had a negative voice, and that yet the ultimate resolu-

tion, &c. ought to be in the whole body of the people; with an answer to all objections, and a declaration of the people's duty, and right to maintain their true liberty against any unjust violence, which gave great satisfaction to the company. And it pleased God so to assist him, and bless his own ordinance, that the affairs of the court went on cheerfully. Although all were not satisfied about the negative voice to be left to the magistrates, yet no man at that time moved aught further about it. And the congregation of New-Town came and accepted freely of such enlargement as had freely been offered to them from Boston and Watertown; and so the fear of their removal to Connecticut was (at least for the present) removed. Mr. Cotton had such an insinuating and melting way in his preaching, that he would usually carry his very adversary captive after the triumphant chariot of his rhetorick, and, as Solomon saith, the soft tongue breaketh the bone, which eminently appeared in this assembly, in that some men of place and gravity, having, in heat of argument, used unseemly expressions to some in power, and being reproved for the same in open court, did gravely and humbly acknowledge their fault.

The question about the negative voice being on this occasion first started, and for a time respited and laid asleep, we shall find afterwards awakened again, and as stiffly and earnestly bandied to and again, but not so easily charmed upon its after alaruming, till at last this matter came to be debated with the elders and deputies to further satisfaction, 1643.

The inhabitants of New-Town were, on the forementioned occasion, brought to a little moderation as to their present purpose of removing to Connecticut, but were soon after more restless in their desires, than ever before; and could not be satisfied, till they had at last accomplished their design. Though some accidents intervened, that might just have given a supersedeas to their intentions, till a more convenient season; for about this time or soon after, news was brought down to Boston of the treacherousness of the Indians in those parts, (which those of Connecticut soon after found to their sore af-

fiction.) The Pequod Indians, situate near the mouth of the said river, having barbarously slain Capt. Stone and his company, as he made up the river to trade with them, and being at the same time at war with their neighbours of Narraganset, cunningly sent their messengers to the Massachusetts to desire their friendship, promising not only to deliver up any of the murderers that could be found, (alleging, that those who committed the said murder, were either killed by the Dutch or dead of the small pox, only for a pretext,) but also to yield up Connecticut, at least their interest in it, to the English, and to give them much beaver, and four hundred fathom of Peag, (a considerable sum of their money,) to confirm their friendship with the English, proffering also free liberty of trade with them.

The Narraganset Indians hearing thereof, sent three hundred of their men to waylay those messengers of the Pequods, as they were to return home, and came within a few miles of Boston for that end, so as they were hardly persuaded by the governour and council, then met at Boston, to forbear meddling with them. But all this was but in policy of the Pequods to gain time to defend themselves, or at least not to be engaged with too many enemies at the same time. For though they were treated with all manner of courtesy, and respect by the English, and an agreement of peace made and signed by their embassadours, yet did they as barbarously the next year, or not long after, murder John Oldham and his company, as he went securely amongst them for trade, as is more at large declared in another place, and about the time when Connecticut began first to be planted by the English in the years 1636 and 1637. They made open war with all the English, which tended much to the prejudice of those who in the following year, 1635, did with irresistible resolution set upon the former design of removing to Connecticut; their own necessities at home, and the great fame of the place from abroad prompting thereunto, so as no discouragements did appear, but were easily superable by men so inspired. For at the first General Court that happened in the year 1635, several

of Watertown and Roxbury obtained leave to remove whither they would, so as they continued under this government; but Connecticut was their aim. The occasion of their desire, as well as of the others, was for that all the towns in the Bay began to be much straitened by their own nearness one to another, and their cattle being so much increased, together with the addition of many families, which every year came in great abundance flocking over thither. While the matter was thus in debate in the General Court, some of Watertown took the opportunity of seizing a brave piece of meadow, aimed at by those of New-Town, which, as was reported, proved a bone of contention between them, and had no small influence into the trouble that afterward happened in the Watertown plantation, called Weathersfield, as shall be more particularly declared afterwards, when the affairs of Connecticut colony are to be spoken to.

In June the same year, 1635, there arrived two Dutch ships, which brought divers Flanders mares, heifers, and sheep. They came from the Texel in five weeks and three days, and lost not one beast. The same day came in Mr. Graves in a ship of three hundred tons, in the like space of time, with many passengers and much cattle: he had come every year, for seven years before. Within four days after came in seven other ships, and one to Salem, and four more soon after, on the like account. Besides these, four or five other great ships came that year, that arrived not till after September; in some of which came many passengers, some of note, as Mr. Henry Vane and others. Mr. Harlakenden with Mr. Shepard, and many of his friends and hearers, came that year: also Mr. Winthrop, jun. who, with Mr. H. Vane, had some power from the Lord Say and the Lord Brook, to begin a plantation at Connecticut, who rather out of necessity than choice, (the most desirable places being taken up before hand,) settled their plantation at the mouth of the said river. Mr. John Winthrop brought with him a commission from the said lords, with divers other great persons in England, to be governour there. They sent also men and ammunition, with 2000*l.* in money, to be,

gin a fortification in that place. Mr. Vane had been employed by his father, (Sir Henry Vane, Comptroller of the King's household,) while he was embassadour for the King in foreign parts. He was a gentleman of excellent parts, and religiously disposed: had he been well principled in the main points thereof, he might have been more beneficial to the country. His father was very averse to his coming this way, (as not favouring the religion of New England,) and would not have consented to his going thither, but that acquainting the King with his son's disposition and desires, he commanded him to send him thither, and gave him license for three years stay there.

This gentleman having order from the said lords and others, treated both with the magistrates of the Massachusetts, and those who were going to settle townships at Connecticut, and brought things to this issue, that either the three towns going thither, should give place upon full satisfaction; or else, that sufficient room might be found for the lords and their companies in some other place; otherwise they would divert their thoughts and preparations some other ways. But in conclusion, the first planters kept their possession, which gives the best title in things of that nature; and possibly the lords were given to understand, that if ever they should please to come over, their gleanings might prove better than the vintage of Abiezer. However, the fore-said gentlemen, agents for the lords, being courteous and peaceably disposed, were not willing to give the inhabitants any further disturbance, but permitted them quietly to go on with the design of their plantations. Yet Mr. Winthrop (appointed by the lords to be their governour at Connecticut) sent a bark of thirty tons, with twenty men, and all needful provisions, to take possession of the mouth of the river, and begin some fortification there, the next month after he arrived at Boston; which was a good providence for these that intended to plant there, for otherwise they would have found it much more difficult to have passed up the river, if the Indians had not been something awed with the noise of the fort there erected.

In the same year, likewise, Sir Richard Saltonstall sent over a bark of forty tons, to begin some plantation up the river of Connecticut. But not being there in person, it never arose to any considerable issue, although his right to a considerable quantity of land thereabouts could not be denied.

About four days after the bark was sent away for Connecticut, arrived a vessel of twenty-five ton, sent by the lords with one Gardiner, an expert engineer, to carry on the fortification at the river's mouth, besides twelve other men, and two women. All her passengers and goods, notwithstanding the tempestuousness and danger of the seas, were landed safe the 28th of November the same year, 1635, through the good providence of God, so as by their addition the work of fortification at the river's mouth was both more speedily and effectually carried on.

Plymouth men, understanding that those of the Massachusetts had prevented them by so speedy possession of Connecticut, sent first by letter, then by their agent, Mr. Winslow, in September 1635, and in the spring following, to complain of the injury done them in possessing the place, which they had formerly purchased of the Indians, and where they had erected an house. Their agent demanded either a sixteenth part of the land, or an 100% from the Dorchester men, that intended to plant at Windsor, where the said house was built. They not consenting thereunto, the treaty brake off; those of Plymouth expecting to have due recompense after by course of justice, seeing they could not by treaty, if they went on with their plantation. But at last they that were to plant, not willing to be injurious, agreed with them upon other more equal terms. The Dutch also sent home into Holland for commission to deal with those of the Massachusetts, that were settling on the place, where they had taken possession. But upon after treaties, in the time of the commissioners of the United Colonies, they were prevailed withal to quit their claim to the whole river, and resigned it up to the English. In the mean time, the Massachu-

setts men, taking hold of such opportunities as providence presented to them, began to spread themselves into many plantations all over the country, so far as it was discovered fit for such purposes. And though they met with much opposition, both at home and abroad, yet they prevailed to effect their design at the last, taking notice of sundry special providences that furthered them therein. For by letters from the Lord Say, received in June 1635, as well as by the report of sundry passengers, it was certified that the adversaries of the colony of the Massachusetts were building a great ship to bring over a general governour, and to command upon the coast: but it miscarried in the launching, falling asunder in the midst; by which means their design fell to the ground. It was reported also, that they had a contrivance to divide the whole country of New England into twelve provinces: viz. between St. Croix in the east, and the Lord Baltimore's province about Maryland in Virginia, as is mentioned in chap. xxxi. But though the lot was cast into the lap, the matter was otherwise disposed by the Lord.

Some have taken special notice of the providence of God in the beginning of that, and the latter end of the former year, concerning Capt. John Winthrop, jun. and Mr. Wilson, the pastor of Boston church, whose occasions calling them both to England, they took ship in a vessel bound for Barnstable, but were by foul weather driven upon the coast of Ireland; not known to any in the ship, and yet were brought safe into Galloway, where they parted company. Mr. Winthrop, passing through Ireland, was occasionally carried to the house of Sir John Clotwathy, where he met accidentally with many considerable persons which came thither the next day to confer about their voyage to New England. In like manner, Mr. Wilson, keeping in the ship, had opportunity to meet with many in that place, that desired to be informed about the state of New England. Many such like providences

have been observed in carrying on the affairs of the plantation of New England.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Ecclesiastical affairs of the Massachusetts, during the first lustre of years after the transferring of the patent and government thither, from Anno 1631 to 1656.

WHATEVER sinister apprehensions are or were ever taken up about the religion of the colony of New England, they aimed only at the primitive pattern described in the word of God, and practice of the apostolical churches. If they have missed of their aim, they are not to be blamed for levelling at the right mark, having a fairer opportunity thereunto, than ever men had in many ages past.

It must not be denied, that they were the offspring of the old Nonconformists, who yet always walked in a distinct path from the rigid separatists, nor did they ever disown the church of England to be a true church, as retaining the essentials of faith and order. And although they could not persuade themselves to live contentedly under the wing of episcopal government, yet their offence was rather at the ceremonies than the discipline and government thereof. But intending not to write an apology but an history of their practice, nothing shall here be interposed by way of defence of their way, only to give a clear discovery of the truth, as to matter of fact, both what it was at first and still continues to be.

Those that came over soon after Mr. Endicot, viz. Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton, Anno 1629, walked something in an untrodden path; therefore it is the less to be wondered at, if they went but in and out, in some things complying too much, in some things, too little, with those of the separation, and it may be in some things not sufficiently attending to the order of the gospel, as themselves thought they understood afterwards. For in the beginning of things they only accepted of one another, according to some general pro-

fession of the doctrine of the gospel, and the honest and good intentions they had one towards another, and so by some kind of covenant soon moulded themselves into a church in every plantation, where they took up their abode; until Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker came over, which was in the year 1633, who did clear up the order and method of church government, according as they apprehended was most consonant to the word of God. And such was the authority they (especially Mr. Cotton) had in the hearts of the people, that whatever he delivered in the pulpit was soon put into an order of court, if of a civil, or set up as a practice in the church, if of an ecclesiastical concernment. After that time the administration of all ecclesiastical matters was tied up more strictly than before to the rules of that which is since owned for the congregational way, as may be seen in a treatise published not long after by Mr. Cotton himself, in the name of the rest of the elders of the country, called the Way of the Churches in New England; which indeed is as a middle way between that which is called Brownism, and the Presbyterian government, as it is practised in those places where either of the said governments is owned. As for the Brownists, or rigid Separatists, there were sundry companies of them in England in the end of Queen Elizabeth's, and the beginning of King James his reign; until, being out of all hopes of liberty for their practice, under the shelter of their royal government, many of them removed into Holland. These do in effect put the chief, if not the whole of the rule and government of the church, into the hands of the people, and drown the elders vote, (one or more) in the major part of the brethren's; being contented the elders should sit in the saddle, provided they might hold the bridle, as some have expressed it. On the other hand, in the Presbyterian way, the sole power of government or rule is put into the hands of the Presbytery of each congregation, or into the hands of the common Presbytery of many congregations, combined together by mutual consent, so swallowing up the interests of the people in every single

congregation, in the major part of the Presbyters of the classis or combination. But those of the Massachusetts kept the middle path between the forementioned extremes, accounting the right disposal of church power to lie in a due and proportioned allotment and dispersion (as some of the Congregational way have expressed it) into divers hands, according to the several concerns and interests that each rank in the church may have, rather than an entire and sole trust committed to any one man, (though never so able,) or any sort or kind of men, or officers, although diversified into never so many subordinations under one another. And this middle way, thus delineated, principally by Mr. Cotton, is that wherein the churches of New England have walked ever since. The principal points wherein they differ from others may be reduced to these four heads :

1. The subject matter of the visible church, saints by calling, such as have not only attained the knowledge of the principles of religion, and are free from gross and open scandal, but are willing, together with the profession of their repentance and faith in Christ, to declare their subjection to him in his ordinances, which they account ought to be done publicly before the Lord and his people, by an open profession of the doctrine of the gospel, and by a personal relation of their spiritual estate, expressive of the manner how they were brought to the knowledge of God by faith in Christ Jesus, and this is done either with their *viva voce*, or by a rehearsal thereof by the elders in publick, before the church assembly, (they having before hand received private satisfaction,) the persons openly testifying their assent thereunto, provided they do not scandalize their profession by an unchristian conversation; in which case a profession is with them of small account.

2. In the constitutive form of a particular visible church, which they account ought to be a restipulation, or mutual covenanting to walk together in their Christian communion, according to the rules of the gospel; and this they say is best to be explicit, al-

though they do not deny but an implicit covenant may suffice to the being of a true church.

3. In the quantity or extensiveness of a particular church, concerning which they hold that no church society, of gospel institution, ought to be of larger extent or greater number than may ordinarily meet together in one place, for the enjoyment of all the same numerical ordinances, and celebrating of all divine worship ; nor ordinarily fewer than may conveniently carry on church work.

4. That there is no jurisdiction to which such particular churches are or ought to be subject, (be it placed in classis or synod,) by way of authoritative censure, nor any church power, extrinsical to the said churches, which they ought to have dependence upon any other sort of men for the exercise of.

After this manner have their ecclesiastical affairs been carried on ever since the year 1633, when Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker first arrived there. But of these matters there may be occasion to make a fuller relation in the year 1647, when the Platform of Discipline was set forth by the elders and messengers of the churches assembled in the Synod at Cambridge in the Massachusetts.

Some have feared, that in the beginning of times was occasioned much disadvantage to the government of the church by making it too popular ; and no less to the civil government, by too much contriving to advance the liberties of the people, which some others, that were not a little instrumental to promote both the one and the other at the first, would willingly have retrieved, when they, too late, discerned their error, but failed in their endeavouring a redress.

And many yet think they hit upon the right joint in settling each government as they did. Possibly they might see, where others in the reformation of the church, since Calvin's time, had committed errors, and run into mistakes, and hoped to prevent it in their own. But it must always be considered that extremes on either hand are dangerous. They had need be very good artists, and go exactly to work, that lay the foundation of

a building; for a little errour there may appear very great and formidable in the superstructure, if any thing be done out of square in the bottom, which at the first is not easily discerned. Such a constitution of government as doth sufficiently secure the liberties of the people from oppression is the safest; for popular confusion hath in all experience been found as destructive to societies, as tyrannical usurpation. Extremes are to be avoided; but those that have lately felt the inconvenience of the one, are not so sensible of the danger of the other as oft times is to be wished they were. However, by this experience it is evident, that whatever advantage wise and good men have to shape for themselves the best contrived government, it will be very difficult, if possible, to pitch upon such a constitution, wherein all parties shall acquiesce; which renders it the duty of all to rest satisfied in what providence hath put them under, either by a willing compliance, or patient submission.

Thus much being premised, to show what form of church discipline was aimed at by those that came over into the Massachusetts, Anno 1630, it will be expected, that in the next place, some account should be given of their particular proceedings in their church administrations.

On the 27th of August, 1630, the whole congregation that belonged to Charlestown and Boston kept a solemn fast to seek the face of God, partly in reference to the sickness and mortality, that many of the people were then visited withal; and partly also for direction and blessing in choosing officers for their church: and then they chose Mr. Wilson to be their teacher, and ordained him thereunto by imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all, that it was only a sign of election and confirmation, without any intention, that the said Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England. Mr. Increase Nowell was at the same time chosen to be the ruling elder of the same church: and one Mr. Gager and Mr. Aspinwall, were also chosen to be deacons thereof, who were like-

wise, by imposition of hands, invested in their several offices.

As for Mr. Gager, he continued not long enough in this world, to purchase to himself a good degree, by using the office of a deacon well, being called home on the 20th of September following; having yet left behind him a good report, for soundness in the faith and purity of life and conversation; and soon after Mr. Colebourn was ordained deacon in his room.

But Mr. Nowell, in the year 1632, relinquished his ruling elder's office in the church, being satisfied upon a conference with the chief of Plymouth, (to whose opinion those of Boston did much adhere in their church matters, as those of Salem had done before,) that he could not conveniently or regularly hold the place of a ruler in the church and Commonwealth, at one and the same time, and therefore betook himself wholly to a place of civil rule in the Commonwealth, where he was likewise chosen senator: Nor could it be looked upon as compatible to the same person, to be employed at once in two offices of so momentous a nature, and of so differing a kind.

It is said that Mr. Phillips of Watertown was at the first more acquainted with the way of church discipline, since owned by congregational churches; but being then without any to stand by him, (for wo to him that is alone,) he met with much opposition from some of the Magistrates, till the time that Mr. Cotton came into the country, who by his preaching and practice did by degrees mould all their church administrations into the very same form which Mr. Phillips laboured to have introduced into the churches before.

A church was gathered at Dorchester, soon after the coming over of the governour and assistants; the scattering inhabitants that had seated themselves there before for conveniency of trade, being removed elsewhere, and left the place free for them that came with intent to plant the gospel there; and in the church of that place Mr. Wareham was ordained the pastor, and Mr. Maverick the teacher. Those places that could not then be sup-

plied with ministers, were content to wait till some others fit for the employment were brought over to them.

It is notwithstanding affirmed, that Mr. Maverick was a minister, ordained to a company that came over with him, while he lived in the west of England; which if it were so, there needed no ordination, or gathering of a church anew at Dorchester, as they did in the other towns.

Those that took up their habitations on each side of Charles river belonged all at the first to one congregation, and having called Mr. Wilson to be their teacher, and Mr. Nowell to be their ruling elder, so continued till the end of October 1632; about which time those of Charlestown, by reason of the difficulty of passage in the winter, and having at that time an opportunity of choosing a pastor for themselves, viz. Mr. James, then lately come from England, were dismissed from the congregation of Boston, and so became a distinct church of themselves.

In the following month of November Mr. John Eliott, that came over into New England the former year, having joined himself to the congregation or church at Boston, was dismissed to the church of Roxbury to be their teacher, although he was earnestly desired by them of Boston, yet the importunity of the other, and the inclination of his own mind carried him thither.

About the same time Richard Brown of Watertown was discharged from his office of a ruling elder there, because of the rash and violent spirit he was wont to be carried withal, upon all occasions, having been often admonished, but could not be brought to any amendment. He was a man of good understanding, and well versed in the discipline of the separation, having been a ruler in one of their churches in London, where he was known to be very violent and passionate in his proceedings. One of the best things he deserved to be commended for, was his faithfulness and care of Doctor Ames and Mr. Robert Parker, safely conveying them, (being himself one that kept a wherry,) aboard their vessel at Graves-

end, when they were pursued by some that would willingly have shortened their journey.

On the 22d of November 1632, was kept a day of humiliation at Boston, when Mr. Wilson, (formerly their teacher,) was called to be their pastor, and one Mr. Oliver was chosen their ruling elder, and both ordained by the imposition of hands, first by the teacher and the two deacons in the name of the congregation on the elder, and then by the elder and the deacons upon the pastor.

In the year 1632, Mr. Thomas Weld came over. He had been minister of Terling in Essex, and accounted a zealous preacher of the word. He had many invitations after he landed here, but at last was prevailed with by the importunity of Roxbury church, to accept of a pastor's office amongst them.

In the year 1633, September 4, arrived Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, in the Massachusetts. On the 17th of said September, Mr. Cotton, by the advice of the governour and council with the rest of the elders, was determined to settle at Boston, and accordingly on the 17th of October following, he was solemnly ordained teacher of that church, by the imposition of the hands of the Presbytery, as was Mr. Leveret, an ancient professor of religion, of Mr. Cotton's congregation in England, ordained ruling elder of the same church, the congregation testifying their consent by lifting up their hands. Mr. Wilson, pastor of the same church, demanded of him if he accepted of that call: He paused, and then spake to this effect, that howsoever he knew himself unworthy, and insufficient for that place, yet, having observed the passages of God's Providence, (which he reckoned up in part,) in calling him to it, he could not but accept it. Then the pastor, and the two ruling elders, laying their hands upon his head, the pastor prayed, and speaking to him by his name, did thereby design him to the said office, in the name of the Holy Ghost, and did give him the charge of the congregation, and did thereby, (as by a sign from God,) endue him, at least prayed that he might be endued with gifts fit for his office, and

largely did bless him. Then the neighbour ministers that were present did, (at the pastor's motion,) give him the right hand of fellowship, and the pastor did make a stipulation between him and the congregation. These circumstances and order of procedure are more particularly set down in this place, because ever since that time they generally proceed after the same manner, in the ordination of their minister in the congregational churches of New England; where there is not a Presbytery preexisting, either some of the brethren ordain the person as is above described, which is approved of by the learned Dr. Hornbeck, Professor of Divinity in Holland, and a Presbyterian in his judgment, and engaged in the defence of that cause, or otherwise, where the congregation, over whom the person is to be ordained, make use of the elders of neighbour churches, by virtue of communion of churches.

Much after the same manner, not long after, was Mr. Hooker ordained pastor of the church at New-Town, which had all that time continued without a particular minister of their own, and Mr. Shepard afterward Feb. 1, 1635. Mr. Hooker leaving the place, and removing with his church to Hartford, was ordained pastor over a company at New-Town, that come over with him from about Earl Colne in Essex, being at that time gathered or formed into a church state the same way.

The ministers about Boston being now increased to a convenient number, (for Mr. Wareham and Mr. Mave-rick were in the compass of the first year after their landing, settled the ministers of the church at Dorchester, the one pastor, the other teacher,) did use to meet once a fortnight at one of their houses in course, where some question of moment was debated. Mr. Skelton, pastor of Salem, and Mr. Williams, (as yet not ordained any officer there,) out of a rigid separation jealousy, took exception at it, prognosticating that it might in time bring forth a presbytery, or superintendency to the prejudice of the churches' liberties, (a spirit of separation had, it seems so early fly-blown their understandings,) from whom issued the fiery flying serpents, that were, not

long after, so ready to annoy, and with bitter invectives sting every magistrate and minister, that did not approve of their sentiments; the venom of which spirit had soon after infected so many of that church and people of Salem, as will appear in the next chapter. But this fear was without cause; nor did it spring from a godly jealousy, but from the bitter root of pride, that vaunteth itself above order, and against love and peace. No such spirit was ever observed to appear in Mr. Cotton's days, but a spirit of love and meekness, or since his time to the present year.

Those that lived in those times could not but observe on the contrary, how it pleased the Lord to give a special testimony of his presence in the church of Boston, after Mr. Cotton was called to office there. More were observed to be converted and added to that church, than to all the rest of the churches in the country. Divers profane, and notorious evil persons, came and confessed their sins, and were comfortably received into the bosom of the church. An eminent spirit of grace was poured into the lips of that famous preacher, and other eminent gifts did abound in private brethren of that church, which forwarded the edification and salvation of others. The Lord was pleased also greatly to bless the discipline of that church, wherein he gave the pastor, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Leveret, a singular gift, to the great benefit of the whole congregation. Nevertheless, God was pleased to send or let loose, not long after, a messenger of Satan in that church, that they should not be exalted above measure, through the abundance of revelations. Satan desired to winnow the chief of the Apostles; no wonder if he were as desirous so to deal with other ordinary ministers of the gospel in succeeding ages, and their churches.

On the 22d of December, in the year following, viz. 1634, Mr. Simmes was on a solemn day of Humiliation, likewise ordained teacher of the church of Charlestown. But within a while after upon one account or other, there did arise a spirit of jealousy between Mr. James, the pastor of that church, and some of the brethren, al-

though Mr. Simmes was not condemned for being any blameable cause thereof, yet was it within a year after blown up into an open flame, so as they were constrained to call in the help of the elders, and messengers of the next churches; and it being the case of an elder, the neighbour churches, to whom they sent for advice, sent most elders, and but few other messengers. Upon hearing the whole case it appeared that the pastor (by his natural temper a melancholick man, and subject to jealousies) had been to blame, for speaking as of certainty, that which he only conceived out of jealousy; and also that the rest had not been without all fault, in that they had not proceeded with him in a due order, for of the two witnesses produced against him, one was the accuser. They advised therefore, that if they could not comfortably close again, the pastor and such as stood on his part, (if they would) should desire dismissal, which should be granted them, for avoiding extremities, which it seems they accepted of, and Mr. James soon after removed to the southward, and some years after returned back to England, where he was accepted as a faithful minister of the gospel, and continued in that work till the year 1678, at Needham in Suffolk, which was about the 86th year of his age, (though not of his ministry, as is said of Polycarpus,) and may yet be living, and waiting for his dissolution. He went also to Virginia, with Mr. Thompson and Mr. Knowles, Anno 1642, as will be mentioned in the transactions of that lustre.

About the same time happened another uncomfortable agitation at Lynn, viz. March 15, 1634, where the elders of every church were called together to put an end to a difference in that church. One Mr. Bachelor, that came into the country the summer before, in the 71st year of his age, in the want of a minister, was called to take upon him the ministerial office in that place. Not long after, divers of the brethren not liking the proceedings of the pastor, and withal questioning whether they were a church or not, did separate from church communion. The pastor and the other brethren desired the advice and help of the rest of the churches, who, not

thinking fit to judge of the case without hearing the other side, offered to meet at Lynn about it. Upon this the pastor required the separate brethren to deliver their grievances in writing, which they refusing to do, the pastor wrote to all the churches, that for this cause they purposed to proceed against them, as persons excommunicable; and therefore desired them to stay their journey. This letter being read at the lecture at Boston, (where all the ministers of every church generally used to be present,) they all agreed with consent of their churches, to go presently to Lynn, (at that time called Sagust,) to stay this hasty proceeding. Accordingly being met, and both parties, after much debate, being heard, it was determined that they were a true church, though not constituted in due order; yet after consent, and practice of church estate had supplied that defect, and so all were reconciled at that time.

Mr. John Maverick, teacher of the church of Dorchester, died the 3d of February, 1635, about the 60th year of his age. He was a man of an humble spirit, and a faithful preacher of the gospel, very ready to further the work of the Lord, both in the church, and in the civil state.

About the year 1635, were churches gathered, and ministers ordained in many places about the Bay, as at Bear-cove, called afterwards Hingham; where Mr. Peter Hubbert, that came out of Norfolk in England, was called to be their pastor; a man well qualified with ministerial abilities, though not so fully persuaded of the congregational discipline as some others were.

And at Westaugustus, since called Weymouth, one Mr. Hull was at first their minister, though afterwards he gave place to some other, which hath been the lot of several that have successively been the officers of that church, though men of worth and learning. At the first it is thought their proceedings were not so orderly, as should have been, which was not the least occasion of their after troubles.

The plantation at Agawam was from the first year of its being raised to a township, so filled with inhabitants,

that some of them presently swarmed out into another place, a little further eastward. The reverend and learned Mr. Parker was at first called to Ipswich, to join with Mr. Ward; but he choosing rather to accompany some of his countrymen that came out of Wiltshire in England, to that new place, than to be engaged with such as he had not been acquainted withall before; therefore removed with them thither, and settled at Newbury; which recess of theirs made room for others that soon after supplied their places.

In the latter end of this year, 1635, Mr. Bachelor, pastor of the church at Lynn, (whereof mention was made before,) was complained of to the magistrates, and convened before them on this occasion. He came out of England with a small body of six or seven persons, who settled with him at Lynn, where he received many of the inhabitants of the place into his church, or at least, they had with the rest received him as their pastor; but contentions growing between him and the greatest part of his church, he desired dismissal for himself and his first members, which being granted upon supposition that he would leave the town, as he had given out he would, he, with the six or seven persons, renewed their old covenant, intending to raise another church in the place; whereat the most and chief of the town being offended, (for that it would cross their intentions of calling another minister,) complained to the magistrates, who, foreseeing the distraction which was like to come by this course, had forbid him to proceed in any such church way, until the cause were considered by the other ministers. But he refused to desist, whereupon they sent for him, and upon his delay, day after day, the marshall was sent to fetch him. Upon his appearance and submission, and promise to remove out of the town within three months, he was discharged. Accordingly he removed to the plantation that then was new begun, beyond Ipswich, called Newbury, where he stayed not long, in regard he could not accomplish his desire of being admitted to a pastoral office in the church of that place, waiting an opportunity of providing a suitable

place for himself and his company elsewhere, which at last was found at Hampton, a plantation begun towards Pascataqua, about the year 1638.

The next year they of Lynn gathered another church, having invited Mr. Whiting to be their pastor, a man of great worth and learning, that not long before came over from a parish adjoining to Boston, in Lincolnshire. There was some difficulty in settling them in church order anew, in regard they had many of them formerly belonged to another church in Mr. Bachelor's time. According to the usual observation, that many times it is more easy to raise a new building than repair an old one, especially when the persons concerned either want experience or skill in the kind of the architecture, as was said to be the case there. But Anno 1637, Mr. Thomas Cobbet, that came over with Mr. Davenport, was called also to Lynn, where he was ordained teacher of the same church, whereof Mr. Whiting was the pastor. The learning and abilities of Mr. Cobbet are well known by his writings, since published to the world.

CHAP. XXIX.

Memorable accidents during this lustre of years. The small pox among the Indians. Pestilential fever at Plymouth; with other occurrences worthy to be observed, from the year 1630 to 1636.

IN the year 1633, it pleased God to visit the colonies of Plymouth with a pestilential fever, whereof many died; upwards of twenty, men, women, and children, which was a great number out of a small company of inhabitants. Some of them looked upon a numerous company of strange flies in the spring, like bumblebees, (which coming out of the ground, with a terrible kind of humming noise, so as the woods did ring therewith) to be a presage of that mortality which followed very hot, in the months of June, July and August. But in the end of that year and winter following, a great mortality happened among the Massachusetts Indians, whereby thousands of them were swept away, which came by the

small pox, a disease which is said, is not usual among them, if ever it was there known before. John Sagamore and almost all his people died there at Winnesimmet. James Sagamore, at Lynn, died of the same disease, with most of his people. It is said that those two promised, if ever they recovered, to live with the English, and serve their God.

It is very remarkable, that as about a dozen years before, the Southern Indians about Plymouth, were visited with a kind of pestilential disease, whereby great numbers of them were suddenly taken away, and the country almost depopulated thereby, by which occasion way was made for the English at Plymouth, in their weak condition, to settle peaceably amongst them, so at this time the country of the Massachusetts, that was of all the Indians thereabouts the most populous, was in a manner unpeopled by this disease, by which means, room was, as it were, prepared for the English, that now were ready to people it with a new colony.

This contagious disease was so noisome and terrible to these naked Indians, that they in many places, left their dead unburied, as appeared by the multitude of the bones of dead carcasses, that were found up and down the countries, where had been the greatest numbers of them. Thus in a sense as it was of old, God cast out the heathen to make room for his people, some parts of the country being thereby made to look like a mere Golgotha.

In June, in the year 1633, fell out a very remarkable accident upon some that belonged to Pemaquid. One Abraham Shurd, and one Capt. Wright, with others belonging to that place, being bound for Boston in a shallop, intending to turn into Pascataqua by the way, but just as they were entering into the river's mouth, one of the seamen going to light a pipe of tobacco, set fire on a barrel of powder, which tore the boat in pieces, laden with about 200l. worth of commodities, which were all lost. That seaman that kindled the fire was never seen more, (though the rest were all saved) till afterwards, the trunk of his body was found with his hands

and his feet torn off, which was a very remarkable judgment of God upon him; for one of his fellows wished him to forbear taking tobacco, till they came ashore, which was hard by, to whom he replied, that if the devil should carry him away quick, he would take one pipe.

The like judgment befel two lewd persons that lived in service with one of Roxbury, who rowing in a boat from the Windmill hill in Boston, struck upon an oyster bank near the channel, and going out of their boat before they had fastened her, to get oysters, the tide came in before they were aware, and floated away the boat, and they not being acquainted with the channel, were both drowned on the bank, though they might at first safely have waded through to the shore. One of them being a little before reproved for some evil, and warned of hell, answered that if hell were ten times hotter, he had rather be there than in service with his master, against whom he had no exception, but only that he had bound himself for some time, and understood afterward, that if he were free, he might have had more wages elsewhere. This happened in August, 1633.

Another accident of like nature fell out at Boston, within three years after, viz. March 8, 1636, where a man servant having stolen something from his master, was only threatened to be brought before authority, yet presently went and hanged himself like Judas, as if he had cause to fear a worse punishment, for so small an offence. He was noted to be very profane upon all accounts, much given to cursing and swearing, and frequently using to go from the sermon on the Lordsday, to steal from his master. He was said also to be very much discontented, which in probability contributed not a little to his miserable end. The ground of his discontent was said to be the long time which he was to serve with his master, by whom he was well used; and the very same day in which he destroyed himself, a letter was to have been delivered him from his father, with order to receive money wherewith to buy out his time. He had tied his neck with a codline to a beam, from which he might have reached the floor with his knees.

A maid first espying him, was so affrighted with the sight, that not daring to come near him to prevent the mischief, ran to acquaint somebody else with it; but his exit was past, and his life beyond recalling, before they came, whom she went to call. Such examples left upon record, may serve as buoys to give notice of the dangerous temptations, that like rocks which lie unseen, are found in discontented minds, on which they often shipwreck their souls forever, as well as lives.

In December 1633, one Cooper, of Pascataqua, going to an island in the river there, to fetch sack with which he intended to make merry on the Lord's day, was carried to sea, with his boy that went with him in his canoe, and were never heard of afterward. Thus they that wander from the path of understanding, shall sooner or later, unless they return home by repentance, be found in the congregation of the dead.

In June 1635, two carpenters going to wash themselves between Mount Wallaston and Weymouth, were carried away with the tide and drowned. Those that want skill to swim in the water, should keep their footing sure on the firm land.

August 12, 1634, one Crawford, with his brother and a servant, (who all came into the country that summer,) having put much goods into a little boat which lay in Charles river, overset the same with the weight of some hogsheads, (as was supposed) so as they were all three drowned, though one of them could swim well, and though the neighbours also came running forth instantly upon their cry, yet as it fell out, not soon enough to save any of them from drowning.

This accident was followed with another as sad, on the 20th of October following, at Salem, where six men going together a fowling in a small canoe, toward Kettle-island, either with overmuch weight, or want of skill, turned her over into the sea, so as five of them were drowned.

On the 21st of November, that year, two men and two boys going for wood to Noddle's island, were drowned as they were coming home in the night, in a

Northeast storm of snow. Neither of them it seems had experience or skill, yet would adventure in that dangerous time of the year, which might serve for a warning to all not to tempt God, by undertaking what they have no ability to perform. There was great lamentation for them at Boston, yet needed they not sorrow for them as without hope, in that they were both accounted very religious. Two boats were sent after them when they were first missing, but they could find neither men, nor boat, nor wood, it being ebbing water wherein they were supposed to be lost; but three days after, the boat was found at Muddy river, with the bottom upward.

An old man that used to go to sea in a small boat, without any other help save a dog, whom he had taught to steer, sailing down Ipswich river, was warned of a storm that approached, but he answered that he would go to sea, though the devil were there. Whether the devil were there at sea or no (the storm happening on the 15th of August, 1635) it is no matter. This his vessel was never seen more by them on the land.

In the year 1632, one Henry Wey of Dorchester, having gone in a shallop to trade with the Eastern Indians the winter before, and was long missing, this summer it was found that himself and his company were all treacherously killed by the Indians. Another shallop of his being sent out in the spring to seek after the other, was cast away at Agamenticus, and two of the men that were in her drowned. Thus oft times he that is greedy of gain, troubles his own house, and instead of gaining a little pelf of this world, loses his own life in the conclusion, which hath been observed as very remarkable on many that have followed that course of life.

In the year 1633, one John Edy, a religious man, of Watertown congregation, fell distracted; and getting out one evening could not be heard of in eight days, at the end of which time he came again of himself. He kept his strenght and colour all that time, yet was conceived to have eaten nothing all that time. By that means it was thought he recovered his understanding, and lived very orderly, only now and then would be a little distempered in his mind.

For a conclusion of the memorable accidents during this lustre, it will not be unworthy the reader's consideration to take notice of a sad tempest that happened in the year 1635, on the 15th of August; when there was such a sudden dismal storm of wind and rain, as the like was never in this place known, in the memory of men before or since; so universal, which passed through the whole country, overturning sundry houses, uncovering divers others, beating down their Indian corn to the ground, which never rose any more, which if it had not been very near the harvest, all the corn had been utterly lost, to the undoing of many poor families. Some thousands of trees were torn up by the roots thereby, others broken in pieces, and wound about like withs, though of considerable bigness. The monuments of which sad storm, were many years after visible in some parts of the country; nor were the effects of it less terrible on the sea, where it raised the tide to twenty feet in some places right up and down; forcing some of the Indians to climb up the trees to save themselves from drowning, which others not being able to do, perished in the attempt; as befel eight Indians at Narraganset, as was credibly reported. And in other places it was observed that the tide was brought into the land twice in twelve hours, or else that it never ebbed all the time that storm lasted, (which was five or six hours,) or was brought back before the ebb was half made.

Some ships were then upon the coast, fraught with passengers and their goods. The veering of the wind to another point, was the occasion of preserving one, (wherein Mr. Richard Mather with his family, and Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, but a youth at that time, that proved a worthy minister, and of much use in the country afterwards,) and of dashing another on the rocks near Pemquid; which was called the Angel Gabriel of Bristol; but that holy seraphim proved not a tutelar Angel thereunto, although the passengers were all preserved alive, losing only their goods. Many things were observed as ominous about which vessel, that threatened some great disaster to like to befall them, as well as the name, from the time of their first setting out.

Another vessel sailing that day between Pascataqua and Boston, bound for Marblehead, wherein were many passengers that came over in the foresaid ship, called the Angel Gabriel, was cast away, and but two persons left alive, to bring tidings to their friends of what had happened. Amongst them that were lost, was one Mr. Avery, a minister of good note, who, with his wife and five children, all perished together. This minister it seems with some others was cast upon some rocks, where they had a little respite from death, in which interim this good man, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, yet expecting every moment to be washed off from that place where he was cast, into the devouring sea, uttered these his last words: "Lord, I cannot challenge a preservation of my life, but according to thy covenant I challenge Heaven;" which words as soon as ever he had expressed, the next wave gave him a present dismissal into his eternal rest. This is the only vessel which was known to have been lost with many of its passengers, in their way towards New England; which ought to be acknowledged as a signal mercy, that none else in so long a space of time, should miscarry in sea voyages of that length.

The week before the forementioned storm, that happened August 15 came up, the wind was observed to blow all the while hard at South, and Southwest; and then on the sudden it came up with such extreme violence at Northeast, that it drove many ships in the harbour before Boston and Charlestown, from their anchors. A ship called the Great Hope of Ipswich, of four hundred tons, was driven aground on a point beyond Charlestown, but by a sudden change of the wind to the Northwest, it was brought back again from thence, and ran ashore at Charlestown. The ship before mentioned, that was preserved, was called the James of Bristol, having about one hundred passengers, some of whom, with Mr. Mather their minister, came out of Lancashire, (four of whose sons were ministers afterwards of eminent note and use). Their preservation was very remarkable; for being put into the Isle of Shoals, (which

is no harbour but an open road,) they lost their three anchors; and setting sail, no canvass or ropes would hold, and so were driven within a cable's length of the rocks at Pascataqua, when the wind coming suddenly to the northwest, put them back to the Isle of Shoals, and being there ready to strike upon the rocks, they let out a piece of their mainsail, and by that means weathered those rocks, and so were brought safe into their desired harbour, leaving others behind them, and in the way they passed by, either buried in the rude waves of the swelling ocean, or mournfully beholding their shipwrecked goods floating in the waters; much of which they were despoiled of by the boisterous seamen, no less unmerciful therein than the devouring waves of the sea, that, without regard to the tears or sighs of the poor owners, usually swallow down whatever comes in their way. On such accounts, the people travelling into New England had occasion, more than others, to meditate on the 107th Psalm; which, though it were not penned purposely for them, yet, in especial manner is suited to their condition: "Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men!"

Much hurt was done in the country this year by tempestuous weather. Two shallops, going laden to Connecticut, were taken in the night with an easterly storm, and cast away near the mouth of Plymouth harbour, and the men all drowned.

In the month of October, the same year, a ship's long boat at the Dutch plantation, with five men in her, was overset by a gust. The men all got upon her keel, and were driven to sea, and were there floating the space of four days, in which time three of them dropt off and were drowned. On the fifth day, the fourth man being sore pained with hunger and thirst, and sore bruised with the waves, wilfully fell off into the sea and was drowned. Soon after the wind, coming up at southeast, carried the boat with the fifth man to Long Island, and being scarce able to creep ashore, was found by the Indians, and preserved by them. He was quite spent with hunger, cold, and watching, and must of necessity (according to

reason) have perished by that time ; but he said he saw such and such (either really or in conceit) come to give him meat.

November 2d, 1632, Mr. William Pierse his ship, going back for England, was cast away on the shoals near Virginia, and twelve seamen and passengers drowned. It happened through negligence of one of the mates that had the watch, and kept not the lead going, as he was appointed, which added much to the sadness of the loss.

April the 10th, 1633, news was brought to Boston, of the loss of Mr. Pierse his ship, on the coast of Virginia, wherein were 28 seamen, and 10 passengers : seven of them that were drowned were seamen, and five of them passengers. This loss proved no small trial to this poor plantation ; whereby it is evident that many are the afflictions of the righteous, and that in outward changes all things come alike to all.

But not to stay the reader any longer in beholding the backside of the cloud that overshadowed New-England in this lustre : There were other more beautiful providences worthy to be observed during that space of time, as full of light and comfort, as the other were of affliction and sorrow ; especially in their peaceable and quiet enjoyment of the purity of God's worship, in all the ordinances of the gospel, of which something hath been spoken in the foregoing chapters.

CHAP. XXX.

Disturbance, both civil and ecclesiastical, in the Massachusetts, occasioned by Mr. Roger Williams, in the year 1634.

FEBRUARY the 5th, 1630, arrived Mr. William Pierse at Nantasket ; with him came one Mr. Roger Williams, of good account in England for a godly and zealous preacher, but after he came here, he soon discovered himself. He had been some years employed in the ministry in England. He was one of whom it may be affirmed by all that knew him, that he had a zeal, and

great pity it was that it could not be added, according to knowledge; for then by the one and by the other, he might have been of great use in the church of God, wherever his lot had been cast. But for want of the latter, the more judicious sort of Christians, in Old and New England, looked upon him as a man of a very self-conceited, unquiet, turbulent, and uncharitable spirit. "For if he had not looked upon himself as one that had received a clearer illumination and apprehension of the state of Christ's kingdom, and of the purity of church communion, than all Christendom besides," as Mr. Cotton speaks of him, "he would never have taken upon him, as usually his manner was, to give publick advertisement and admonition to all men, whether of meaner or more publick note and place, of the corruptions of religion, which himself observed both in their judgments and practices;" of which there needs no other evidence than what is obvious to the view of every indifferent reader, in his dealing with that famous and reverend divine, Mr. John Cotton, in his book called the Bloody Tenent. But here to touch upon his proceedings only after his coming into New England—immediately after his arrival he was called by the church of Salem, to join with Mr. Skelton; but the governour and council being informed thereof, wrote to Mr. Endicot, to desire they would forbear any further proceeding therein, till the said council had conferred further about it; first, because he had refused to join with the congregation of Boston, because they would not make a publick declaration of their repentance, for holding communion with the churches of England while they lived there. 2dly, Because he declared it his opinion that the civil magistrate might not punish any breach of the first table; whereupon they for the present forbore proceeding with him, which occasioned his being called to Plymouth, where he lived about two years, was joined to their church, and was well accepted, as an assistant in the ministry to Mr. Ralph Smith, then pastor of the church there; but by degrees, venting of divers of his own singular opinions, and seeking to impose them upon others, he not finding such

a concurrence as he expected, he desired his dismissal to the church of Salem, which, though some were unwilling to, yet through the prudent counsel of Mr. Brewster, (the ruling elder there,) fearing that his continuance amongst them might cause divisions ; and there being able men in the Bay, they would better deal with him, than themselves could, and foreseeing also (what he professed he feared concerning Mr. Williams, and which afterwards came to pass,) that he would run the same course of rigid separation, and anabaptistry, which Mr. John Smith, the sebastist of Amsterdam, had done ; the church of Plymouth consented to his dismissal, and such as did adhere to him were also dismissed, and removed with him, or not long after him to Salem. He came to Salem in the time of Mr. Skelton's weakness, who lived not long after Mr. Williams was come back from Plymouth ; whereupon, after some time, the church there was so affected with his ministry, that forthwith they would have called him to office, notwithstanding they had been formerly blamed for the like attempt, without advising with the council. But he having in one year's time filled that place with principles of rigid separation, and tending to anabaptistry, the prudent magistrates of the Massachusetts jurisdiction sent again to the church of Salem, desiring them to forbear calling him to office ; but they not hearkening to the advice, but ordained him to be their pastor, it was a cause of much disturbance, for Mr. Williams had begun, and then (being in office) he proceeded more vigorously, to vent many dangerous opinions ; as amongst many others, these that follow were some ; for having obtained a great interest in the hearts and affections of all sorts of his hearers, by his great pretence to holiness, zeal, and purity, he had thereby strongly leavened the people of Salem with many strange notions, partly also confirming the people in some which they had imbibed from Mr. Skelton.

1. As first that it was the duty of all the female sex to cover themselves with veils when they went abroad, especially when they appeared in the publick assemblies ;

as if he meant to read them a lecture out of Tertullian, *De velandis Virginibus*, &c. for the uncouthness of the sight, to see all the women in that congregation veiled, contrary to the custom of the English nation, would probably have drawn the eyes of the rest upon them, especially strangers, much more than if they had attired themselves after the fashion of their neighbours. But in reference to this kind of fancy ; it is observable, that the reverend Mr. Cotton, taking an occasion about this time to spend a Lordsday at Salem, in his exercise in the forenoon, he by his doctrine so enlightened most of the women in the place, that it unveiled them, so as they appeared in the afternoon without their veils, being convinced that they need not put on veils on any such account, as the use of that covering is mentioned in the scripture for ; viz. not as they were virgins, which the married sort could not pretend unto ; much less as harlots as Tamar ; nor yet on any such like account as is mentioned of Ruth in her widowhood—which discourse let in so much light into their understandings, that they who before thought it a shame to be seen in the publick without a veil, were ashamed ever after to be covered with them.

2. Another notion diffused by him, occasioned more disturbance, for in his zeal for advancing the purity of reformation, and abolishing all badges of superstition, he inspired some persons of great interest in that place, that the cross in the king's colours ought to be taken away as a relique of antichristian superstition. What that good man would have done with the cross upon his coine, (if he had any left,) that bore that sign of superstition, is uncertain. But this notion about the king's colours prevailed with some so far, that it was taken out of the ensign at Salem by one in place ; but it was so distasteful to the rest of the assistants or magistrates, who could see no superstition in the civil use of that badge, whatever were the occasion of the use thereof, but a great inconvenience that was like to follow upon the taking it away, as is more at large declared in the chapter before. In this manner did over-heated zeal vent itself in the said Mr. Williams, of whom they were

wont to say in Essex, where he lived, that he was divinely mad ; as if his too much zeal, as Festus said of Paul's too much learning, had made him beside himself.

3. Thirdly, also he maintained, that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor to take an oath, and in special not the oath of fidelity, to the civil government ; nor was it lawful for a godly man to have any communion either in family prayer, or in an oath with such as they judged unregenerate, and therefore he himself refused the oath of fidelity, and taught others so to do.

4. And that it was not lawful, so much as to hear the godly ministers of England, when any occasionally went thither ; and therefore he admonished any church members, that had so done, as for heinous sin. Also he spake dangerous words against the patent, which was the foundation of the government of the Massachusetts colony.

5. He affirmed also, that magistrates had nothing to do with matters of the first table, but only the second, and that there should be a general and unlimited toleration of all religions, and for any man to be punished for any matters of his conscience, was persecution.

6. And further he procured the church of Salem's consent unto letters of admonition, which were written, and sent by him in their name, to the churches at Boston, Charlestown, New-Town, (now Cambridge,) &c. accusing the magistrates, that were members of the respective churches, of sundry heinous offences, which he laid unto their charge ; and though divers of them, that joined with him in these letters, afterwards did acknowledge their errour, and gave satisfaction, yet Mr. Williams himself, notwithstanding all the pains that was taken with him, by Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and many others, to bring him to a sight of his errour and miscarriages, and notwithstanding all the court's gentle proceedings with him, he not only persisted, but grew more violent in his way, insomuch as he, staying at home in his own house, sent a letter, which was delivered and read in the publick church assembly, the scope of which was

to give them notice, that if the church of Salem would not separate, not only from the churches of Old England, but the churches of New England too, he would separate from them. The more prudent and sober part of the church being amazed at his way could not yield unto him; whereupon he never came to the church assembly *more*, professing separation from them, as antichristian; and not only so, but he withdrew all private religious communion from any that would hold communion with the church there; insomuch as he would not pray nor give thanks at meals with his own wife, nor any of his family, because they went to the church assemblies. Divers of the weaker sort of church members, that had been thoroughly leavened with his opinions, (of which number were divers women,) that were zealous in their way, did by degrees fall off to him, insomuch as he kept a meeting at his own house, unto which company did resort, both on the Sabbath day, and at other times in way of separation from, and opposition to the church assembly there, which the magistrates understanding, and seeing things grow more and more towards a general division and disturbance, after all other means used in vain, they passed a sentence of banishment against him out of the Massachusetts colony, as against a disturber of the peace, both of the church and commonwealth. After which Mr. Williams removed to the Narraganset country, and sat down there, in a place called Providence, out of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and was followed by sundry of the members of the church of Salem, who did zealously adhere to him; and who cried out of the persecution that was against him. Some others also resorted to him from other parts. They had not long been there together, but from rigid separation they fell to anabaptistry, renouncing the baptism which they had received in their infancy, and taking up another baptism, began a church in that way. But Mr. Williams stopped not there long, for after some time, he told the people that had followed him, and joined with him in a new baptism, either from his own unstable mind, or from the suggestion of some

other, that he was out of the way himself, and had misled them, for he did not find that there was any upon earth that could administer baptism, and therefore their last baptism was a nullity, as well as their first, and therefore they must lay down all, and wait for the coming of new apostles. And so they dissolved themselves and turned seekers, keeping that one principle, that every one should have liberty to worship God according to the light of their own consciences, but otherwise not owning any churches or ordinance of God any where upon earth, with other notions of like nature, which shall be more particularly related afterward.

Thus much was thought meet to be inserted here concerning the great and lamentable apostasy of Mr. Williams, that it may be a warning to all others, to take heed of a gradual declining from God, and forsaking the churches of Christ, and ordinances of God in them, lest they be left of God, to run such a course as he hath done; "wherefore let him that thinks he stands, take heed lest he fall," 1 Cor. x. 12; as also to be a motive to the saints, to remember him unto God in their fervent prayers for his return, he having been sometimes a zealous dispenser of the word of God, and (in several respects) of an exemplary conversation; but now hath a long time sequestered himself to another kind of life and way.

And yet, that there may be a standing evidence of the care that was had in those times, to prevent the growth of errors, and of the exercise of the communion of churches for that end, it is thought meet to mind the reader, that before the putting forth of the civil power of the magistrate for the removing of Mr. Williams from Salem, and besides other means also used, there was a publick admonition sent in writing from the church of Boston to the church of Salem, for the reducing of Mr. Williams, and the erring part of the church, which could no whit prevail with him to retract his erroneous principles, which made way for the sufferings which afterwards befel him.

Under this cloud of darkness did this child of light

walk, for above forty years after in New England, at which time he did a little recover himself in his zealous defending of the fundamental truths of the christian religion, against the Quakers, in a book of his, published about the year 1677, wherein he shewed that his root had not gone up as rottenness, nor his blossom as dust ; as might too truly be said of many of his neighbours, but that the root of the matter was in him all that long winter season of his departure from the communion of his christian friends, and also by the fruits of good works that appeared in his life and conversation, especially in his faithfulness to the English of the Massachusetts, by whom he might have accounted he had been so severely handled. This might suffice concerning Mr. Williams, but forasmuch as sundry have judged hardly of New England, for their proceedings against him, by a sentence of banishment, it is thought needful in this place, to give a more particular account thereof to the world.

Two things there were that caused the sentence of his banishment, and two other fell in, that hastened it.

Those that were the causes of it, were, as they are laid down by Mr. Cotton, in his answer to Mr. Williams his book, called the Bloody Tenent,

1. " His violent and tumultuous carriage against the patent. By the patent it is, that we received allowance from the king to depart his kingdom, and to carry our goods with us, without offence to his officers, and without paying custom to himself. By the patent, certain selectmen (as magistrates and freemen,) have power to make laws, and the magistrates to execute justice amongst the people, according to such laws. By the patent, we have power to erect such a government of the church, as is most agreeable to the word, to the estate of the people, and to the gaining of natives, (in God's time) first to civility, and then to christianity. To this authority established by the patent, Englishmen do generally submit themselves. And foreign plantations (the French, the Dutch, the Sweedish,) do willingly transact

their negotiations with us, as with a colony established by the Royal Authority of the State of England. This patent Mr. Williams publicly and vehemently preached against, as containing matter of falsehood and injustice: Falsehood in making the king the first christian Prince who had discovered these parts; and injustice in giving the country to his English subjects, which belonged to the native Indians. This therefore he pressed upon the magistrates and people to be humbled for, from time to time, in days of solemn humiliation; and to return the patent back again to the king. It was answered to him, first, that it was neither the king's intendment, nor the English planters' to take possession of the country by murder of the natives, or by robbery; but either to take possession of the void places of the country by the law of nature, (for *vacuum domicilium cedit occupanti*,) or if we took any lands from the natives, it was by way of purchase or free consent. A little before our coming, God had by pestilence, or other contagious diseases swept away many thousands of the natives, who had inhabited the Bay of the Massachusetts, for which the patent was granted. Such few of them as survived were glad of the coming of the English, who might preserve them from the oppression of the Narragansets; for it is the manner of the stronger of the natives to oppress the weaker. This answer did not satisfy Mr. Williams, who pleaded, the natives, though they did not nor could not subdue the country, (but left it *vacuum domicilium*,) yet they hunted all the country over, and for the expedition of their hunting voyages, they burnt up all the underwoods in the country, once or twice a year, and therefore as noblemen possessed great parks, and the king great forests in England only for the game, and no man might lawfully invade their propriety, so might the natives challenge the like propriety here. It was replied unto him,

1. "That the king and noblemen in England, as they possessed greater territories than other men, so they did greater service to church and commonwealth.

2. "They employed their parks and forests not for hunting only, but for timber, and for the nourishment of tame beasts, as well as wild, and also for habitation for sundry tenants.

3. "That our towns here did not disturb the huntings of the natives, but did rather keep their game fitter for their taking, for they take their deer by traps, and not by hounds.

4. "That if they complained of any straits we put them upon, we gave satisfaction in some payment or other to their content.

5. "We did not conceive that it is a just title to so vast a continent, to make no other improvement of millions of acres in it, but only to burn it up for pastime.

"But these answers not satisfying him, this was still pressed by him as a national sin, to hold to the patent, yea, and a national duty to renounce the patent; which to have done, had subverted the fundamental state and government of the country.

"The second offence which procured his banishment, as was touched before, was this: The magistrates and other members of the General Court, upon intelligence of some evil practices against the country, they made an order of court to take trial of the fidelity of the people, (not by imposing upon them, but) by offering to them an oath of fidelity, that in case any should refuse to take it, they might not betrust them with place of publick charge and command. This oath, when it came abroad, he vehemently withstood it, and dissuaded sundry from it, partly because it was, as he said, Christ's prerogative, to have his office established by oath, partly because an oath was a part of God's worship, and God's worship was not to be put upon carnal persons, as he conceived many of the people to be. So by this tenent, neither might church members, nor other godly men take the oath, because it was the establishment, not of Christ, but of mortal men in their office; nor might men out of the church take it, because, in his eye, they were but carnal. So the court must have been

forced to desist from that proceeding, which practice of his was held to be the more dangerous, because it tended to unsettle all the kingdoms and commonwealths in Europe. These were (as I took it, saith Mr. Cotton,) the causes of his banishment. Two other there fell in upon these, that hastened the sentence; the former fell out thus: The magistrates discerning by the former passages the heady and turbulent spirit of Mr. Williams, both they and others advised the church of Salem, not to call him to office in their church; nevertheless, the major part of the church made choice of him. Soon after, when the church made suit to the court for a parcel of land adjoining to them, the court delayed to grant their request, (as hath been mentioned before,) because the church had refused to hearken to the magistrates and others, in forbearing the choice of Mr. Williams; whereupon Mr. Williams took occasion to stir up the church to join with him in writing letters of admonition unto all the churches whereof those magistrates were members, to admonish them of their open transgression of the rule of justice. Which letters coming to the several churches, provoked the magistrates to take the more speedy course with so heady and violent a spirit. But to prevent his sufferings, (if it might be) it was moved by some of the elders, that themselves might have liberty (according to the rule of Christ) to deal with him, and with the church also, in a church way. It might be, the church might hear them, and he the church, which being consented to, some of the churches wrote to the church of Salem, to present before them the offensive spirit, and way of their officer, (Mr. Williams) both in judgment and practice. The church finally began to hearken to them, and accordingly began to address themselves to the healing of his spirit, which he discerning, renounced communion with the church of Salem, pretending they held communion with the churches in the Bay, and the churches in the Bay held communion with the parish churches in England, because they suffered their members to hear the word amongst them in England, as they

came over into their native country. He then refusing to resort to the publick assembly of the church, soon after sundry began to resort to his family, where he preached to them on the Lord's day. But this carriage of his in renouncing the church upon such an occasion, and with them, all the churches in the country, and in spreading his leaven to sundry that resorted to him, gave the magistrates the more cause to observe the heady unruliness of his spirit, and the incorrigibleness thereof in any church way, all the churches in the country being then renounced by him. And this was the other occasion that hastened the sentence of his banishment upon the former grounds. If upon these grounds Mr. Williams be ready (as he professeth) not only to be bound and banished, but also to die in New England; let him remember (what he knows) "non pœna sed causa facit martyrem;" no martyr of Christ did ever suffer for such a cause. Thus men of great parts and strong affections, for want of stability in their judgments to discern the truth in matters of controversy, like a vessel that carries too high a sail, are apt to upset in the stream, and ruin those that are embarked with them.

CHAP. XXXI.

The first planting of those parts of New England, on the east and west side of Pascataqua river, called the Province of Maine and New Hampshire, and the parts adjoining. Attempts for a new settlement of those lands by some of the Grand Council of New England, before they surrendered their charter into the hands of the king.

How great a sound soever is, or hath been made about the Province of Maine, and the lands about Pascataqua river, comprehended in sundry patents and grants, that were long since said to be jointly and severally made to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Capt. John Mason, the whole history thereof may be comprised in a few words, so far as any thing may be found in either of them worthy to be communicated to posterity.

The several vicissitudes and changes of government either of them have passed under, are already touched upon in the second part of the Narrative of the troubles with the Indians in New England, printed at Boston in the year 1677. At present therefore only to insist upon what is most memorable about the first planting thereof, after it came first to be discovered by Capt. Smith, and some others employed on that design, about the year 1614 and 1615.

Some merchants and other gentlemen in the west of England, belonging to the cities of Exeter, Bristol, Shrewsbury, and towns of Plymouth, Dorchester, &c. incited no doubt by the fame of the plantation begun at New Plymouth in the year 1620, having obtained patents for several parts of the country of New England, from the grand council established at Plymouth, (into whose hands that whole country was committed) made some attempt of beginning a plantation in some place about Pascataqua river, about the year 1623. For being encouraged by the report of divers mariners that came to make fishing voyages upon that coast, as well as by the aforementioned occasion, they sent over that year, one Mr. David Thompson, with Mr. Edward Hilton, and his brother, Mr. William Hilton, who had been fishmongers in London, with some others, that came along with them, furnished with necessaries for carrying on a plantation there. Possibly others might be sent after them in the years following, 1624 and 1625; some of whom first in probability, seized on a place called the Little Harbour, on the west side of Pascataqua river, toward, or at the mouth thereof; the Hiltons in the mean while setting up their stages higher up the river, toward the northwest, at or about a place since called Dover. But at that place called the Little Harbour, it is supposed was the first house set up, that ever was built in those parts; the chimney, and some part of the stone wall, is standing at this day, and certainly was it, which was called then, or soon after, Mason Hall, because to it was annexed three or four thousand acres of land, with

intention to erect a manor, or lordship there, according to the custom of England ; for by consent of the rest of the undertakers, in some after division, that parcel of land fell to his share ; and it is mentioned as his propriety, in his last will and testament, by the name of Mason Hall. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason might have a principal hand in carrying on that design, but were not the sole proprietors therein ; there being several other gentlemen, that were concerned therein, and till after the year 1631, there seems to have been not many other buildings considerable erected, in any other place about Pascataqua river ; all which is evident by an indenture, yet extant in the hands of some gentlemen now living at Portsmouth, a town seated down near the mouth of the said river, wherein are these words :

“ This indenture, made the 3d of November, 1631, between the President and Council of New England on the one part, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Capt. John Mason, John Cotton, Henry Gardner, George Griffith, Edwin Guy, Thomas Wannerton, Thomas Eyre, and Eleazer Eyre, on the other part, witnesseth,” &c. After which is added, “ forasmuch as the forementioned have by their agents there, taken great pains, and spent much time in the discovery of the country, all which hath cost them (as we are credibly informed) three thousand pounds and upwards, which hitherto they are wholly out of purse for, upon hope of doing good for time to come to the publick, and for other sufficient causes and considerations, the said President and Council especially moving, have given, granted, bargained, sold, enfeoffed, and confirmed to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and the rest, an house with all the privileges thereunto belonging, wherein Capt. Neal and the colony with him do or lately did reside ; among other things there is also added salt-works, lying and being situate near the harbour of Pascataqua, with all the lands adjoining, that run along five miles westward by the sea-coast, and so to cross over in an angle of three miles breadth towards a plantation in the hands of Edward Hilton, supposed to be

about Dover, and so towards Exeter." And for this grant, by way of acknowledgment, or something of like nature, as is expressed in the indenture, they were to pay 48l. per annum to the President and Council of New England, if demanded. In the same indenture it is added, that they gave power to Capt. Cammocke and Mr. Josselin, as their attornies to put them into possession thereof, which was surely to be understood, by way of anticipation, for it is known that Capt. Cammocke (who is said to be related to the Earl of Warwick) and Mr. Josselin were in England, at the time when this indenture was dated, and neither of them came to New England till about the year 1633. This indenture of November 3d, 1631, hath no other subscription in the bottom of it, but this, "*Hæc copia debite examinata verbatim inventa est concordare cum originali. Per me notarium infra testatum sacra regia autoritate admissum, atque juratum, Londini commorantem, hoc 11 die Januarii, 1631.*"

THO: DE WACHE, Notar. Publ."

This indenture, though without any hand or seal annexed, seems to be of as much force, as other instruments of like nature, produced on such like accounts, at the present time. And whereas there is mention in this indenture of Capt. Neal, and the colony with him, there residing in the said house, it must be understood, that the agents of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. Mason, with the rest, had by their order built an house, and done something also about salt-works, sometime before the year 1630; in which year Capt. Neal, with three other gentlemen, came over to Pascataqua, in the bark Warwick. He was said to be sent as Governour for Sir Ferdinando Gorges and the rest; and to superintend their affairs there. Another occasion of their sending over, was said to be searching, or making a more full discovery of an imaginary province, supposed to lie up higher into the country, called Laconia. But after three years spent in labour and travel for that end, or other fruitless endeavours, and expense of too much estate,

they returned back to England with a “non est inventa provincia.” Nor is there any thing memorable recorded as done by him, or his company, during the time of his three years’ stay, unless it were a contest between him and Capt. Wiggans, employed in like manner to begin a plantation higher up the river, for some of Shrewsbury, who being forbidden by him, the said Neal, to come upon a point of land, that lieth in the midway betwixt Dover and Exeter, Capt. Wiggans intended to have defended his right by the sword, but it seems both the litigants had so much wit in their anger, as to wave the battle, each accounting himself to have done very manfully in what was threatened; so as in respect, not of what did, but what might have fallen out, the place to this day retains the formidable name of Bloody Point.

But because the plantations of New England were all raised upon the Grand Charter of New England, given to the Council of Plymouth, as the foundation of them, the reader may take notice of the form of the said charter, as it is expressed in what follows, with the names of all those honourable persons, to whom it was first granted.

“The charter granted to the Grand Council, established at Plymouth, (of which there is often mention in this history) was put into the hands of the Duke of Lennox, Marquis Buckingham, Marquis Hamilton, Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Arundel, Earl of Bath, Earl of South Hampton, Earl of Salisbury, Earl of Warwick, Viscount Haddington, Lord Zouche, Lord Sheffield, Lord Gorges, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Robert Mansell, Sir Edward Zouche, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir Thomas Roe, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Francis Popham, Sir John Brookes, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir Richard Hawkins, Sir Richard Edgecombe, Sir Allen Apsley, Sir Warwick Heal, Sir Richard Catchmay, Sir John Bourghier, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Edward Giles, Sir Giles Mompesson, Sir Thomas Wroth, Knights;—Matthew Sutcliffe, Robert Heath, Henry Bourghier, John Drake, Rawley Gilbert, George Chudley, Thomas Hammond, and John

Argall, Esqrs. and their successours, one body corporate and politick, in deed and in name, by the Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, and governing of New England in America. We do by these presents, for us, our heirs, successours, really, and fully incorporate, erect, ordain, name, constitute, and establish, and that by the same name of the said Council they and their successours, forever hereafter, be incorporated, named, and called, and shall by the same name have perpetual succession. And further we do hereby for us, our heirs and successours, grant unto the said Council established at Plymouth, that they and their successours, by the same name, be, and shall be, and shall continue, persons able in the law from time to time, &c. And our will and pleasure is, that the said forty persons, or the greatest number of them, shall, or may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, at their own will and pleasure according to the laws and ordinances, and orders of or by them, or by the greater part of them, hereafter in manner and form in these presents mentioned to be agreed upon, to elect and choose amongst themselves one of the said forty persons for the time being, to be President of the Council, which President so elected and chosen, we will, and shall continue, and be President of the said Council for so long time as by the orders of the said Council from time to time to be made, as hereafter is mentioned, shall be thought fit, and no longer. Unto which President, or in his absence to any such person as by the orders of the said Council shall be thereunto appointed, we do give authority, to give order for the warning of the said Council, and summoning the company to their meeting. And our will and pleasure is, that from time to time, when, and so often, as any of the said Council shall happen to decease, or to be removed from being of the said Council, that then and so often the survivors of them of the said Council, and no other, or the greater number of them, who then shall be from time to time left and remaining, and who shall be, or the greater number of

which, that shall be assembled at a publick court, or meeting to be held for the said company, shall elect and choose one or more other person or persons, to be of the said Council, and which shall be from time to time of the said Council, so that the number of forty persons of the said Council, may from time to time be supplied, &c.”*

This was rightly called the Grand Charter of New England, for it was the substratum or ground work of all the following charters, or grants, that were given out to all sorts of persons, that were willing to adventure either their persons or estates, to plant or people that new country. And the first plantation about Pascataqua was begun in that order, as is last mentioned; and those that were most active therein, had continual recourse to the persons that were invested with the power of that charter, to revive and influence their hopes; for some of them obtained six or seven several grants of land between Merrimack river and Kennebeck, although, as some may be ready to think, every subsequent grant made the precedent all void. But notwithstanding the variety of these pretended grants, the planting of that side of the country went but slowly on, during the first seven years: for in the year 1631, when Edward Colcot first came thither, (who was afterwards, for want of a better, for some years together chosen governour of the plantations about Dover) there were but three houses (as he affirmed) in all that side of the country adjoining unto Pascataqua river, nor is it said that any were built by Capt. Neal; but after his return home for England, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Capt. Mason, and the rest of the adventurers, sent over other agents and supplies, for carrying on their designs. One Mr. Williams was sent over about that time, to take care of the salt-works, that were there begun; and other artificers, the chiefest of whom was one Chadbourne, that built the great house (as it used to be called) at Strawberry Bank, with several others, both planters and traders. This Williams being a prudent man, and of better quality than the rest, was chosen to be their governour; when, after Capt. Neal's

* See this charter at length, Hazard i. 103—118. *Ed.*

going away, they entered into a combination for the better enabling them to live orderly one by another; for he it was who was governour in the year 1638, when the troubles happened at Dover between Mr. Larkham and Mr. Knollis; unless he were put into that place by the President and Council of Plymouth, of which nothing is said by any of the inhabitants now left; and the rest of the plantations did not long after enter into a combination among themselves higher up the river, at Dover and Exeter, which makes it more than probable, that those did so, who were planted down lower towards the mouth thereof. For in the year 1640, May 25, "it is recorded how the inhabitants of Strawberry Bank (since called Portsmouth) having of their free and voluntary minds, and good will, given and granted several sums of money for the building and founding of a parsonage house, with a chapel thereunto united, did grant fifty acres of land to be annexed thereunto, as a glebe land belonging to the said parsonage; and all was put into the hands of two men, viz. Thomas Walford and Henry Sherburne, as church wardens, to them, and their successours, to be chosen yearly, as feoffees in trust, and to whom were to be joined the governour, and assistants for the year being; and after their dissolution by the king, two of the ablest of the parish were to be chosen, to order and manage the said parsonage." This was subscribed by

FRANCIS WILLIAMS, Governour.

AMBROSE GIBBONS, Assistant, and 18 as inhabitants.

This Williams did, soon after this, remove out of the country into the Barbados, where he died; and Wannerton was employed also as deputy or assistant under Williams; who had been a soldier, and better acquainted with using the sword of war than the sword of justice, and accordingly perished by the same sword, as may be mentioned in the year 1644. He kept Pascataqua men under awe divers years.

During these transactions at Strawberry Bank towards the mouth of the river, Capt. Wiggans carried on a distinct interest above in the higher part of the river, in be-

half of the Shrewsbury men, and others. For having begun a plantation in that place upon their account in the year 1631, he went back for England the next year, and soon after returned again, with more ample power, and means to promote what was in hand. The Bristol men had in the mean time sold their interest (which was two thirds) in the said plantation to the Lord Say, the Lord Brookes, one Mr. Willis and Mr. Whiting, who likewise employed Capt. Wiggans to act in their behalf, for the space of seven years next following; the Shrewsbury men still retaining their own share. After the time was expired, the advance not being much, the whole was prized but at six hundred pounds and sold at that lay to Capt. Wiggans; which he paid at a very easy rate, as some of his neighbours have used to say.

Those that first enterprized this design, intended religion as well as civil advantage thereby, and therefore did they send over with Capt. Wiggans, anno 1633, one Mr. Leveridge, an able and worthy minister, with promise of considerable allowance for his better subsistence; but the encouragement proving too small for his maintenance, he removed more southward, towards Plymouth or Long Island. And in his room succeeded one Mr. Burdet, a person of better knowledge and learning, than other abilities fit for that sacred function. For not long after he came thither, by the assistance and help of some that entertained a better opinion of him than ever he deserved, he invaded the civil government, and thrusting out Capt. Wiggans, placed there by the Lord Say and others, he became the governour of the place, but was himself also not long after forced to remove, by reason of sundry miscarriages he was charged with, of which there may be occasion to speak more elsewhere.

In the interim of these affairs, several persons of good estates, and some account for religion, were by the interest of the lords and other gentlemen, induced to transplant themselves thither, so many as sufficed to make a considerable township; and following the example of the plantations about the Massachusetts, they soon

after, scil. about the year 1638, attempted to gather themselves into a church estate, and had officers ordained over them for that end. But for want of discretion, if not of something else, in them that were called to that solemn work, they soon after fell into factions, and strange confusions, one part taking upon them to excommunicate and punish the other in the church and in the court; an ordinary effect of loose and pragmatick spirits, under any popular government, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

For though they had no power of government granted them by patent from the king, either mediately or immediately, yet finding the necessity of civil rule and government to be such, that no affairs could be carried on without something of that nature, they entered at last, scil. in the year 1640, into a combination among themselves. The form of which combination is after this tenour, as is left upon record :

“Whereas, sundry mischiefs and inconveniences have befallen us, and more and greater may, in regard of want of civil government, his gracious Majesty having settled no order for us, to our knowledge, we whose names are underwritten, being inhabitants upon the river of Pascataqua, have voluntarily agreed to combine ourselves into a body politick, that we may the more comfortably enjoy the benefit of his Majesty’s laws, and do hereby actually engage ourselves to submit to his royal Majesty’s laws, together with all such laws as shall be concluded by a major part of the freemen of our society, in case they be not repugnant to the laws of England, and administered in behalf of his Majesty. And this we have mutually promised and engaged to do, and so to continue, till his excellent Majesty shall give other orders concerning us. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands, October 22, in the 16 year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, Charles, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.” Subscribed by

THOMAS LARKHAM,
RICHARD WALDRENE,

WILLIAM WALDRENE,
with 38 more.

About the same time likewise, was there a plantation begun about the falls of Pascataqua, on the south side of the great bay up that river, called by the first inhabitants Exeter. This was begun by Mr. Wheelwright and others, who on his account were forced to depart out of the Massachusetts not long before, or else voluntarily bore him company. They, in like manner, judged it needful to enter into a combination by themselves, for the better enabling of them to carry on the affairs of their plantation. Their combination was in this order expressed :

“Whereas, it hath pleased the Lord to move the heart of our dread Sovereign, Charles, &c. to grant license and liberty to sundry of his subjects to plant themselves in the western part of America ; we his loyal subjects, members of the church of Exeter, situate and lying upon the river of Pascataqua, with other inhabitants there, considering with ourselves the holy will of God, and our own necessity, that we should not live without wholesome laws and civil government amongst us, of which we are altogether destitute, do in the name of Christ, and in the sight of God, combine ourselves together to erect, and set up amongst us, such government as shall be, to our best discerning, agreeable to the will of God, professing ourselves subjects to our Sovereign Lord, King Charles, according to the liberty of the English colony of the Massachusetts, and binding ourselves solemnly, by the grace and help of Christ, and in his name and fear, to submit ourselves to all such christian laws, as are established in the realm of England, to our best knowledge, and to all other such laws which shall upon good grounds be made and enacted among us, according to God, that we may live quietly and peaceably together in all godliness and honesty. October 4, 1639.”
Subscribed by

JOHN WHEELWRIGHT,
WILLIAM WENTWORTH,
GEORGE WALTON, with 32 more.

As for the Province of Maine, on the north east side of the river of Pascataqua, there were several attempts for the planting of divers places therein by Plymouth men, who had gotten patents from the great Council of Plymouth for that end; amongst whom was one Mr. Trelanney, whose interest at the last fell into the hands of Mr. Winter. Several others also claimed an interest in some of those parts, under the countenance of the Earl of Warwick; viz. Capt. Cammocke, Mr. Gaines, and others, who began to plant about a neck of land, then called Black Point. About the same time came over one Mr. Josselin, with intent to settle about Newichawanicke, upon the account of Capt. John Mason, who upon the division of the interest which he had with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, had that place assigned unto him. But upon the death of Capt. Mason, (who was the gentleman that employed him, and having none to succeed him, who was capable to carry on those designs,) he removed himself to Black Point, upon some agreement with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, into whose hands at the last fell all those places, fit for plantations in that part of the country; who obtained a confirmation thereof by a royal charter, granted to him and his heirs, under the great seal of England, bearing date anno 1639. After which confirmation he granted patents to several gentlemen to hold of him, in fee, as grand proprietor, viz. to Capt. Bonitham, about the river Saco; to Capt. Champernoon, and his cousin Gorges, about Agamenticus; employing Mr. Vines as his agent for the most part, for the managing of the plantation, which he kept in his own hands.

The gentleman who purchased the Plough patent, procured also a part of the Province of Maine to the westward of Kennebeck, who employed one Mr. Cleves to carry on his interest in those parts, so long as it was counted worth the looking after. But, in fine the inhabitants of all these plantations at Pascataqua, and in the Province of Maine, having wearied themselves with endless contentions and strifes, and having tried all conclusions of government, both by patent and combination,

and finding neither sufficient, in any tolerable degree of comfortable order, to maintain and support the grandeur of authority, like those mentioned in the prophet, they took hold of the skirt of the Massachusetts, expecting that under their wings they might find an healing of their breaches, which in some measure the more sober part of the inhabitants were willing to think they had obtained; but of late time they have met with some changes, whether for the better or the worse, future time will best discover.

But as for the plantation begun on the west side of Pascataqua river, immediately after the decease of Capt. Mason, none appearing to keep things in good order, or that had power to call the agents and servants to an account, therefore they shared the land and stock that were taken into, and left in their possession, among themselves, for the arrears of wages, or on some such like accounts, until Mrs. Anne Mason, sole executrix of Capt. John Mason, her husband, sent over her husband's kinsman, one Mr. Joseph Mason, to look after her interest there; who, finding little encouragement to proceed further therein, returned soon after himself to those that sent him, with the sad report of the ruins of a fair estate, that had been laid out upon an unprofitable design, which all the rest of the partners had experience of, as well as those that remained of the rest of that gentleman's family. There were other attempts by him, which failed in like manner, for want of means to carry them on, or for want of faithful agents; for some who are yet surviving, do affirm that Capt. Mason did, in the year 1634, send over agents to set up a saw-mill about Newichawanock, upon an agreement betwixt himself and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who had both of them taken a patent together for the land between Merrimack river and Sagadahock, bearing date November 17, 1629. And by mutual agreement afterwards, Capt. Mason was to have that part of the Province of Maine allotted to him as his share of the division. Much other estate was sent over by him, which by ill management came to little.

It hath been affirmed likewise by Mr. Josselin, who first came over into New England on Capt. Mason's account, that there was the same agreement made betwixt Mr. Matthew Cradock and Capt. John Mason, that the bounds of the Massachusetts should reach to three miles to the northward of Merrimack, and the remainder of the land betwixt that line and Pascataqua river should be left for Capt. Mason's patent; which it hath been credibly affirmed that he consented unto. But he dying in the latter end of the year 1635, all that he had done before came to little or nothing. Neither had he opportunity to send over the seventy families, which some to this day affirm he engaged to do, and which is judged very probable he did; because by his last will and testament he gave about a thousand acres of land to the town of Lynn, in Norfolk, where himself was born, upon condition that they should send over a certain number of families within a time prefixed; but his death happening so soon after, gave a supersedeas to all such promises and purposes of his; and his successors not attempting to carry on the designs which he had begun, the whole tract of land, included within those grants of his, were soon after possessed by his servants and others, as was said before, as a kind of "vacuum domicilium;" which is the true estate of those places, challenged at present by his successor.

Of all the persons who were concerned in the business of New England, or whose names were inserted in the grand council thereof, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason were the more active, and probably had the greatest interest therein. Possibly they might, one or both of them, bear some office in and about that council, either as Secretary or Treasurer. But having spent much time and cost, and taken a great deal of pains, and perceiving nothing like to come to perfection, and fearing that they should ere long be forced to resign up their Grand Charter into the hands of the King, they adventured upon a new project in the latter end of the year 1684, and beginning of the year 1685, which was to have pro-

cured a general governour for the whole country of New England to be forthwith sent over, and to reduce the whole country into twelve provinces, from St. Croix, to the Lord Baltimore's province in Virginia; and because the Massachusetts patent stood in their way, (which province was then well peopled and planted) they endeavoured to get that patent revoked, and that all might be reduced to a new form of government, under one general governour. For in June, 1635, it was certified by letters from the Lord Say, and by the report of divers passengers, that such petitions were put up to the King, and to the Lords of the Council, the copies of which were sent then over. They were put up under the hands of the Duke of Lenox, Marquis Hamilton, the Earl of Arundel, Earl of Carlile, Earl of Sterling, the Lord Gorges, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Capt. John Mason; though it was probably conceived that it was the project of Sir Ferdinando Gorges himself only.

That to the Lords was after this manner.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS,

"Whereas, it pleased your Lordships to give order to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to confer with such as were chiefly interested in the plantations of New England, to resolve whether they would resign wholly to his Majesty the patent of New England, and to leave to his Majesty and his council the sole managing of the publick affairs, with reservation of every man's right formally granted, or whether they would stand to the said patent, and prosecute the business amongst themselves, and to have the said patent renewed, with the reformation, or addition of such things as should be found expedient:"

Then it followed, "We whose names are here underwritten, being interested in the business, do humbly submit to his Majesty's pleasure to do therewith as he pleaseth.

"But withal we humbly desire, that upon our resignation of our said patent, his Majesty being disposer of the whole country, severally, and immediately from himself, those divisions upon the seacoast, that are here under

designed, may be instantly confirmed, and bestowed, by new grants from his Majesty unto us, to be holden of his Majesty, paying the fifth part, &c. and with the privilege of the said patent, and such further royalties, as the Lord Baltimore hath in his patent for the country of Maryland, saving only that we should submit ourselves to the general governour, now presently to be established by his Majesty for the whole country, and after his decease, or other determination of his office, that then from the lords of his province, there may be an election of three by lot, which said three persons, so elected, shall be presented to the King, that out of that number one may be chosen by his Majesty, to succeed in the place of the general governour; who shall in person, or by his sufficient deputy, (who shall reside in the country during the space of three years only,) and so from three years to three years, another governour to be chosen successively, and the old governour to be left out of the lot of choice."

The several divisions of the twelve provinces next followed after. The first was from St. Croix to Pemaquid. The second, from Pemaquid to Sagadahock. The third contained the land between the rivers Ambross Coggin* and Kennebeck. The fourth, along the sea coast from Sagadahock to Pascataqua. The fifth, from Pascataqua to Naumkeek. The sixth, from Naumkeek round the sea coast by Cape Cod to Narraganset. The seventh, from Narraganset to the half way bound betwixt that and Connecticut river, and so 50 miles up into the country. The eighth, from the half way bound to Connecticut river, and so 50 miles up into the country. The ninth, from Connecticut river along the sea coast to Hudson's river, and so up 30 miles, &c. The tenth, from the 30 miles end, to cross up 40 miles eastward. The eleventh, from the west side of Hudson's river, 30 miles up the country towards the 40th degree, where New England beginneth. The twelfth, from the end of the 30 miles up the said river northward, thirty miles further, and from thence to cross into the land 40 miles. And

* Androscoggin. *Ed.*

out of every one of those provinces was 5000 acres to be granted to certain persons there named, in lieu of some former grants made to each of them in those divisions which they were now to surrender, and to hold each man his 5000 acres in fee of the lord of the province; and the lord of every one of these twelve provinces was to send the same year ten men with the general governor, well provided.

To all which it is added, in the last place :

“It is humbly desired that your lordships would be pleased to order these things following.

“1. That the patent for the plantation of the Massachusetts Bay may be revoked, and that all those who have any other grants within any of these provinces, whether they have planted or not, upon any part of the same, yet they shall enjoy their lands, laying down their *jura regalia*, if they had any, and paying some reasonable acknowledgment as freeholders to the lord of the province, of whom they are now to take new grants of their said lands; and in case any of their lands shall be found having exorbitant bounds, to have been unlawfully obtained, they shall be reduced to a lesser proportion, as may be fit for the grantor, who is undertaker at the direction of Sir Ferdinando Gorges; and if the grantee shall be any ways refractory, and refuse to surrender, and hold anew of the said lord of the province, that then your lordships would take order by such course, as law will permit, to make void the same.

“2. That every river, that parts two provinces, shall equally belong, half way over, to that province it lies contiguous to.

“3. That the islands upon the sea coast, or within the river of any province, being not here named, shall belong to the province they lie nearest unto.

“4. That there is offered to your lordships' considerations, the building of a city for the seat of the governor; unto which city 40000 acres of land may be allotted, besides the divisions above mentioned. And that every one that is to have any of these provinces,

shall be at the charge of sending over with the governour, ten men, towards the building of the said city; wherein every such adventurer shall not only have his share of the trade and buildings, but also shall have all other fruit of the ten men's labour, sent as aforesaid.

"Moreover there is humbly dedicated to the foundation of a church in the said city, and maintenance of clergymen to serve in the said church, 10000 acres of land, near adjoining to the said city."

Certainly at the first venting of this project, the author did not know, at least not consider, that fifty thousand acres of unimproved land in New England was not at that time worth fifty pounds; and therefore would have done but little, as to the building of cities, and endowing of churches. And at this day there is not much of the land in the country, unless in the midst of two or three trading towns, is worth little more than hath been expended in the breaking of it up and fencing of it in.

But to go on. The petition of the aforesaid lords, &c. to the king's majesty, was after this form.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST SACRED MAJESTY,

"It is humbly desired by the Duke of Lenox, &c. ancient patentees, and adventurers in the plantation of New England, that forasmuch as they are now presently to join in the surrender to your Majesty of the grand patent of their corporation, that your royal Majesty will be graciously inclined to give order to your attorney general, to draw several patents of such parcels of land, as by their mutual consent have been allotted to them; and to have the same patents prepared fit for your Majesty's royal signature, with such titles, privileges, immunities, as have been heretofore granted, either to them, or to any other by your Majesty; or by your late royal father, King James, of blessed memory, with reservations of appeal to the governour or lieutenant of the territories, in cases reasonable; that they, knowing their own interest, may be the better able to plant and govern them to your Majesty's honour, their particular profits, and their people's civil government and faithful obedience to the laws of your sacred Majesty. April 6, 1635."

In order to the carrying on of some such design, as seems to be intended in the forementioned petitions, there is a copy of some such agreement concerning one of the forementioned provinces, which the forenamed persons promised to grant to Capt. John Mason, which seems to be drawn up not long before, about that, which runs after this tenour.

“Forasmuch as by a mutual agreement, we whose names are subscribed, patentees or adventurers, and of the council of New England, are to join in the surrender to his Majesty of the great charter of that country, which was granted to us in the 18th year of the reign of King James, of blessed memory; in whose presence, Feb. 3, 1634, lots were drawn for settling of divers and sundry divisions of lands on the sea coasts of the said country, upon most of us, who hitherto have never been confirmed in the lands so allotted :

And to the intent that every one of us according to equity, and in some reasonable manner, answerable to his adventures, or other interest, may enjoy a proportion of the lands of the said country, to be immediately holden of his Majesty : We therefore do condescend, and agree, that all the part of the sea coast of the country aforesaid, shall belong to Capt. John Mason, to begin at the middle of Naumkeek river, and from thence to proceed eastward along the sea coast to Cape Anne, and round about the same into Pascataqua harbour, and so forward up the river of Newichawanock, and to the furthest head of the said river, and from thence northward, till 60 miles be finished from the first entrance of Pascataqua harbour. Also from Naumkeek through the harbour and river thereof, up into the land west 60 miles; from which period to cross over land to the 60 miles end, accounted from Pascataqua, through Newichawanock river, and into the said land northwest as aforesaid; and hereunto is to belong the south half of the Isle of Shoals, and 10000 acres of land on the southeast part of Sagadahock, at the mouth or entrance thereof. Saving and reserving out of this division, to every one

that hath any lawful grant of lands, or plantation lawfully settled in the same, the freeholding and enjoying of his right, with the liberties thereunto appertaining, laying down his *jura regalia*, if he have any, to the proprietor of his division, wherein his land lieth, and paying some small acknowledgment, for that he is now to hold his said land anew of the proprietor of his division."

LENOX,	EDWARD GORGES,
HAMILTON,	
ARUNDEL & SURREY,	
CARLILE,	FERD. GORGES.
STARLING.	

Concordat cum originali facta collatione per me,
THOMAS MAYDWEL, Notar. Publicum.

It is not known that many of the rest obtained such like grants as that late described, from the grand council, before they surrendered, which it is said was done in June, 1635, and Capt. Mason deceasing before that year was expired, he never obtained a confirmation of it from the king, as Sir Ferdinando Gorges did of the Province of Maine, in the year 1639. And whether such an act of consent of the grand council, being not confirmed, can invalidate the actual possession of others, that entered upon the land as void of all grant and possession, especially if their possessions were in like manner granted by the grand council, were confirmed by any preceding grant from his royal majesty, is not hard to determine.

By these steps and degrees was the first planting of the land about Pascataqua carried on; nor was the right and title of any of the present inhabitants ever particularly and expressly questioned, or any kind of rent demanded of them, till the year 1679, by Mr. Mason, or any in his name before; the validity of whose pretensions is at this present time under debate, the issue of which will ere long be made known.

Some gentlemen in England not long before, or about the time, when the grand charter of New England was surrendered up into the hands of the king, had prepared a ship of considerable bigness, which should have been

employed in bringing over the general governour, and to have been kept there as a man of war; but the design succeeded very ill, for the ship in the launching, turned on one side and broke her back, which caused them to lay aside their purpose, as was mentioned before, Chap. 27. And not long after, one of the gentlemen, that was known to be one of the greatest adversaries to the affairs of the Massachusetts, fell sick, and died soon after. In his sickness he sent for the minister, and bewailed his enmity against them, and promised, if he recovered, to be as great a friend to New England, as ever he had been an enemy before. But his fatal hour being come, his purposes of that nature were cut off; which should instruct all to do the good they intend, while their time lasteth, for there is no work nor device in the grave, whither they are going. The passage foregoing was certified by letters from my Lord Say and others, to the governour of New England, about the year 1635.

CHAP. XXXII.

The general affairs of the Massachusetts, from the year 1636 to the year 1641.

THINGS had hitherto been very successfully carried on in the Massachusetts; and in the entrance of the year 1636, the 25th of May, Mr. Henry Vane, that arrived there with sundry other gentlemen in the year 1635, was chosen governour of the Massachusetts colony, at which time also Mr. Winthrop was chosen deputy governour, and Mr. Roger Harlakenden, that came along in the same ship with Mr. Vane, the year before, was chosen an assistant.

There was then as great hopes of the continuance of the peace and prosperity of the plantation, as ever before, or rather greater. But often a bright morning is followed with a dark and obscure evening. Many sad and threatening storms of trouble were observed falling upon that country, before this lustre was half run out, some of which were mingled with showers of blood; although

in the beginning thereof there were many new plantations carrying on, both about the Bay, and up higher in the country, as far as Connecticut river, an hundred miles westward from Boston. And now the country increasing, and growing every year more populous than other, by the addition of many hundred families, that every season were resorting thither, it was judged reasonable to make some further progress in settling the government, by some other forms or ways of council and courts of judicature, for the safety and ease of the people, and to prevent the travelling of the inhabitants many miles from their own places to obtain justice ; long journeys at that time being, for want of horses and other means of transportation, very difficult to any sort of people.

Therefore about the beginning of this lustre, a Standing Council was ordered to be chosen out of the magistrates, and to be for term of life, unless for some weighty cause they were found unworthy ; and the governour for the time being was always to be president. But since that time, upon further experience, every particular magistrate is declared to be of the standing council of the country. At this time there were but three to be the standing council, viz. the Governour, Mr. Winthrop, and Mr. Dudley.

Further also, besides the quarter courts, when all the magistrates were wont to meet, other particular courts were ordered to be kept at Boston, New-Town, (since Cambridge,) Salem and Ipswich, consisting of one magistrate at least, and three or four associates, chosen by the court out of the persons nominated by the freemen of their several jurisdictions, with liberty to appeal to the quarter courts ; (which since that time are reduced to two, called the Courts of Assistants, one in March, and the other in September, in every year,) if either plaintiff or defendant found themselves aggrieved by the proceedings of those inferiour courts. The proceedings in either of these courts, is after the manner of the sessions or assizes, by juries, grand and petit, &c. in the realm of England.

There were also about that time two general courts established, in which it was ordered that no act should proceed, unless the major part both of the magistrates and deputies should consent; although since that time, there hath been some alteration so far made, that in case of non-agreement, both magistrates and deputies should vote together, and the major part of both, so voting, should determine any matter of civil controversy.

At the same time it was also enacted, that every particular township should have power of their own affairs, and to set mulcts upon any offender against publick order, not exceeding 20 shillings, which power the inhabitants have liberty to exact in their own society, or their publick meeting days, or by their prudential men, whom they have liberty to choose, (the whole not exceeding seven,) to order the affairs of their several townships.

As also in order to the publick safety of the colony, it was about this time divided into three several regiments, that were to be managed by so many Colonels, with their Lieutenants; which yet hath since been altered, and the military matters committed to a Major in every particular county, and to a Major General for the oversight of the whole.

But in the year 1636, under the government of Mr. Vane, many clouds began to gather, threatening a storm, both civil and ecclesiastical, like to ensue ere long. The body of the freemen, having taken much offence at his managing of the chief affairs, did, at the next court of election, not only lay him aside from being governour any longer, making an order immediately, that no man should ever after be made governour, before he had been one whole year in the country at least, but also left him out from being an assistant, not willing he should have any further hand in the government; which possibly occasioned his removal back to England, sooner than else he intended, towards the end of the year 1637, whither the present history shall not pursue him; although it is not unworthy taking notice, what an eminent minister

of the country solemnly declared concerning him, not long before his departure thence, which had its accomplishment in his fatal end not long since, on the Tower hill in London; which yet is not spoken to prejudice any esteem that christian people then had, of his share in the eternal mercy of the living God.

But to return: In the room of the said Mr. Vane, at the next court of election, kept at Cambridge, May the 17th, 1637, (and difficultly carried on, by reason of some obstructions laid in the way, by such as were of the former governour's party in the country,) was chosen Mr. Winthrop as governour, and Mr. Dudley as deputy governour, under whose wise conduct the country soon recovered its former beauty, place, and splendour, which had been very much eclipsed in the misguiding and bad conduct of the former governour; the particulars of which, and the disturbance occasioned thereby, shall be discoursed by themselves in the following chapters.

In the year 1638, the court of election happened on May 2d, when Mr. Winthrop was again called to be governour, and Mr. Dudley deputy governour, of whose wisdom and integrity the country had had so much and so long experience before, that they were very loath to change any more.

At the same court liberty was granted for the erecting of several new plantations within the bounds of the Massachusetts colony, as at Hampton and Salisbury, places situated between the rivers of Merrimack and Pascataqua, well stored with meadow lands and salt marshes, although the uplands were something sandy, and likely to be barren.

Liberty also was granted for another plantation or township, at a place called by the English Sudbury, within five miles of Concord, planted first in the year 1635.

Besides the forementioned plantations, another was granted to a company that came with an eminent minister of the gospel, Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, out of Yorkshire,

since by them called Rowley, with respect to a town of that name in Yorkshire, whereof the said reverend person had been a long time minister.

But that which was in this year more to be observed, was the founding of a college at that place, called before (in reference to some others formerly planted) New-Town; but now with relation to the seat of the muses, who at this time had an invitation thither, and a foundation laid for their future flourishing there, called Cambridge; and which in honour of a worthy minister, Mr. Harvard by name, that had bequeathed seven hundred pounds toward so pious a work, was called Harvard College. In the year 1636 there was 400*l.* given by the general court for the furthering thereof.

In the year 1637 a committee was chosen to take care about the building of the said college; and in this present year it arose to so much perfection as to have that honourable name imposed upon it. What helps it hath since received by general benefactors, by whom endowed, and of what use it hath been in following times to the promoting of good literature, for the upholding both of church and state, may be mentioned probably afterwards:—most of the towns in the country, at this time about an hundred in all, being furnished with able ministers that there had their education.

At the following election, May 22, 1639, the former governour and deputy governour were continued in their places, as the year before; during which time it might be said of New England, as sometimes of Judah, things went well, and were attended with the former prosperity, both in encouraging the just, and bearing witness against the oppressors and unrighteous dealers.

May 12, 1640, Mr. Dudley was honoured with the place of governour, and Mr. Bellingham with that of deputy governour; at which court there was liberty granted for two other plantations, in the more inland parts of the country, to the westward of the towns of Ipswich and Newbury; the first called Haverhill, the other Andover, with reference to some of the planters that belonged to those towns in the realm of England.

Hitherunto divine providence did, with arms of abundant goodness, as a nursing father, uphold this infant province of New England, as was said of Ephraim, when God learned him to go, taking him by the hand. But for the future they were left more to stand upon their own legs, and shift for themselves ; for now there was a great change in the state of the country, the inhabitants being put to great straits by reason of the fall of the price of cattle, the breeding and increase of which had been the principal means of upholding the country next under divine favour, shining out upon them, by many unexpected advantages ; for whereas before, all sorts of great cattle were usually sold for 25l. the head, by reason of the continual coming over of new families every year to plant the wilderness. Now that fountain began to be dried, and the stream turned another way, and many that intended to have followed their neighbours and friends into a land not sown, hoping by the turn of the times, and the great changes that were then afoot, to enjoy that at their own doors and homes, which the other had travelled so far to seek abroad ; there happened a total cessation of any passengers coming over ; yea, rather, as at the turn of a tide, many came back with the help of the same stream, or sea, that carried them thither ; insomuch, that now the country of New England was to seek of a way to provide themselves of clothing, which they could not attain by selling of their cattle as before ; which now were fallen from that huge price forementioned, first to 14l. and 10l. an head, and presently after (at least within a year), to 5l. apiece ; nor was there at that rate ready vent for them neither. Thus the flood that brought in much wealth to many persons, the contrary ebb carried all away, out of their reach. To help in this their exigent, besides the industry that the present necessity put particular persons upon, for the necessary supply of their families, the general court made several orders for the manufacture of woollen and linen cloth ; which with God's blessing upon man's endeavour, in a little time stopped this gap in part, and

soon after another door was opened by special providence. For when one hand was shut by way of supply from England, another was opened by way of traffick, first to the West Indies and Wine Islands, whereby, among other goods, much cotton wool was brought into the country from the Indies; which the inhabitants learning to spin, and breeding of sheep, and by sowing of hemp and flax, they soon found out a way to supply themselves with many necessaries, of linen and woollen cloth.

Thanks be to the Almighty, the country was not driven to those straits to lay hold of the skirts of the next comer, for want of meat and clothing; for being so well furnished with the one, they soon found out a way by the abundance thereof, to supply themselves with the other, which hath been the general way of the subsistence of the country ever since; and is like, by the blessing of heaven, to continue, so long as the original grant of divine bounty continues, (which is the grand tenour whereby mankind do hold in capite of the supreme Head and Governour of the world) of multiplying the fish of the sea, and beasts on the earth, or fowl in the air, and the growing of the grass and fruits of the earth, for the food of man and beast, that their granaries may be full, their oxen strong to labour, and other creatures bring forth thousands in their streets.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Various occurrences in the Massachusetts, from the year 1636 to 1641.

News of the scarceness of provision in New England being carried over the sea, in the end of the year 1634, many ships laden therewith, were, by the special favour of God, early there the next year; most of them that came in the spring making their way over in five weeks time; though some that could not be ready to set out till the middle of the summer, made it five and twenty before they reached their port; with whom were em-

barked Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, afterwards called to be pastor of the church at Ipswich, and Mr. Partridge, afterwards called to Duxbury, in Plymouth colony. They were driven to half a pint of water a man, and much scantied in all other provision; yet through the goodness of God came all ashore in good health, in or about the month of November, 1636.

One of the first ships that arrived here that year was the *Charity*, of Dartmouth, laden with provision, at that time very scarce. She brought comfort in her very name, and was by special providence preserved in the mouth of the Bay, between Alerton's point and Nantasket, having struck ground twice upon the ebb, in a strong north-west wind, but was got off very strangely, and her provision very charitably distributed to poor people that then were in great distress, at a moderate price.

Mr. Henry Vane being chosen governour that year, (the son and heir of Sir Henry Vane, one of the privy council,) all the ships in the harbour congratulated his election with a volley of shot. The next week he invited all the commanders to a treat, fifteen in all; after that was ended, he propounded three things, which they all gladly accepted. 1. That after this year, all ships bound in hither, should come to an anchor below the Castle, (which is built on a small island a league below the town) unless they should signify before hand, by sending their boat ashore, that they were friends. 2. That before they offered any goods to sale, they should deliver an invoice, and give the governour liberty for 24 hours for refusal. 3. That their men might not stay ashore (except upon necessary business) after sun set. It had been well, that as the captains of fifteen great ships had condescended to these propositions, all others had been bound to observe them; but it is easier to propound good orders, than to see them, or cause them to be performed.

A just occasion of making such proposals, was the arrival (a little before that time) of the *St. Patrick*, belonging to Sir Thomas Wentworth, then deputy of Ireland, whereof one Palmer was master. The Lieut. of the

Castle made the master strike his flag, although the colours were not then aboard, which he complained of to the magistrates as an injury. Upon hearing the case, they condemned the Lieut. for doing that which he had no commission to do; and therefore tendered the master such satisfaction as he desired, which was only this; that the Lieut. should, aboard his ship, make acknowledgment of his errour, that so all the ship's company might receive satisfaction; lest the lord deputy should *also* have been informed that they offered that discourtesy to his ship, which they never offered to any before.

One Miller, master's mate of the Hector, (a stately ship which lay then in the harbour,) had told some of the people aboard their ship, that they were all traitors and rebels in New England, because they had not the king's colours at the Castle. The governour acquainted Mr. Farne, the master, with it, who promised to deliver him to them. Whereupon they sent the marshal for him, with four serjeants; but the master not being aboard at that time, they would not deliver him; whereupon the master himself went and brought him to the court, and the words being proved against him by two witnesses, he was committed. The next day the master, to pacify his men, (who were in a great tumult,) requested he might be delivered to him, and did undertake to bring him before them again the next day, which was granted him, and he brought him accordingly at the time appointed. Then in the presence of all the rest of the masters, he acknowledged his offence, and set his hand to a submission, and was discharged. Then the governour desired the masters that they would deal freely, and tell them if they took any offence, and what they required of them. They answered, that in regard they should be examined upon their return what colours they saw there, they did desire that the king's colours might be spread at their fort. It was answered that they had not the king's colours; thereupon two of them did freely offer to give them one. The governour replied, that whatsoever they thought or persuaded of the cross in the ensign,

as idolatrous in the rise or occasion of it, (and therefore might not set it in their own ensign,) yet because the fort was the king's, and maintained in his name, they thought it might be spread there. So the governour accepted the colours of Capt. Palmer, and promised they should be set up at the Castle, which accordingly was done.

In the year 1638 the plantations were begun at Salisbury, and at Winniconet, afterwards Hampton. This latter gave some occasion of difference between the Massachusetts and some of Pascataqua, which was this.

Mr. Wheelwright, after he was sent out of the Massachusetts, gathered a company and sat down at the falls of Pascataqua, and called their town Exeter; and for their enlargement they dealt with an Indian there, and bought of him Winniconet, and then signified to the Massachusetts what they had done, and that they intended to lay out all those lands in farms, except they could show a better title. They wrote also to those who had begun to plant there, to desist, &c. Those letters coming to the general court, that they looked at this dealing against good neighbourhood, religion, and common honesty: that knowing they claimed Winniconet within their patent, or as *vacuum domicilium*, and had taken possession thereof by building an house there, about two years since, they should now go about by purchase to procure an unknown title, and then come and inquire of their right that had been possessed thereof before. It was in the same letter also manifestly demonstrated, that the Indians having only a natural right to so much land as they had or could improve, the rest of the country lay open to them that should occupy the same, as by the said letter did more at large appear.

Those of Exeter replied to the answer of the Massachusetts, being resolved still to maintain the Indian right, and their interest thereby. But in the mean time the Massachusetts had sent men to discover Merrimack, and found some part of it about Pennacooke to lie more northerly than forty three and a half degrees; and so returned answer to them, that though they would not

relinquish their interest by priority of possession, for any right they could have from the Indians; yet seeing they had professed not to claim any thing [which] should fall within the limits of the Massachusetts patent, it was expected they should look no further than that, in respect of their claim.

On the 4th of September, 1639, divers gentlemen, being joined in a military company, in and about Boston, desired to be made a corporation. But the council considering (from the example of the Prætorian bands among the Romans, and the Templars in Europe,) how dangerous it might be, to erect a standing authority of military men, which might easily in time overtop the civil power, thought fit to stop it betimes; yet they were allowed to be a company, but subordinate to the authority of the country.

Thus were the chief rulers of the country not only ready to espy, but timely prevent any inconveniency that might in after time arise. Yet were they not able to prevent jealousies and animosities, occasioned thereby, from stirring in men's minds, which did more eminently appear by the transactions of the year 1638 and 1639. Some of the deputies at the court of election 1639, were much blamed by the freemen for yielding to a late order made in the general court in the former year, for reducing of the towns to two deputies; which many accounted an abridgment of their liberty, seeing they were wont to send three before. Therefore many of the deputies at the next sessions of the court propounded to have the same number restored; but after much debate, such reasons were given for the diminishing the number of the deputies, which were now not a little increased by the addition of many new plantations, that divers of the deputies who came with intent to reverse the last order, were by force of reason brought to uphold it; so that when it was put to the vote, the last order, for two deputies, was confirmed. Nor could the petition from Roxbury, strengthened with the hands of some of the elders, prevail to an alteration.

Another matter of jealousy, stirring at the court, was

about the standing council, which had been established by serious advice of the elders, and had been in practice two or three years, without any inconvenience ; but now several of the deputies had a pique at it, and tendered an order at the next session of the court, that no person chosen a counsellor, should have any authority as a magistrate, except he were in the annual election chosen thereunto. But the magistrates wisely chose rather to answer the difficulty, by explanation of the former fundamental order, than by drawing up any new one ; viz. to declare that the intent of the said order was, that the standing council always should be chosen out of the magistrates ; therefore that no such counsellor shall have any power as a magistrate, nor act as a magistrate, &c. except he be annually chosen, &c. according to the patent ; and this order was after passed by vote, and put a stop to any further agitation about that matter.

That which led those of the council to yield to this desire of the deputies, was because it concerned themselves ; and they did more study to remove those jealousies out of the people's heads, than to preserve any power or dignity to themselves above others.

One great occasion also of those jealousies was a secret envy in some spirits against Mr. Winthrop, because he was so often chosen governour ; (though no oftener than his worth deserved, and the condition of the colony needed ;) a place which he did never ambitiously seek, yea, did at this time unfeignedly desire to be forborne, if it might have been, that he might have had leisure to attend his family concerns, wherein he suffered much in those days, as is well known, both by the unskilfulness and unfaithfulness of him whom he trusted to manage his farm and estate. And at that time the straits of the whole country were such, that every plantation and family had enough to do, to know how to subsist, till the providence of God put them into another way of livelihood, than formerly they had been acquainted with.

About this time it was that divers of the inhabitants of Lynn, finding themselves straitened, looked out for a

new plantation; and going to Long Island, they agreed with the Lord Starling's agent there, (one Mr. Fothead,) for a parcel of the isle near the west end, and agreed with the Indians for their right. The Dutch hearing of this, and laying claim to that part of the island, by a former purchase from the Indians, sent men to take possession of the place, and set up the arms of the Prince of Orange upon a tree. The Lynn men sent ten or twelve men with provisions, &c. who began to build, and took down the prince's arms, and in the place thereof, an Indian had drawn an unhandsome face. The Dutch took this in high displeasure, and sent soldiers, who fetched away the Lynn men, and imprisoned them a few days, not discharging them without taking an oath. Upon this, the Lynn men, (finding themselves too weak, and having no encouragement to expect aid from the English,) deserted that place, and took another at the east end of the island; and being now about forty families, they proceeded in their plantation, and called one Mr. Peirson, a man of good learning, and eminent piety, a member of Boston church, to go with them; who, with seven or eight more of the company, gathered into a church body at Lynn before they went, and the whole company entered into a civil combination, with the advice of some of the magistrates of the Bay, to become a corporation. Upon this occasion the Dutch governour, one Kieff, (a discreet man,) wrote to the governour at Boston, of the English usurpations, both at Connecticut and now also at Long Island, and of the abuse offered to the prince's arms, &c. and thereupon excused his imprisoning their men. To which the governour of the Massachusetts returned answer, that their desire had been always to hold a peace and good correspondency with all their neighbours; and though they would not maintain any of their countrymen in any unjust action, yet they might not suffer them to be injured, &c. As for their neighbours of Connecticut, he knew they were not now under their government as formerly; and for those of Long Island, they went voluntarily from

• William Kieft. *Ed.*

them : with which it is supposed he rested satisfied, so as the plantation at that place, (called South-Hampton,) went on comfortably, without any let or molestation from them afterwards.

In this present year, 1640, there came over great store of provisions, both out of England and Ireland, and but few passengers, and those brought very little money ; which was occasioned by the store of money and quick markets the merchants found there, the two or three years before. So as now all their money being drained away, cattle and all commodities grew exceeding cheap ; which enforced them, the next general court, to make an order, that corn should pass in payment of new debts ; Indian at 4s. per bushel, rye at 5s. wheat at 6s. and that upon all executions for former debts, the creditor might take what goods he pleased, (or if he had no goods, then his lands,) to be appraised by three men, one chosen by the creditor, one by the debtor, and the third by the marshal. On such occasion were particular orders made in the general court ; but lasted no longer than the present exigent continued. For the people, having long desired a body of laws, and thought their condition very unsafe while so much power rested in the discretion of the magistrates, prevailed at the last to have the matter committed to two divines, each of whom formed a model ; which were presented to the general court, 1639, and by them committed to the governour and deputy, with some others, to be considered of ; and which, after longer deliberation and preparation, were confirmed by the authority of the next general court, 1641. This matter had been long before under debate, (yet it may be not long enough,) and referred to some of the magistrates, and some of the ministers, but still it came to no effect ; for being committed to the care of many, whatsoever was done by some (as is usual in such cases) was still disliked by others ; till at the last, falling into two hands, it was soon after put to an issue in the said year. A model of Moses his judicials, compiled in an exact method, had been presented to the general court

in October, 1636. But other emergent difficulties then falling in, the business was not revived till the end of this lustre, and not completely finished till the beginning of the next.

As for the college, which was erected in the year 1638, it was matter of great encouragement to those who had laid out their estates, and hazarded their lives, to make a settled plantation here, to see one of the schools of the prophets set up; that from thence they might be supplied with persons fit to manage the affairs both of church and state, at such a time when a supply was like to fail elsewhere. But herein they were very unhappy, that the first man who was called to preside there, so much failed the expectation of those that reposed so much confidence in him; viz. Mr. Nathaniel Eaton, who proved a mere Orbilius, and fitter to have been an officer in the inquisition, or master of an house of correction, than an instructor of christian youth. It was said that he had been initiated among the Jesuits, though he was sent over into Holland for the sake of Doct. Ames; but having that opportunity, he might easily acquaint himself with the other, and from thence receive those principles of avarice, pride, and cruelty, which here he began to practise. But being so notorious in the discovery thereof, he was convented before the court in September, 1639, where he was put out of his place, fined an hundred mark, and adjudged to give 30l. to Mr. Briscoe, (whom he had taken into his family to assist him in the nature of an usher,) for his cruel and unmerciful beating of him with a cudgel, causing two men to hold him the mean time. After this he fled out of the country, and could by no means be reduced to an acknowledgment of his error. After his departure, one Mr. Henry Dunster was called to the place, under whom that which was before but, at the best, *schola illustris*, grew to the stature or perfection of a college, and flourished in the profession of all liberal sciences, for many years after.

This and the former lustre were the golden age of

New England, when vice was crushed, as well by the civil, as sacred sword; especially oppression, and extortion in prices and wages, which is injustice done to the publick. There was some exemplary punishment adjudged to some offenders in this kind, in the year 1639, for selling above 33l. per cent; but since that time the common practice of the country hath made double that advance no sin; an evil which, though every one feels the burthen of, yet none know how to ease themselves thereof. A remarkable instance was that year given in one F. P. who for asking an excessive price for a pair of stocks which he was hired to frame, had the honour to sit an hour in them first himself, to warn others not to offend in the like kind.

CHAP. XXXIV.

John Oldham murdered by the Indians of Block Island; how discovered, and the war that followed thereupon with them, and the Pequods, their abettors.

CAPT. STONE was killed by the Pequods in the year 1634, which they excused with false pretence, earnestly soliciting the Massachusetts to make a peace with them. But in the year 1686, John Oldham's death was so manifest, that it could neither be concealed nor excused: the discovery whereof being remarkable, was as followeth. One J. Gallop, with one man more, and two boys, coming from Connecticut, and intending to put in at Long Island, as he came from thence, being at the mouth of the harbour, was forced by a sudden change of the wind to bear up for Block Island, or Fisher's Island; where, as they were sailing along, they met with a pinnace, which they found to be John Oldham's, who had been sent to trade with the Pequods, (to make trial of the reality of their pretended friendship, after the murder of Capt. Stone.) They hailed the vessel, but had no answer, although they saw the deck full of Indians, (fourteen in all,) and a little before that had seen a canoe go from the vessel full of Indians likewise, and goods.

Whereupon they suspected they had killed John Oldham, who had only two boys and two Narraganset Indians in his vessel besides himself; and the rather because they let slip, and set up sail (being two miles from shore, the wind and tide coming off the shore of the island, whereby they drave toward the main land of Narraganset). Therefore they went ahead of them, and having nothing but two pieces and two pistols, they bore up near the Indians, who stood on the deck of the vessel, ready armed with guns, swords, and pikes. But John Gallop, a man of stout courage, let fly among them, and so galled them, that they got all down under hatches; and then they stood off again, and returning with a good gale, they stemmed her upon the quarter, and almost overset her; which so affrightened the Indians, that six of them leaped overboard, and were drowned. Yet they durst not board her, but stood off again, and fitted their anchor, so as stemming her the second time, they bored her bow through with their anchor, and sticking fast to her, they made divers shot through the sides of her, and so raked her fore and aft, (being but inch board,) as they must needs kill or hurt some of the Indians; but seeing none of them come forth, they got loose from her, and then stood off again; then four or five more of the Indians leaped into the sea, and were likewise drowned. Whereupon, there being but four left in her, they boarded her; whereupon an Indian came up and yielded: him they bound, and put him into the hold. Then another yielded; him they also bound: but J. Gallop being well acquainted with their skill to unloose one another, if they lay near together, and having no place to keep them asunder, he flung him bound into the sea; then looking about they found John Oldham under an old sail, stark naked, having his head cleft to the brains, his hands and legs cut as if they had been cutting them off, yet warm; so they put him into the sea; but could not well tell how to come at the other two Indians, (who were in a little room underneath with their swords;) so they took the goods which were left, and the sails, and towed the

boat away ; but night coming on, and the wind rising, they were forced to turn her off, and the wind carried her to the Narraganset shore, where they left her.

On the 26th of said July, the two Indians which were with John Oldham, and one other Indian, came from Canonicus, (the chief sachem of the Narragansets,) with a letter from Mr. Williams, to signify what had befallen John Oldham, and how grievously they were offended ; and that Miantonimo, (the second sachem of the Narragansets,) was gone with seventeen canoes and two hundred men to take revenge. But upon examination of the other Indian, who was brought prisoner to them, they found that all the sachems of the Narragansets, except Canonicus and Miantonimo, were contrivers of John Oldham's death ; and the occasion was, because he went to make peace, and trade with the Pequods last year. The prisoner said also that Oldham's two Indians were acquainted with it ; but because they were sent as messengers from Canonicus, they would not imprison them. But the governour wrote back to Mr. Williams, to let the Narragansets know, they expected they should send home J. Oldham's two boys, and take revenge upon the islanders ; and withal gave Mr. Williams caution to look to himself, if there should be occasion to make war with the Narragansets, (for Block Island was under them :) and the next day he wrote to Canonicus, by one of those Indians, that he had suspicion of him that was sent, and yet he had sent him back, because he was a messenger ; but did expect, if he should send for the said two Indians, he should send them to him.

Four days after, J. Oldham's two boys were sent home by one of Miantonimo's men, with a letter from Mr. Williams, that Miantonimo had caused the sachem of Niantick to send to Block Island for them, and that he had near one hundred fathom of peag, and much other goods of Oldham's, which should be reserved for them : and three of the seven, that were drowned, were sachems, and that one of the two which was hired by the Niantick sachem was dead also. So they wrote back to have the rest of those which were necessary to be sent, and the

rest of the goods ; and that he should tell Canonicus and Miantonimo that they held them innocent, but the six other sachems were guilty.

Lieut. Gibbons and Mr. Higginson were sent soon after, with Cushammakin,* the sachem of the Massachusetts, to Canonicus, to treat with him about the murder of J. Oldham. They returned with acceptance and good success of their business ; observing in the sachem much state, great command of his men, and marvellous wisdom in his answers ; and in the carriage of the whole treaty clearing himself and his neighbours of the murder, and offering revenge of it, yet upon very safe and wary conditions.

The governour and council having soon after assembled the rest of the magistrates, and the ministers to advise with them about doing justice for Oldham's death, they all agreed that it should be done with all expedition : and accordingly on the 25th of August following, eighty or ninety men were sent out under the command of Mr. Endicot, as is declared in the narrative of the war with the Pequods.

The Narragansets told them afterwards, that there were thirteen Pequods killed in the expedition, and forty wounded, and but one of the Block Islanders slain.

Miantonimo soon after sent a messenger to them with a letter from Mr. Williams, to signify that they had taken one of the Indians, who had broken prison, and had him safe for them, when they should send for him, (as they had before sent to him for that end,) and that the other had stolen away, (not knowing, it seems, that he was their prisoner,) and that, according to their promise, they would not entertain any of that island, which should come to them : but they conceived it was rather in love to him whom they concealed, for he had been his servant formerly. But when they sent for those two Indians, one was sent them, but the other was said to be dead before the messenger came. But the Pequods harboured those of Block Island, and therefore justly brought the revenge of the English upon them.

* *Cushamaquin, Hutch. Kitchmakin, Blake. Cutshamoquin, Eliot. Ed.*

Amongst those soldiers that were sent under Capt. Endicot, were twenty that belonged to Saybrook fort, and were appointed to stay there, to defend the place against the Pequods. After the said Capt. and the rest were departed, those twenty lay wind bound in the Pequod harbour; and in the mean while went all of them ashore, with sacks to fetch some of the Pequods' corn. And having fetched each man one sack full to their boat, they returned for more; and having loaded themselves, the Indians set upon them: so they laid down their corn, and gave fire upon the Indians, and the Indians shot their arrows against them. The place was open, about the distance of a musket shot. The Indians kept the covert, save when they came forth ten at a time and discharged their arrows. The English put themselves in a single file, and some ten only, that had pieces that could reach them, shot; the others stood ready to keep them from breaking in. So they continued most part of the afternoon. The English, as they supposed, killed divers of them, and hurt others, and the Indians wounded but one of the English, who was armed, all the rest being without. For they shot their arrows compass wise, so as they could easily see and avoid them standing single; and one always gathered up their arrows: at the last the Indians being weary of the sport, gave the English leave to retire to their boat. This was in October, 1636.

About two days after, five men of Saybrook went up the river about four miles, to fetch hay out of a meadow on the Pequod side. The grass was so high, as some Pequods, hiding themselves in it, set upon the English before they were aware, and took one that had hay on his back. The rest fled to their boat: one of them had five arrows in him, yet recovered. He that was taken was a goodly young man, whose name was Butterfield, whereupon the meadow was ever after called Butterfield's meadow.

"Icarus Icariis nomina dédit aquis."

About fourteen days after, six of the soldiers were sent out of the fort to keep an house, which they had set

up in a corn field, about two miles from the fort. Three of them went forth a fowling, which the Lieut. had strictly forbidden them; two had pieces, and the third only a sword; when suddenly about an hundred Indians came out of the covert, and set upon them. He who had the sword brake through, and received only two shot, and those not dangerous, and so escaped to the house, which was not a bow shot off, and persuaded the other two to follow him; but they staid still, till the Indians came and took them, and carried them away with their pieces. Soon after they beat down the said house and out houses, and hay stacks, and within a bow shot of the fort killed a cow, and shot divers others, which came home with arrows sticking in them.

Soon after this, Miantonimo, sachem of the Narragansets, came to Boston, (being sent for by the governour,) with two of Canonicus's sons, and another sachem, and near twenty of their men, whom they call sannaps. The governour having notice by Cushamakin, the Massachusetts governour sent twenty musketeers to Roxbury to meet them. They came to Boston about noon, where the governour had called together all the magistrates and ministers to give countenance to their proceedings, and to advise about the terms of peace. After dinner, Miantonimo declared what he had to say to them in several propositions, which were to this effect: That they had always loved the English, and now desired a firm peace with them, and that they would continue war with the Pequods and their confederates, till they were subdued, and desired that the English would do so too; promising to deliver their enemies to them, or kill them, and two months after to send them a present. The governour told them they should have an answer the next morning, which was done, upon articles subscribed by him; and they also subscribed with him, wherein a firm peace was concluded: but because they could not make them well understand the articles, they told them they would send a copy of them to Mr. Williams, who could best interpret the same to them. So, after dinner,

they took leave, and were conveyed out of town by some musketeers, and dismissed with a volley of shot.

The articles here follow.

1. "A firm peace betwixt them and their friends on either part, (if they consent,) and their confederates, (if they will observe the articles,) and their posterity.

2. "Neither part to make peace with the Pequods without the other's consent.

3. "Not to harbour any of the Pequods.

4. "To put to death or deliver up any of the murderers of the English.

5. "To return fugitive servants.

6. "The English to give them notice when they go out against the Pequods, and the other to send them guides.

7. "Free trade to be between them.

8. "None of them to come near the English plantations, during the war with the Pequods, without some Englishman or known Indian.

9. "To continue to the posterity of both parts."

These articles were indifferently well observed by the Narragansets, till the Pequods, their mortal enemies, were totally subdued; but then they began to grow insolent and treacherous, especially this Miantonimo himself, as will appear in the sequel.

Cushamakin also, the sachem of the Massachusetts, subscribed those articles with the English.

The issue of the Pequod war is related in a discourse by itself, which may be annexed to this history, and therefore is here passed over, only with this intimation, that they were wholly rooted out of their country, or made to shelter themselves under the neighbouring sachems. About seven hundred of them thought to be destroyed; and Sassachus, their chief sachem, flying with twenty of his men that escaped at the last fight, to the Mohawks, were all killed by them, and Sassachus his scalp sent down to the English.

On the 12th of July, 1637, one Aganemo, a sachem of the Niantick Indians, (who were a branch of the Narra-

gansets,) came to Boston with seventeen of his men. He made divers propositions to the English, which they took into consideration, and promised to give him an answer the next day. But finding that he had rescued divers of the Pequods, submitting to him since the last defeat, they first demand the delivery of them; which he sticking at, they refused further conference with him: but the next morning he came and offered what they desired. So the governour referred him to the captains at the Pequod country, and wrote instructions to them how to deal with him. So receiving his ten fathom of wampam, they friendly dismissed him.

In July, 1638, Uncus, the sachem of the Mohegins, having entertained some of the Pequods, came to the governour at Boston with a present, and was much dejected because that it was not at first accepted. But afterward, the governour and council being satisfied about his innocency, they accepted it; whereupon he promised to submit to the order of the English, both touching the Pequods he had received, and as concerning the differences betwixt the Narragansets and himself, and confirmed all with this compliment. "This heart," said he, (laying his hand upon his heart,) "is not mine, but yours; command me any difficult service, and I will do it. I have no men, but they are all yours. I will never believe any Indian against the English any more." And so he continued forever after, as may be seen in the following transactions between the Indians and the English: whereupon he was dismissed with some small reward, and went home very joyful, carrying a letter of protection for himself and his men, through the English plantations.

CHAP. XXXV.

*The state of affairs in the Massachusetts, Anno 1636,
while Mr. Vane was governour.*

WITH how much applause soever Mr. Vane was advanced to the governour's place, and at the first managed the same; yet in the latter end of the year, perceiv-

ing that there was much discontent in the minds of men, occasioned by different opinions in religion, then stirring in the country, the blame of which was in a great measure imputed to himself, he grew weary of the government, and was ready to take any occasion offered, to be freed therefrom. For in December, receiving letters from his friends, which necessarily required his presence there, he imparted the same to the council, (which at that time consisted but of two, besides himself,) and some others; and thereupon being resolved of his return for England, he called a court of deputies, to the end he might have free leave of the country. They being assembled in court, and himself declaring the necessity of his departure, and those of the council affirming the reasons to be very urgent, though not fit to be imparted to the whole court, they desired respite to consider thereof till the morning; when being assembled again, one of the assistants using some pathetical expressions of the loss of such a governour in time of such danger, as did hang over them from the Indians and Frenchmen, the governour brake forth into tears, and professed, that howsoever the causes, propounded for his departure, did concern the utter ruin of his outward estate, yet he would rather have hazarded all, than have gone from them at such a time, if something else had not pressed him more, viz. the inevitable danger of God's judgments, which he feared were coming upon them, for the differences and dissensions which he saw amongst them, and the scandalous imputation brought upon himself, as if he should be the cause of all; and therefore he thought it were best for him to give place for a time. Upon this the court concluded it would not be fit to give way to his departure upon those grounds; whereupon he recalled himself, and professed, that the reasons concerning his own estate were sufficient, (to his own satisfaction,) for his departure, and therefore desired the court he might have leave to go. As for the other passage it slipped from him out of passion, and not out of judgment: upon this the court consented silently to his departure. And in point

of prudence it had been much better for himself, as well as for the country, to have taken that occasion of removing, rather than to have been in a manner thrust away, as things fell out afterwards; but man knoweth not his time. But then the question in the court was about supply of his place. Some were of opinion that it should be executed by the deputy; but this scruple being cast in, that if the deputy should die, then the government would be vacated, and none have power to call a court, or preside therein, it was agreed therefore to call a court of election, for a new governour and deputy, in case the present deputy should be chosen governour: and an order was made, (in regard of the season,) that such as would, might send their votes by proxy, in papers, sealed up, and delivered to the deputies. And so their court was adjourned four days; and two days after, the court of election was to assemble. These things having thus passed in the court, divers of the congregation at Boston met together, and agreed that they did not apprehend the necessity of the governour's departure upon the reasons alleged, and sent some of them to declare the same to the court; whereby it may be observed by the way, that politicians were not much mistaken, when they accounted that the crosier as well as the distaff, i. e. that persons led by their private passions and particular interests, would always be found but as a broken reed for a state to lean upon. But to return: by these insinuations the governour was so overpowered, that he expressed himself to be such an obedient child of the church, that notwithstanding the license of the court, yet without the leave of the church he durst not go away. Whereupon a great part of the court and country who understood hereof, declared their purpose to continue him still in his place; and therefore so soon as the day of election came, and the countrymen assembled, it was thought the best way for avoiding of trouble not to proceed to election, but to adjourn the court, intended for election, to the great general court in May. And so the court of deputies continued still to consider of such

things, as were then most needful to be attended; which were the differences up and down the country in matters of religion, which had at that time so far prevailed, that men's affections began strongly to be engaged in them: so as if at any time any matter about those new opinions was mentioned in the court, they were presently divided, although far the greater part held firm to their former principles. And at the general court, held at Boston, March 9th, 1636, so much heat of contention appeared between the opposite parties, that it was moved, that the next general court, which was the court of election, might be kept at New-Town, which went so against the grain with Mr. Vane, the governour, that he refused to put it to vote; nor was the deputy forward to do it, except the court would require him, because he dwelt at Boston; so the court put it to Mr. Endicot, who putting it to vote, it was presently carried in the affirmative: and accordingly that next court of election, which fell on the 17th day of May, was kept at New-Town, Anno 1636. When the day came and the court sat, which was not till one of the clock in the afternoon, a petition was preferred by those of Boston. The governour was to have it read; but the deputy said it was out of order, it was a court of election, and that must first be dispatched, (as had been done once before, when the reading of petitions was laid aside till the election was over,) and then the petition should be heard: divers others also opposed that course, as an ill precedent. And the petition, being about pretence of liberty, (though intended chiefly for revoking the sentence at the last court, passed against Mr. Wheelwright,) would have spent all the day in debate. But yet the governour, and those of that party, would not proceed to election, except the petition were read. Much time was already spent about the debate, and the people crying out for election, it was moved by the deputy that the people should divide themselves, and the greater number must carry it. And so it was done, and the greater number by many was for election. But the governour and that side kept their

places still, and would not proceed; whereupon the deputy told him, that if he would not go to election, he and the rest of that side would proceed. Upon that he came from his company, and they went to election, and Mr. Winthrop was chosen governour, Mr. Dudley deputy governour, and Mr. Endicot of the standing council; and Mr. Israel Stoughton, and Mr. Richard Saltonstall were called to be assistants; and Mr. Vane, and Mr. Haugh, and Mr. Dummer, and Mr. Coddington, (being all of one profession in the matters of difference,) were left quite out. There was great danger of a tumult that day, for those of the opposite party grew into fierce speeches, and some began to lay hands on others, but seeing themselves too weak they grew quiet. They expected a great advantage that day, because the remote towns were allowed to come in by proxy; but it fell out that there were enough besides. And if it had been otherwise, they must have put in their deputies, (as other towns had done,) for all matters beside election. And Boston having deferred to choose their deputies till the election was past, went home that night, and the next morning sent for deputies, Mr. Vane, the late governour, Mr. Coddington, and Mr. Haugh. But the court not being pleased thereat, found means to send them home again, because all the freemen had not notice of the time of their choice. But the freemen of Boston making the same choice the next time, they could not be rejected. Upon the election of the new governour, the serjeants that had attended the former governour to the court with their halberds, (which was a respect put upon Mr. Vane, and never upon any governour before,) laid them down, and went home, and refused to attend the governour to and from the meeting on the Lord's days, as they were wont; so as the governour made use of his own servants in their room, to carry two halberds before him, (never affecting to seek great things for himself,) though Mr. Vane had never less than four. The country preferred to supply the defect of Boston, but the governour made use of his own servants.

Mr. Vane, howsoever he had forced himself to put on so much self denial, as to sit among the deputies, who the year before had been the governour, (not being unwilling, as he professed, to serve the church of God in the meanest capacity,) showed much discontent that the people had left him out of all publick office; of which he made evident proof, by seating himself the next Lord's day among the deacons, as did Mr. Coddington also, though he had used, ever since he came first into the country, to sit among the magistrates, and was at this time sent to, by the governour, to sit with him. And upon the general fast soon after, he and some others, viz. Mr. Coddington, &c. went from Boston to keep the day at the Mount, where Mr. Wheelwright exercised.

A further occasion of the discontent of that party, was an order made at that session of the court, imposing a penalty upon any such as should entertain such as were not allowed by some of the magistrates; it being probable that they expected many of their opinion to come out of England to them.

Upon the account of this order, and some other differences between the governour and those of Boston, at his return from the court, none of them met him, nor would any of the four serjeants, that used to attend the former governour to all publick meetings, do any such office to him, alleging that they had done it to the former governour voluntarily, in respect of his person, and not of his place. But herein they shewed more of stomach than wisdom; for a compliment of honour, once conferred on any office, (though voluntarily,) cannot after be taken away without contempt and injury; it is the place that drowns the person, be he honourable or base. But the governour being a wise man, could easily overlook these things; and in a little time, those that were so disgusted against him, put more honour upon him, than ever before. They that honour God, shall be honoured of him. For in the end of the year 1639, there appeared a great change in the church at Boston; for whereas they were the year or two before so attached to

Mr. Wheelwright, and Mr. Hutchinson, and those new opinions, as they extremely slighted both him and Mr. Wilson their pastor, looking at them as men under a covenant of works, and as their greatest enemies; but they bearing all patiently, and not withdrawing themselves, (as they were strongly solicited to have done,) but carrying themselves lovingly and helpfully upon all occasions, the Lord brought about the hearts of all the people to love and esteem them, more than ever before, so as all breaches were then made up, and the church saved from ruin, beyond all expectation; which could in reason hardly have been, if those two had not been guided by the Lord to that moderation, &c. And the church at this time, to manifest their hearty affection to the governour, (upon the occasion of some straits he was brought into, through the unfaithfulness of his bailiff,) sent him two hundred pounds, as an undoubted testimony thereof.

And during the present dissatisfaction of them about Boston, the other towns no whit abated, but rather abounded in their respect to the said governour, guarding of him from town to town as he travelled that summer, 1637, to Ipswich; the inhabitants coming to meet him in every place as he passed along, though it were neither desired, nor expected by himself.

There was news this year of a commission granted in England to divers gentlemen on the place, for the governing New England; but instead thereof, they received a commission from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to govern his province of New Somersetshire, or the Province of Maine, which is from Pascataqua river to Sagadahock; and withal to oversee his servants and private affairs, which was not a little wondered at by some, that knew how he had carried it towards the Massachusetts before. But it passed in silence, they excusing themselves from intermeddling in his business; because of five or six, named in the said commission, there was one mistaken, and another removed to Connecticut: nor did it appear to them what authority he had to grant such a

commission. But as for the commission from the king, they received only a copy of it; the commission itself staid at the seal, for want of paying the fees, by them that procured it.

In the latter end of the summer, 1637, Mr. Vane returned for England, and the Lord Ley, (son of the Earl of Marlborough, who came the same year to see the country,) in his company. He had great respect shown him at his departure, by several volleys of shot from the foot soldiers, that accompanied him to the boat, which he deserved as a gentleman of good deportment; the governour also then being at the court at New-Town, yet left order with the captains for his honourable dismissal.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Troublesome occurrences in New England in the years 1637, 1638. Their patent undermined by some in England; demanded by the Lords of the committee for foreign plantations. The answer of the Massachusetts.

ON the 26th of June, 1637, arrived two great ships from London, with whom came Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins, merchants of London, men of fair estates, and of great esteem for religion, and wisdom in other affairs, with the reverend and famous Mr. Davenport, and other ministers and people of good note: who the next year removed out of this jurisdiction, to plant beyond Connecticut, being much taken with an opinion of the fruitfulness of the place, and with the remoteness from the Massachusetts; hoping thereby to be out of the reach of a general governour, which at that time was much spoken of. It was at first feared to prove a great weakening to the Massachusetts colony; but since, they have taken notice of a special providence of God therein. All possible means had been used to accommodate them there; Newbury offered them their whole town, and the court any place that was free; but they desired a greater breadth than there could be afforded. But

their removal to the southward was looked upon afterward as advantageous, both for possessing those parts which lay open for an enemy, and for strengthening their friends at Connecticut, and for making room for others who were daily expected out of England. It was accounted that twenty ships arrived there in the year 1638, who brought about three thousand passengers with them, who might the more easily, some of them, be accommodated about the Bay, when others were so far removed before.

The coming in of these ships was the more joyfully received, because many this year were afraid of a stop in England, to the coming of any ships at all, by reason of the complaint made against them in the year 1632,* forementioned, and about this time renewed—especially by Mr. Burdet, of Pascataqua; a copy of whose letter to the archbishop was found in his study, to this effect; that he delayed to go to England, that he might fully inform himself of the state of the place as to allegiance, for it was not new discipline that was aimed at, but sovereignty; and that it was accounted perjury and treason in their general court, to speak of appeals to the king. By the first ships that came this year, a letter came from the archbishop to the said Burdet, rendering him thanks for the care of his Majesty's service, and that they would take a time for the redress of such disorders, as he informed them of; but by reason of much business that now lay upon them, they could not at this time accomplish his desire. This letter to Burdet was, by some strange providence, shown to the governour of the Massachusetts, as was a copy of his letter to the archbishop, whereby his designs were discovered.

For it seems complaints were still carried on against New England, so as in the year 1635 a commission was granted to several lords to regulate the plantation of New England: a copy of which here follows, together with the copy of the order of the Lords Commissioners, for sending over the patent, with Mr. Winthrop's answer thereunto.

* 1632 or 1633. See page 151—154. *Ed.*

A copy of the commission for regulating plantations.

“ CHARLES, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, KING, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

“ To the right reverend Father in God, our right trusty and well beloved Counsellor, William, by the providence of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England; to our right trusty and well beloved Counsellor, Thomas Lord Coventry, Lord Keeper of the great seal of England; to our right reverend Father in God, our right trusty and well beloved Counsellor, Richard, by the providence of God Archbishop of York, Primate and Metropolitan of England; to our right trusty and well beloved Cousin and Counsellor, Richard, Earl of Portland, and high Treasurer of England; Henry, Earl of Manchester, keeper of the privy seal; Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surry, Earl Marshal of England; Edward, Earl of Dorset, Chamberlain to our most dear consort, the Queen; and to our trusty and well beloved Counsellor, Francis, Lord Cottington, Chamberlain and under Treasurer of our exchequer; Thomas Edmunds, Knight, Treasurer of our household; John Cooke, Knight, one of our principal Secretaries of state, and Francis Windebank, another of our principal Secretaries of state: Greeting.

“ Whereas, divers of the subjects of us, and our late dear Father, King James, of famous memory, late of England King, by virtue of our royal authority, granted not only to enlarge the territories of our empire, but more especially to propagate the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, having with the exceeding industry and charge deduced great numbers of the people of England, into sundry colonies, in several places of the world, either altogether desert, and unpeopled, or enjoyed by savage and barbarous nations, void of all manner of knowledge of Almighty God: We being graciously pleased to provide for the ease and tranquillity of the said subjects, and reposing assured confidence in your fidelity, wisdom, justice, and providence, do constitute you, our said Arch-bishop of Canterbury, &c. or any five or more of you, our Counsellors; and to you, or to any five or more of you, do commit and give power of protection and government, as well over the said English colonies already planted, as over all such other colonies, which by any of our people of England hereafter shall be de-

duced into any other like parts whatsoever, and power to make laws, ordinances, and constitutions, concerning either the state publick of the said colonies, or utility of private persons, and their lands, goods, debts, and succession, within the precincts of the same, and for ordering and directing of them in their demeanors towards foreign princes, and their people ; and likewise towards us and our subjects, as within any foreign parts whatsoever beyond the seas, as during their voyages, or upon the seas to and from the same.

“ And for relief and support of the clergy, and the rule and cure of the souls of our people living in those parts, and for consigning of convenient maintenance unto them by tithes, oblations, and other profits accruing, according to your good discretion, with the advice of two or three of our bishops, whom you shall think fit to call unto your consultations, touching the distribution of such maintenance unto the clergy, and all other matters ecclesiastical ; and to inflict punishment upon all offenders or violators of the constitutions and ordinances, either by imprisonment or other restraint, or by loss of life or member, according as the quality of the offence shall require ; with power also, (our royal assent being thereunto first had and obtained,) to remove all governours and presidents of the said colonies, (upon just cause appearing,) from their several places, and to appoint others in their stead, and also to require and take account of them, touching their office and government ; and whom you shall find delinquents you shall punish, either by depriving them of their several places and provinces, over which they are appointed, or by pecuniary mulcts and penalties, or otherwise, according to the qualities of the offences ; and power also to ordain temporal judges and civil magistrates, to determine of civil causes, with such powers, in such a form, as to you, or any five or more of you, shall seem expedient ; and also to ordain judges, magistrates, and officers for and concerning courts ecclesiastical, with such power, and such a form, as to you, or any five or more of you, with the advice of the

bishops, suffragan to the archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, shall be held meet; and power to constitute and ordain tribunals and courts of justice, both ecclesiastical and civil, with such power, and, in them, form of judicature, and manner of process and appeals from and to the said courts, in all cases and matters, as well criminal as civil, both personal, real, and mixt, and touching the determination pertaining to any courts of justice, ecclesiastical and civil, to judge thereof and determine. Provided, nevertheless, the said laws, ordinances, and constitutions, shall not be put in execution until our royal assent, expressed under our sign at least, be first thereunto had and obtained; the which our royal assent so obtained, together with the said laws, ordinances, and constitutions, being published and proclaimed in the provinces in which they are to be executed, the said laws, ordinances, and constitutions from thenceforth shall be in force in law. And we do hereby will and command all persons whom it shall concern, inviolably to keep and observe the same. Notwithstanding it may and shall be lawful to you, and every five and more of you, with our royal assent, the said laws, ordinances, and constitutions, (though so published and proclaimed as aforesaid,) to alter, revoke, and repeal, and other new laws, &c. in form aforesaid from time to time, to make and publish as aforesaid, and to new and growing evils and perils to apply new remedies, in such manner, and so often, as unto you shall appear to be necessary and expedient.

“KNOW YE also, that we do constitute you, the said Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. and every five or more of you, our committees, according to your good discretions, to hear and determine all complaints, at the instance and suit of the party grieved, whether it be against the whole colonies themselves, or any governour or officer of the same, or whether complaint touching wrongs exhibited or depending, either between the whole bodies of the colonies, or any private member thereof, and to summon the parties before you, and they or their pro-

curators or agents being on both sides heard, finally to determine thereof according to justice: giving moreover and granting to you, and any five or more of you, that if it shall appear that any officer or governour of the said colonies shall injuriously intend and usurp upon the authority, power, or possessions of any other, or shall unjustly wrong one another, or shall not suppress all rebels to us, or such as shall not obey our commands, that then it shall be lawful, (upon advice with ourself first had,) for the causes aforesaid, or upon any other just reason, to remand, and cause the offender to return into England, or into any other place, according as in your good discretions you shall think just and necessary.

“ And we do furthermore give unto you, or any five or more of you, Letters Patents, and other writings, whatsoever of us, or of our royal predecessor granted for, or concerning the planting of any colonies, in any countries, provinces, islands, or territories whatsoever, beyond the seas; and if upon view thereof, the same shall appear to you, or any five or more of you, to have been surreptitiously and unduly obtained, or that any privileges or liberties therein granted be hurtful, or prejudicial to us, our crown, or prerogative royal, or to any foreign princes, to cause the same, according to the laws and customs of our realm of England to be revoked, and to do all other things which shall be necessary for the wholesome government and protection of the said colonies, and of our people therein abiding.

“ Wherefore, we command you, that you diligently intend the premises, at such times and places which yourselves for that purpose shall appoint, charging also, and firmly commanding, all and singular, presidents of provinces within the aforesaid colonies now planted, or to be planted, and all and every the said colonies themselves, and all other persons whom it doth concern, that they attend you in the premises, and be obedient to your commands touching the same, so often as they shall be thereunto required, at their peril. In witness whereof, we caused these our letters to be made patent. Wit-

ness ourself at Westminster, 28th day of April, in the tenth year of our reign."

A copy of a letter sent by the appointment of the Lords of the Council, to Mr. Winthrop, for the patent of this plantation to be sent to them.

At Whitehall, April 4th, 1638.

PRESENT

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,	Earl of Holland,
Lord Keeper,	Lord Cottington,
Lord Treasurer,	Mr. Treasurer,
Lord Privy Seal,	Mr. Comptroller,
Earl Marshal,	Mr. Secretary Cooke,
Earl of Dorset,	Mr. Sec. Windebank.

" This day the Lords Commissioners for foreign plantations, taking into consideration that the petitions and complaints of his Majesty's subjects, planters and traders in New England, grow more frequent than heretofore, for want of a settled and orderly government in those parts; and calling to mind that they had formerly given order, about two or three years since, to Mr. Cradock, a member of the plantation, to cause the grant, or letters patent for that plantation, (alleged by him to be there remaining, in the hands of Mr. Winthrop,) to be sent over hither; and that notwithstanding the same, the said letters patent were not, as yet, brought over: and their lordships being now informed by Mr. Attorney General, that a *quo warranto* had been by him brought according to former order, against the said patent, and the same was proceeded to judgment against so many as had appeared, and that they which had not appeared were outlawed:

" Their lordships, well approving of Mr. Attorney's care and proceeding therein, did now resolve and order, that Mr. Meawtes, clerk of the council, attendant upon the said commissioners for foreign plantations, should, in a letter from himself to Mr. Winthrop, inclose and convey this order unto him. And their lordships hereby, in his Majesty's name, and according to his ex-

press will and pleasure, strictly require and enjoin the said Winthrop, or any other in whose power or custody the said letters patents are, that they fail not to transmit the said patent hither by the return of the ship, in which the order is conveyed to them ; it being resolved that in case of any further neglect or contempt by them shewed therein, their lordships will cause a strict course to be taken against them, and will move his Majesty to re-assume into his hands the whole plantation.”

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN PLANTATIONS.

The humble petition of the Massachusetts, in New England, in the general court there assembled, the 6th day of September, in the fourteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King Charles.

“ Whereas, it hath pleased your Lordships, by order of the 4th of April last, to require our patent to be sent unto you ; we do here humbly and sincerely profess, that we are ready to yield all due obedience to our Sovereign Lord the King’s Majesty, and to your Lordships under him, and in this mind we left our native country, and according thereunto hath been our practice ever since ; so as we are much grieved that your Lordships should call in our patent, there being no cause known to us for that purpose, our government being settled according to his Majesty’s grant, and we not answerable for any defect in other plantations. This is that which his Majesty’s subjects do believe and profess, and therefore we are all humble suitors to your Lordships, that you would be pleased to take into further consideration our condition, and to afford unto us the liberties of subjects, that we may know what is laid to our charge, and have leave and time to answer for ourselves before we be condemned as a people unworthy of his Majesty’s favour or protection. As for the *quo warranto* mentioned in the said order, we do assure your Lordships, that we were never called to make answer to it, and if we had, we doubt not but we have a sufficient plea to put in.

“ It is not unknown to your Lordships that we came

into these remote parts with his Majesty's license and encouragement, under his great seal of England, and in the confidence we had of the great assurance of his favour, we have transported our families and estates, and here have we built and planted, to the great enlargement and securing of his Majesty's dominions in these parts, so as if our patent should be now taken from us, we should be looked at as runagates and outlaws, and shall be enforced either to remove to some other place, or to return to our native country again, either of which will put us to insuperable extremities; and these evils, (among others,) will necessarily follow:

1. "Many thousand souls will be exposed to ruin, being laid open to the injuries of all men.

2. "If we be forced to desert the place, the rest of the plantations about us, (being too weak to subsist alone,) will for the most part dissolve and go along with us, and then will this whole country fall into the hands of French or Dutch, who would speedily embrace such an opportunity.

3. "If we should lose all our labour and cost, and be deprived of those liberties which his Majesty hath granted us, and nothing laid to our charge, nor any failing to be found in us in point of allegiance, (which all our countrymen do take notice of, and we justify our faithfulness in this behalf,) it will discourage all men hereafter from the like undertakings upon confidence of his Majesty's royal grant.

4. "Lastly, if our patent be taken from us, (whereby we suppose we may claim interest in his Majesty's favour and protection,) the common people here will conceive that his Majesty hath cast them off, and that hereby they are freed from their allegiance and subjection, and thereupon will be ready to confederate themselves under a new government, for their necessary safety and subsistence, which will be of dangerous example unto other plantations, and perilous to ourselves, of incurring his Majesty's displeasure, which we would by all means avoid. Upon these considerations we are bold

to renew our humble supplication to your Lordships, that we may be suffered to live here in this wilderness, and that this poor plantation, which hath found more favour with God than many other, may not find less favour from your Lordships, that our liberties should be restrained; when others are enlarged; that the door should be kept shut upon us, while it stands open to all other plantations; that men of ability should be debarred from us, while they have encouragement to other colonies. We do not question your Lordships' proceedings, we only desire to open our griefs where the remedy is to be expected. If in any thing we have offended his Majesty and your Lordships, we humbly prostrate ourselves at the footstool of supreme authority.

“Let us be made the objects of his Majesty's clemency, and not cut off in our first appeal from all hope of favour. Thus with our earnest prayers unto the King of kings for long life and prosperity to his sacred Majesty, and his royal family, and for all honour and welfare to your Lordships, we humbly take leave.

“This is a true copy, compared with the original on file, as attests

EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.”

The Lords Commissioners, to whom the letter above written from Mr. Winthrop was directed, either rested satisfied in what was therein alleged, and so made no further demand of returning the patent; or otherwise, which some think more probable, concernments of an higher nature intervening in that juncture of time, gave a supersedeas to that design and intendment. For this business upon some consideration or other had been in hand ever since the year 1634; though it had been overlooked by the interposition possibly of matters of greater moment to this year, 1638, when the foresaid letter was sent over to the governour of the Massachusetts. For it seems that in or near the year 1635, upon the petition of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Capt. Mason, and others, the whole matter came to be examined before his Majesty and the privy council, at which time his Majesty was pleased to give command, that the great council

of New England, commonly called the Council of Plymouth, should give an account by what authority, and by whose procurement, those of the Massachusetts were sent over. The said council pleaded ignorance of the matter, which yet is not to be understood of all of them, for Sir Ferdinando Gorges's history, printed Anno 1658, (and himself was one of that number,) makes mention how himself was instrumental to procure a liberty for settling a colony in New England, within the limits of the said council of Plymouth, and that the Earl of Warwick wrote to himself to condescend thereunto; and thereupon, as he adds, he gave his approbation, and that the king was pleased to enlarge the grant of the said council, and confirmed the same by the great seal. However, upon complaint afterwards of disturbance like to follow, it was ordered by the king's command, that none should go over thither without license, because of divers sects and schisms, that were said to be amongst them; on which account some were not backward to suggest a doubt, that they might shake off the royal jurisdiction, as they had done the ecclesiastical government.

Things proceeding after this sort, the motion that was made by some, for the council of Plymouth to resign up their grand charter, did the sooner take place; so as on the 25th of April, 1635, a declaration was put forth by the said council for the surrender of their charter, which was actually done, as it bears date on the 7th day of June, 1635, as is affirmed in a book, published in Sir Ferdinando Gorges's name. Immediately thereupon, a *quo warranto* was brought by Sir John Banks, the attorney general, against the governour, deputy governour, and assistants of the corporation of the Massachusetts; whereof about fourteen appearing, and disclaiming the charter, judgment was given for the king, that the liberties, and franchises of the said corporation of the Massachusetts, should be seized into the king's hands.

Thereupon it is said, that afterwards, scil. May 3d, 1637, his Majesty did in council order, that the attorney

general be required to call for the said patent of the Massachusetts; and accordingly a letter was sent by Mr. Meawtes, in the name of the Lords of the Council, as is above expressed. But nothing more was done therein during the former king's reign; and his Majesty now reigning, since his coronation, confirmed the charter of the Massachusetts anew, in one of his letters.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Ecclesiastical affairs in the Massachusetts, from the year 1636 to 1641.

THE affairs of the church in this next lustre of years were carried on after the same manner, and in the same method and order, as in the former, but not with the same quietness and peace; nor could it be said, that there was no voice of axe or hammer in their temple work, in this space of time. The enemy was sowing tares in God's field, and therefore it was to be feared some of the servants were asleep; of which themselves were not insensible, after they were awakened by the great troubles that were occasioned thereby. Yet notwithstanding, there were many churches gathered, and ministers ordained in them, many differences composed and healed; and at the last, error being suppressed, the churches were again established in truth and peace.

The first attempt of gathering any church in the year 1636, was at Dorchester, on the first of April; when the former pastor, and most of the old church being removed to Connecticut, Mr. Richard Mather, with several christians that came along with him out of Lancashire, having settled their habitations there, and intending to begin a new church, desired the approbation of the magistrates, and of the neighbouring churches, (whose ministers and messengers used to be always present on such occasions,) and were at this time there assembled for that end. When Mr. Mather, their intended teacher, and the rest of them designed for that work, had made confession of their faith, they proceeded to give an account

of the work of God's grace on their hearts; wherein, through unacquaintedness with the nature of the thing desired, that which was held forth by the most of them did not amount to full satisfaction; so as they were advised not to join together in church fellowship without some further consideration, and accordingly they did forbear at that present. But on the 8th of September* following, being better informed about the nature of that which was expected from them, scil. a declaration of the work of their repentance, how they were brought by the ministry of the word, not only to look upon sin as hurtful, but as hateful, and to close with the Lord Jesus by a lively faith, as the Lamb of God, that came to take away the sin of the world, &c. they were gathered into a church state, with the approbation of the messengers of the churches, then assembled for that end.

The 6th of April, 1637, those of Concord set a day apart for the ordination of their two ministers, viz. Mr. Jones to be their pastor, and Mr. Bulkley to be their teacher. But neither the governour, Mr. Vane, nor Mr. Cotton, nor the two ruling elders, nor any other of Boston church would be present; because the two forementioned ministers were looked upon in that hour of temptation, as too legal preachers, and therefore they would not be present to give approbation to their ordination.

The 20th of February, Mr. Ward, of Ipswich, having laid down his pastoral office, Mr. Rogers and Mr. Norton were ordained, the one pastor, the other teacher of the said church.

The 9th of January, 1637, divers of the ministers went to Weymouth, to reconcile the differences between the people and Mr. Jenner, whom they had called thither, with intent to have him their pastor, and had good success of their prayers. For the 30th of January, 1638, there was a church gathered there, with the approbation of the magistrates and ministers. They had a church gathered there at Weymouth before, but could not hold together, nor could have any elder join or hold with them,

* August 23. Dorchester records. *Ed.*

because they did not begin according to the rule of the gospel, as was judged ; but at this time humbling themselves for it, and beginning again upon a new foundation, they went on with a blessing.

The people of this town of Weymouth had invited one Mr. Lenthall to come to them, with intention to call him to be their minister. This man, though of good report in England, coming hither was found to have drunk in some of Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions, as of justification before faith, &c. and opposed the custom of gathering of churches in such a way of mutual restipulation, as was then practised. From the former, he was soon taken off by conference with Mr. Cotton, but he stuck close to the other, that only baptism was the door of entrance into the visible church, &c. so as the common sort of people did eagerly embrace his opinion ; and some laboured to get such a church on foot, as all baptized ones might communicate in, without any further trial of them, &c. For this end they procured many hands in Weymouth, to a blank, intending to have Mr. Lenthall's advice to the form of their call ; and he likewise was very forward, to become a minister to them in such a way, and did openly maintain the cause. But the magistrates hearing of this disturbance and combination, thought it needful to stop it betimes, and therefore they called Mr. Lenthall, and the chief of the faction, to the next general court, in March ; where Mr. Lenthall, having before conferred with some of the magistrates and ministers, and being convinced of his error in judgment, and his sin in practice, to the disturbance of their peace, &c. did openly and freely retract, with expression of much grief of heart for his offence, and did deliver his retractation in writing under his hand in open court ; whereupon he was enjoined to appear at the next court, and in the mean time to make and deliver the like recantation in some publick assembly at Weymouth. So the court forbore any further censure by fine or otherwise, though it was much urged by some. At the same court, some of the principal abettors were censured ; as

one Smith, and one Silvester, and one Britten, who had spoken reproachfully of the answer which was sent to Mr. Bernard's book against their church covenant, and of some of the ministers there, for which he was severely punished; but not taking warning he fell into grosser evil, whereby he brought capital punishment upon himself, not long after.

The 7th of September, 1639, there was a church gathered at Braintree, formerly Mount Wollaston, and Mr. Wheelwright, (whom the people of Boston, that were concerned in that place, had intended to be the minister thereof,) being by the order of the court removed out of the jurisdiction, Mr. Thompson, that came out of Lancashire, a pious and learned minister, and had for a time been preacher at Agamenticus, where he had been an instrument of much good, was ordained the pastor thereof, the 19th of November following; with whom was joined Mr. Henry Flint, as teacher. Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, son of Mr. Richard Rogers of Weathersfield, December 3d of the same year, was ordained pastor of a church at Rowley, where was a plantation newly erected, between Ipswich and Newbury. Mr. Eaton and Mr. Davenport laboured by all means to have drawn him with his people to New Haven, and had so far prevailed with him, (being newly come, and unacquainted with the state of the country,) as to engage him to go with them, upon propositions which they could not well fulfil; whereupon, by the advice of the ministers about the Bay, he took himself released from his foresaid engagement, and then came with his people to that place beyond Ipswich, where he was ordained their pastor, as is said before.

On the 18th of March, 1639, Mr. Norris was ordained teacher of the church at Salem, all the elders of the other churches being present.

The 19th of December Mr. Knowles, sometimes fellow of Emanuel College, in Cambridge, was ordained second pastor of the church of Watertown; the former yet surviving, so as at this time they had two pastors

and no teacher, therein differing from the practice of the rest of the churches; as they did also in their private way of proceeding, not giving notice thereof, either to the magistrates, or neighbour churches, as the common practice was then, and still is, by an order, established by the general court for that end; but that was the humour of some in chief place of that church. And so apt are the best of men oft times to come in danger of Scylla, that they may be sure to keep clear of Charybdis.

One Hugh Bewet was at the next court of assistants, March the 1st, sent out of the jurisdiction, for holding publickly, and maintaining that he was free from original sin; it being justly to be feared, that if he had staid still, he would have made himself, and others too, guilty of more actual sin, than his neighbours, (as is ordinarily found by experience of those great pretenders to perfection and holiness,) although he did also affirm, that for half a year before, he had been likewise free from actual sin.

The church of Dorchester, not contenting themselves with a single officer in the ministry of their church, invited one Mr. Burr, (who had been a minister in England, and of very good report there, for piety and learning,) with intent also to call him to office. And accordingly, after he was received a member of their church, and had given good proof of his piety, and other ministerial abilities, they gave him a call to office, which he deferring to accept upon some private reasons, known to himself, some of the church took some exceptions at some things which he in the mean time delivered, (his expressions possibly either not being well understood, or so far wire-drawn as that they seemed too much inclining to the notions then prevailing much at Boston,) and they desired him to give satisfaction, and he not seeing need for it, it was agreed that Mr. Mather and he should confer together, and so the church should know where the difference lay. Accordingly Mr. Burr wrote his judgment in the points of difference in such manner and terms, as from some of his propositions, taken sin-

gly, something that was erroneous might be gathered, and might seem naturally to follow therefrom ; but was so qualified in other parts, as might admit of a charitable construction. Mr. Mather reports to the church the seeming erroneous matter that might be collected, without mentioning the qualification, or acquainting Mr. Burr with it before hand. When this was published, Mr. Burr disclaimed the erroneous matter, and Mr. Mather maintained it from his writings. Whereupon the church was divided about it, some joining with the one, and some with the other, so as it grew to some heat, and alienation of minds, and many days were spent for reconciliation, but all in vain. In the end they agreed to call in help from other churches ; so as, the 2d of February, 1640, there was a meeting at Dorchester of the Governour, and another of the magistrates, and ten of the ministers of the neighbouring churches, wherein four days were spent in opening the cause, and such offence as had fallen out in the prosecution ; and in conclusion they all declared their judgment and advice in the case to this effect :

That both sides had cause to be humbled for their failings ; Mr. Burr for his doubtful and unsafe expressions, and backwardness to give clear satisfaction ; Mr. Mather for his inconsideration, both in not acquainting Mr. Burr with his collections, before he published them to the church, and in not certifying the qualifications of the erroneous expressions which were in his writings ; for which they were advised to set a day apart for reconciliation. Upon this both Mr. Mather and Mr. Burr took the blame of their failings upon themselves, and freely submitted to the judgment and advice given, to which the rest of the church yielded a silent assent. And God was much glorified in the close thereof, and Mr. Burr did fully renounce these errors of which he was suspected, confessing he had been in the dark about those points, till God, by occasion of this agitation, had cleared them to him ; which he did with much meekness and tears. But that holy man continued not long after,

being observed to express so much of heaven in his publick ministry, as his hearers judged he would not continue long upon the earth, as it came to pass.

About that time, viz. November 8th, a church was gathered at Dedham, with good approbation: and the 28th of the same month, Mr. Peck was ordained teacher of the church at Hingham.

Concerning other ecclesiastical matters which fell out in this lustre, being of such a nature as they require a more particular discourse, viz. divers errors prevailing in and about Boston, and so violently carried on, as did need the help of the civil power to redress them, they shall be treated of in the following chapters: only let it be here noted, that as well Boston, as many other churches, having received the infection of many dangerous errors, by the application of due means, like athletick bodies, did in a little time either work out the contagion themselves, or by the discipline of the church, did purge out the leaven of corrupt and unsound doctrine and practices, and so became a new lump, as the apostle speaks.

The hands of those on that side of the country, near Connecticut, were strengthened by the coming over of Mr. Fenwick, a gentleman of great estate, and eminent for wisdom and piety. July 15th, 1639, he arrived at New Haven with a ship of three hundred and fifty tons, with his lady and family. His intent was to make a plantation at Saybrook, about the mouth of Connecticut river. He laid the foundation thereof, and within a few years after returned to England. Two other plantations were begun at that time beyond New Haven; but every one stood so much for their liberty, that every plantation almost intended a peculiar government of themselves, if they could have brought it about; but those designs tended to the weakening of the country, and hinderance of the general good of the whole.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Disturbance in the Massachusetts colony, in New England, from the year 1636 to 1641, by Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson.

HITHERTO the beauty of the Lord had been upon the primitive plantations of New England, prospering their handy work, and blessing the labour of their hands, so as in them might have been, in a sense, observed that which was said of the primitive church, in the days of the apostles, that they had rest; and, walking in the fear of God, and comforts of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied; for hitherto their churches, as well as their townships and families, were increased; nor were they without the comforts of the Holy Ghost in their measure. But the wicked one, that always envies at the prosperity of the church, took all opportunities to obstruct their flourishing, either in civil or ecclesiastical respects; for he had stirred up several of his instruments, as the Pequod Indians, (the history of which may be seen in the Narrative thereof, page 117,) who made cruel and fierce war, besides troubles from within, by several persons that laboured to infest the plantation, by sowing the seeds of dissension and corrupt doctrine, the one much increasing and fomenting of the other, as may appear briefly in what follows. That which is in sacred writ recorded of John Baptist may in its measure not unfitly be applied to Mr. John Cotton, that holy man of God, and reverend teacher of the church of Boston, viz. that he was a burning and shining light; and so many of his hearers, that abundantly resorted to his weekly lecture, might be said to have rejoiced in his light for a season, and much gloried in their gifts and enjoyments, looking upon themselves in so flourishing a condition as were scarce any where else to be paralleled. For some have been heard to say, they believed the church of Boston to be the most glorious church in the world; and indeed they deserved to be highly honoured, both for their faith

and order, with their eminent gifts of utterance and knowledge. But he who uses to stain the pride of the glory of all flesh, by withdrawing or withholding the influence of his grace, (which at that time some pretended so much to magnify,) blasted their beauty, that it might appear, that all flesh was grass, and the goodliness thereof, as the flower of the field. For some of the church and town of Boston, and the neighbouring assemblies, who either did not understand, or notoriously abused, what their reverend teacher had expressed, concerning the doctrine of free grace, union with Christ, and evidencing that union, had secretly vented sundry corrupt and dangerous errors and heresies, denying all inherent righteousness, and all evidencing a good estate thereby in any sort, and, (to use Mr. Cotton's own words in print,) "some of them denying the immortality of the soul, and resurrection of the body." And when they were questioned by some brethren about these things, they carried it as if they held forth nothing but what they had received from Mr. Cotton; and possibly they might strangely pervert some unwary expressions, occasionally let fall by that worthy and eminent divine, to a far different and contrary sense, than ever they were intended by the speaker, insomuch that himself, after he was advertised thereof, and had preached against these errors, yet did this generation of familists make their friends believe, that they were otherwise informed by himself in private. So as when Mr. Cotton himself, who, by reason of his candour and charity, was not forward to believe, that those erring brethren and sisters were so corrupt in their judgments as they were reported to be, much suffered thereby in his repute; for it occasioned some of the country to have a jealousy that himself was a secret fomentor of the spirit of familism; if he were not far leavened that way. These erroneous notions inspired many of the place also with a strange kind of seditious and turbulent spirit, and that upon every occasion they were ready to challenge all, that did not run with them, to be legal christians, and under a covenant

of works. Under the veil of this pretence, men of corrupt minds and haughty spirits secretly sowed seeds of division and schism in the country, and were ready to mutiny against the civil authority. For at a general court, held March 9th, 1636, complaint was made of a sermon, preached by Mr. Wheelwright a little before, supposed to tend to sedition and disturbance of the publick peace; and being sent for to the court, he was evidently convict of sedition and contempt of authority, for sundry passages in his sermon, which he stood to justify; and notwithstanding all means used, would not be brought in the least to retract. On which account the court saw cause to order his removal out of the jurisdiction. The magistrates set forth an apology to justify the sentence, which the adverse party had remonstrated against, altering the words and meaning of such passages as were the grounds of the court's sentence. Mr. Wheelwright also himself put forth a small tractate, to clear the doctrine of his sermon from sedition, as if he had only declared therein the covenant of grace, which was also differing from his sermon, and was confuted by some of the ministers by many strong arguments. Mr. Cotton replied largely to their answer, and brought the differences to a narrow scantling. But Mr. Wheelwright could not be prevailed with, to make any kind of recantation, which might have saved himself and others much trouble. The court also, though they had power enough to crush that party, yet deferred passing their sentence, that their moderation and desire of reconciliation might appear; but himself persisting in his way, it was at the last declared, and put in execution.

And in the latter session of the general court, wherein he was sentenced, sundry persons were called in question for subscribing their names to a remonstrance or petition, (there were about sixty of them in all,) wherein they did not only justify Mr. Wheelwright's doctrine and practice, but strongly reflect upon the proceedings of the court against him; whereupon the petitioners were all called before the court, and proceeded with ac-

According to the degrees of their offence, (which none of them were willing to see or acknowledge,) in some, to their removal out of the patent; in others, to their disfranchisement only. With all which they were so dissatisfied, as they generally, at least many of them, removed out of the patent, and made a plantation at Rhode Island, near the Narraganset country, where their successors and their posterity are remaining at this day; so as the sentence of the court was not prejudicial, but occasionally an advantage to their outward estate, being by that means seated in one of the fertilest places of the country; only, for fear of making great disturbance, which might have ruined them all, the authority of the Massachusetts was not willing to have them to abide longer amongst them within their jurisdiction.

At the same court also was called in question one Mrs. Hutchinson, supposed to be the occasion of all the fore-mentioned commotions in the colony of the Massachusetts; whose name it is wished might have been forborne out of respect to some of her family, long after, and still surviving, noted for eminent piety, great integrity of judgment, and faithful service in the church of God.

This gentlewoman was of a nimble wit, voluble tongue, eminent knowledge in the scriptures, of great charity, and notable helpfulness, especially in such occasions, where those of that sex stand in need of the mutual help of each other; which was the opportunity usually taken for insinuating into the spiritual state of those she came amongst, telling them of the danger of being under a covenant of works; by which means the affections of those that laboured under wants, and bodily infirmities, were notably prepared to become susceptible of any novel impressions; especially such as seemed to tend to the exalting of free grace, and depressing of the creature, and leaving all for Christ to do. And as when the devil attempted to ruin mankind by the insinuation of a new divinity, he began with Eve, and by her surprised her husband; the same course is still found the

most successful for that end : and was to admiration at this time verified in and about Boston.

When the said Mrs. Hutchinson was brought into the court, it was laid to her charge, that she had a great hand in the publick disturbance of the country, partly by erroneous opinions, which she broached and divulged, and partly by countenancing, and encouraging such, as sowed sedition therein, and partly by casting reproach upon the faithful ministers of the country, and their ministry ; thereby weakening their hands in the day of the Lord, and raising prejudice against them in the hearts of the people. It was added, that they would either have her acknowledge and reform her errors, and other offences, or else they must take such a course with her, that she might trouble them no further. After a long agitation with her, she pressed to declare her mind about the manner of God's dealing with her ; which having at last liberty to do, she expressed herself in a way of immediate revelation ; applying to herself, and her present condition, sundry texts of scripture, as, Jerem. xlv. 28, and Isaiah xxx. 20, and viii. 9 ; adding, that the Lord spake that to her, with a strong hand, and also using that instance of Daniel, Dan. vi. where the princes and presidents sought something against him, concerning the law of his God, when they could find nothing else, and so concluded ; see this scripture fulfilled this day in mine eyes, take heed what you go about to do unto me, &c. I am in the hands of the eternal Jehovah, my Saviour. She insisted much upon that place of scripture, Jer. xlv. ult. though I make a full end of all nations, yet will I not make a full end of thee ; which was very remarkable, as to the end that befel her, for in a very few years after the sentence of the court, occasioning her to remove, first to Rhode Island, and not being contented there, she withdrew voluntarily into some remote part of the country, from her friends and neighbours at Rhode Island, (with whom neither could she agree,) she herself, with most or many of her family, were destroyed by the Indians, as shall be showed afterwards, when none else

were; whereby it is evident how dangerous a thing it is, to trust to such pretended revelations, and neglect the word of God, which is our only rule, both as to faith and manners.

The court hearing of her thus speak, gathered from her own words that she walked by such a rule as cannot stand with the peace of any state or church, for such bottomless revelations, if they be allowed in one thing, they must be admitted for a rule in all; and upon such a foundation were built the tragedies of Munster and other places, and might be also in America, if such things went on after this sort; for they who are above reason and scripture will be subject to no controul. The court therefore, finding no hope of her being persuaded to recal her opinions, or reform her way, judged it necessary to proceed against her by such a sentence as necessarily required her departure out of the country. The church likewise passed a sentence of excommunication upon her, by Mr. Cotton's consent and approbation, as well as of the church.

This discovery of a new rule of practice by immediate revelation, and the consideration of such dangerous consequences, which have and might follow thereof, occasioned the court to disarm all such of that party, as had their hands to the petition aforesaid, and some others who had openly defended the same, (which was a true shibboleth, whereby the disaffected were discovered,) except they would give satisfaction to the magistrates therein; which some presently did, about twenty in all: others made a great question about bringing in their arms, but they were too weak to stand it out, and therefore at the last submitted.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The occasion of spreading erroneous opinions in New England, and much disturbance occasioned thereby in and about Boston, in the years 1636, 1637, &c.

Mrs. HUTCHINSON, of whom large mention is

made in the foregoing chapter, did by degrees discover two dangerous errors, which she brought with her out of England, (it being not probable that she gathered them from the ministry of Mr. Cotton, or any other minister in New England.) The one was, that the Holy Ghost dwelt personally in a justified person; the other was, that nothing of sanctification can help to evidence to believers their justification. From these two grew many other branches; as that our union with the Holy Ghost is such, that a christian remains in himself dead to any spiritual action, and hath no gifts or graces, other than such as are in hypocrites, nor any other sanctification than the Holy Ghost himself. There joined with her in those opinions, or in some other very near them, one Mr. Wheelwright, brother-in-law to her, sometimes a silenced minister in England, of whom mention is also made in the former chapter.

The other ministers of the Bay hearing of those things, came to Boston about the end of October, 1636, in the time of the general court, and entered a conference in private with the elders, and others there, to the end that they might know the certainty of these things; if need were that they might write to the church of Boston, about them, to prevent, (if it were possible,) the dangers which seemed to hang over that, and the rest of the churches. At this conference Mr. Cotton was present, and gave satisfaction to them, so as he agreed with them all in the point of sanctification, and so did Mr. Wheelwright; so as they all did hold, that sanctification did help to evidence justification, the same he had delivered plainly in publick divers times; but for the indwelling of the person of the Holy Ghost he held that still, but not union with the person of the Holy Ghost, so as to amount to a personal union.

A few days after, scil. October 30th, some of Boston church being of the forementioned opinion, were labouring to have the said Mr. Wheelwright to be called to be a teacher there. It was propounded the Lord's day before, and was this day moved again for a resolution. One

of the church stood up, and said he could not consent: his reason was, because the church being well furnished already with able ministers, whose spirits they knew, and whose labours God had blessed in much love and sweet peace, he thought it not fit, (no necessity urging,) to put the welfare of the church to the least hazard, as he feared they should, by calling in one whose spirit they knew not, and one who seemed to dissent in judgment; and instanced in two points, which he delivered in a late exercise there, 1. that a believer was more than a new creature; 2. that the person of the Holy Ghost and a believer were united. Hereupon the governour, Mr. Vane, spake, that he marvelled at this, seeing Mr. Cotton had lately approved his doctrine. To this Mr. Cotton answered, that he did not remember the first, and desired Mr. Wheelwright to explain his meaning: he denied not the points, but showed upon what occasion he delivered them. Whereupon there being an endeavour to make a reconciliation, the first replied, that although Mr. Wheelwright and himself might agree about the points, and though he thought reverently of his godliness and abilities, so as he could be content to live under such a ministry, yet seeing he was apt to raise doubtful disputations, he could not consent to choose him to the place: whereupon the church gave way, that he might be called to office in a new church, to be gathered at Mount Wollaston, now Braintree. Divers of the brethren took offence at this speech against Mr. Wheelwright; whereupon the same brother spake in the congregation the next Lord's day, to this effect: that hearing how some brethren took offence at his former speech, and for that offences were dangerous, he was desirous to give satisfaction. The offence, he said, was in three things: 1. for that he charged that brother in publick, and for a thing so long since delivered, and had not first dealt with him privately: for this he acknowledged that it was a failing; but the occasion was, that when he heard the points delivered, he took them in a good sense, as spoken figuratively, seeing the whole scope of the doctrine

was sound, and savouring of the spirit of God ; but hearing very lately, that he was suspected to hold such opinions, it caused him to think he spake as he meant. The second cause of offence was, that in his speech appeared some bitterness : for that he answered, that they well knew his manner of speech was always earnest, in things which he conceived to be serious ; and professed that he did love that brother's person, and did honour the gifts and graces of God in him. The third was, that he had charged him, to have held things which he did not : for this he answered, that he had spoke since with the said brother ; and for the two points, 1. that a believer should be more than a new creature ; and, 2. that there should be a personal union between the Holy Ghost and a believer. He denied to hold either of them, but by necessary consequence he doth hold both ; for he holds, (said he,) that there is a real union with the person of the Holy Ghost, and then of necessity must be personal, and so a believer must be more than a creature ; viz. God man, as Christ Jesus ; for though in a true union the two terms may still remain the same, &c. as between husband and wife, he is a man still and she is a woman, (for the union is only in sympathy and relation,) yet in a real or personal union, it is not. Now whether this were agreeable to the doctrine of the gospel, he left to the church to judge, hoping the Lord would direct their teacher to clear these points fully, as he had well done in good measure already : withal he made this request to the brethren, that, (which he said he did seriously and affectionately,) seeing those variances grew, (and some estrangement withal,) from some words and expressions, which were of human invention, and tended to doubtful disputation, rather than to edification, and had no footing in scripture, nor had been of use in the purest churches for three hundred years after Christ, that for the peace of the church, they might be forborne, (he meant the person of the Holy Ghost, and real union ;) he concluded, that he did not intend to dispute the matter, (as not having place nor calling thereunto,) yet if any brother desired to

see what light he walked by, he would be ready to impart it to him. How this was taken by the congregation it did not appear, for no man spake to it. This speech was very solid, rational, and candid, and if men's minds had not been strangely forestalled with prejudice against the truth, and a secret inclination to novelties and error, it might have put a stop to the confusion they at Boston were at that time running into.

A day or two after, the same brother wrote his mind fully with such scriptures and arguments, as came to hand, and sent it to Mr. Cotton.

The governour, Mr. Vane, a gentleman pretending much to wisdom and piety, held with Mr. Cotton the indwelling of the person of the Holy Ghost in a believer, and went so far beyond the rest, as to maintain a personal union with the Holy Ghost. But the deputy, Mr. Winthrop, (a gentleman not inferiour in natural abilities, but much better grounded in the true principles of learning, both divine and human,) together with Mr. Wilson, the pastor, and divers others, denied both: and the question proceeded so far by disputation, (in writing, for the peace-sake of the church, which all were tender of,) as at length they could not find the person of the Holy Ghost in scripture, nor in the primitive churches three hundred years after Christ; so that all agreeing in the chief matter of substance, came to this, viz. that the Holy Ghost is God, and that he doth dwell in believers, (as the Father and Son are also said to do,) but whether by his gifts and power only, or by any other manner of presence, seeing the scripture doth not declare it, it was earnestly desired that the word person might be forborne, being a term of human invention, and tending to doubtful disputation in this case. For though the word person be used in the Hebrews, i. 3, yet in the Greek it is hypostasis, or subsistence, not προσωπον, which is to be rendered person.

At a general court, occasionally called in December following, (that was intended for a court of election,) the ministers were called for advice about composing and

pacifying the difference among the churches in point of opinion. The governour having declared the occasion to them, Mr. Dudley desired that men would be free and open, &c ; another of the magistrates spake, that it would much further the end they came for, if men would freely declare what they held differing from others, as himself would do in what point soever he should be opposed. The governour said, that he would be content to do the like, but that he understood the ministers were about it in a church way, which he spake upon this occasion. The ministers had met a little before, and had drawn into heads all the points, wherein they suspected Mr. Cotton did differ from them, and had propounded them to him, and pressed him to a direct answer, affirmative or negative, to every one of which he had promised, and had taken time for. This meeting being spoken of the day before in the court, the governour took great offence at it, as being without his privity, &c. which this day one of the ministers told him as plainly of, (with all due reverence,) and how he had saddened the spirits of the ministers, that he should be jealous of their meetings, or seem to restrain their liberties, &c. The governour excused his speech as sudden, and upon a mistake ; the same minister told him also, that within less than two years since, the churches were at peace, &c. The governour answered, that the light of the gospel brings a sword, and the children of the bond woman would persecute those of the free woman, and such like canting language. The minister besought him humbly to consider his short experience in the things of God, and to beware of peremptory conclusions, which he perceived him to be very apt unto : he declared further what had been observed, both in the Low Countries and here, as the principal reasons of new opinions and divisions thereupon, viz. pride, idleness, and ungrounded knowledge, &c. Mr. Wilson, pastor of Boston, made a serious speech of the condition of the churches, and the inevitable danger of separation, if those differences and alienations among brethren were not speedily remedied ; and

laid the blame on those new opinions, risen up amongst them ; which all the magistrates, except the governour and two others, did confirm, as did all the ministers also, except two.

In this discourse a question arose about sanctification ; Mr. Cotton, in his sermon that day, had laid down this ground ; that evident sanctification was a ground of justification, and thereupon had taught, that in cases of spiritual desertion, true desires of sanctification was found to be sanctification as our divines usually hold : and further, if a man were laid so flat upon the ground, as he could see no desires, &c. but only as a bruised reed did wait at the foot of Christ, yet here was matter of comfort, for this was found to be true sanctification in the root and principle of it.

The question here grew, whether any of these, or evident sanctification, could be evident to a man, without a concurrent sight of his justification. The governour and Mr. Cotton denied it : but this was one of the questions disputed afterwards in the synod.

But the speech of Mr. Wilson it seems did stick in many of their stomachs, and was taken ill by Mr. Cotton himself and divers others of the church of Boston, so as he and divers of them went to admonish him : but Mr. Wilson and some others could see no breach of rule, seeing he was called by the court, about the same matter with the rest of the elders, and exhorted to deliver their minds freely and faithfully, both for discovering the dangers, and means of help, and the things he spake of were only in general, and such as were under a common fame ; and being questioned about his intent, he did not mean Boston church, nor the members thereof, more than others. But this would not satisfy, but they called him to answer publicly on the Lord's day, December 31, and there the governour pressed it violently against him, and most of the congregation, except the deputy and a few more ; and many of them with much bitterness and reproaches : but he answered them all with words of truth and soberness, and marvellous wis-

dom. It was strange to see how the common people were led by example to condemn him, in that which it is very probable divers of them did not understand, nor the rule which he was supposed to have broken; and that such as had known him so long, and what good he had done for the church, should fall upon him with such bitterness for justifying himself in a good cause; for he was a very holy, upright man, and for faith and love inferior to none in the country, and most dear to all men beside prejudiced people. The teacher joined with the greater part at that time in their judgment of him, (not without some appearance of prejudice,) yet with much wisdom and moderation. They were eager to proceed to present censure, but the teacher staid them for that, telling them he might not do it because some opposed it, but gave him a grave exhortation. The pastor was not much troubled at it, accounting it but man's day: Barnabas was sometimes carried away with the error of the rest. The next Lord's day the said Mr. Wilson preached notwithstanding, and the Lord so assisted him, as he gave great satisfaction, and the governour himself gave publick witness to him.

One of the brethren wrote to Mr. Cotton about it, and laid before him divers failings, (as he supposed,) and some reasons to justify Mr. Wilson, and dealt very plainly with him. Mr. Cotton made a very loving and gentle answer, clearing his intentions, and persisting in his judgment of Mr. Wilson's offence, laying down divers arguments for it. The said brother replied to him in like loving manner, and desired leave to shew his letter to Mr. Wilson, which he readily assented unto: but for an answer to his arguments, he forbore to reply to Mr. Cotton, (because he was overburdened with business,) but wrote to the two ruling elders, (whom the matter more concerned,) and by way of defence of Mr. Wilson, answered all Mr. Cotton's arguments.

Upon these occasions many errors broke out publicly in the church of Boston—as that the Holy Ghost dwelt in a believer, as he did in heaven: that a man is

justified before he believes; and that faith is no cause of justification: and others superadded more—as that the letter of the scripture holds forth nothing but a covenant of works; and that the covenant of grace was the spirit of the scripture, and was known only to believers, and that this covenant of works was given by Moses in the ten commandments: and there was a seed, viz. Abraham's carnal seed, went along in it. And there was a spirit and life in it, by virtue whereof a man might attain to any sanctification in gifts and graces, and might have spiritual and comfortable communion with Jesus Christ, and yet be damned; after it was granted that faith was before justification, but it was only passive, an empty vessel, &c. But in conclusion of all, the ground of all was found to be assurance by immediate revelation.

All the congregation of Boston in a manner, except four or five, closed with these opinions, or the most of them; but one of the brethren wrote against them, and bore witness to the truth, together with the pastor, and very few others joined with them. Things being brought to this pass, the rest of the ministers taking offence at some doctrines delivered by Mr. Cotton, and especially at some opinions which some of his church did broach, (for he seemed to have too good an opinion of, and too much familiarity with those persons,) and drew out sixteen points, and gave them to him, entreating him to deliver his judgment directly in them, which accordingly he did, and many copies of them were dispersed about. Some doubts he well cleared, but in some things he gave not satisfaction. The rest of the ministers replied to these answers, and at large showed their dissent, and the grounds thereof; and at the next general court, held the 9th of March following, they all assembled at Boston, and agreed to put off all lectures for three weeks, that they might bring things to some issue.

But whatever private conferences or means were used, the differences in the said points of religion increased more and more, and the ministers on both sides, (there being only Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright on one

part,) did publickly declare their judgment in some of them, so as all men's mouths were full of nothing else ; and about this time, February 3, there being a ship in the harbour bound for England with many passengers, Mr. Cotton took occasion to speak to them about the differences, &c. and willed them to tell our countrymen that all the strife amongst them was about magnifying the grace of God : one person seeking to advance the grace of God within us, and the other to advance the grace of God towards us, (meaning by the one justification, by the other sanctification,) and so bid them tell them, that if there were any among them that could strive for grace, they should come hither, and so declared some particulars. Mr. Wilson spake after him, and declared that he knew none of the elders, or brethren of the churches, but did labour to advance the free grace of God in justification, so far as the word of God required ; and spake also about the doctrine of sanctification, and the use and necessity of it ; by occasion whereof no man could tell (except some few who knew the bottom of the matter) where any difference was ; which speech, though it offended those of Mr. Cotton's part, yet it was very seasonable to clear the rest, who otherwise would have been reputed to oppose free grace. This only occasion increased the contention, and raised great alienations of minds, and the members of Boston (frequenting the lectures of other ministers) did make much disturbance by publick questions and objections against their doctrines, which did any way disagree from their opinions : and it began to be as common there, to distinguish between men, by being under a covenant of works and a covenant of grace, as in other countries between Protestants and Papists. For at the general court the next year, one Greensmith was punished, for saying all the ministers in the country preached a covenant of works, but two ; but notwithstanding his talking of an appeal, he was committed till he submitted to the sentence, which was in part to make an acknowledgement in all the congregations of the country,

At the next general court, which was on the 9th of March, 1636, they questioned the proceedings against Mr. Wilson, and by the greater part his speech was approved, and declared to be a seasonable caution, and no charge or accusation.

And at that time the ministers, being called to give their advice about the authority of the court in things concerning the church, did all agree of these two things : 1. That no member of court ought publickly to be questioned by the church, for any speech in the court, viz. which concerned the court and authority thereof : the reason was because the court may have sufficient reason, that may excuse the same, which yet may not be fit to acquaint the church with, being a secret of state. The second thing was, that in all such heresies and errors of any church member as are manifest and dangerous to the state, the court may proceed without tarrying for the church ; but if the opinions be doubtful, &c. they are first to refer them to the church. At this court likewise, when Mr. Wheelwright was questioned for his sermon, which seemed to tend to sedition, &c. near all the church of Boston presented a petition to the court for two things among others, 1st, That as freemen they might be present in cases of judicature : 2dly, that the court would declare that they might deal in cases of conscience before the church. This was taken as a groundless and presumptuous act, especially at this season, and was rejected with this answer, that the court had never used to proceed judicially, but it was openly : for matter of consultation, and preparation in causes, they might and would be private.

Such were the uncomfortable agitations in those times both in the church and court, by reason of new opinions. But for the difference between Mr. Cotton and his party and Mr. Wilson, there was a reconciliation made betwixt them the next summer, viz. in August, (Mr. Hooker being then in the bay, and Mr. Davenport at Boston,) for that was a day appointed for a conference amongst the elders or a synod on the 30th of August,

and a day of humiliation on the 24th, with consent of the magistrates. At their private meetings some reconciliation was made between Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright, and Mr. Wilson; he professing that by his speech in the court, with which they were so much offended, he did not intend the doctrine of Mr. Cotton or Mr. Wheelwright, delivered in the publick congregation, but some opinions, (naming three or four,) which were privately carried on in Boston and other parts of the country, and accordingly Mr. Cotton declared so much in the congregation the Lord's day following; and for the rest of his speech it was agreed by all the ministers to be inoffensive, considering his call thereto by the court. This sudden change was the more observed by some, who were privy that Mr. Wilson had professed so much before, both privately to the elders, and publicly in the congregation, and that the said opinions had been delivered to the elders of Boston in writing, as those which Mr. Wilson intended. But every thing is beautiful in its season; sometimes when men's eyes are held they cannot see that which else, is very manifest and easy to be discerned.

There was great hope that the assembly of the ministers, this year called together, would have had some good effect for the composing the troubles and dissensions about matters of religion; but it fell out otherwise, for although Mr. Wheelwright had been clearly confuted and confounded in the assembly, yet they persisted in their opinions, and were as busy in nourishing and carrying on contentions (the principal of them) as ever before; yea, were rather the more engaged in defending their errors, upon occasion of the proceedings against him and Mr. Hutchinson in the court, and in the said assembly. For now were other grosser errors openly professed and maintained by them, that before were only secretly carried by way of inquiry, and so many of Boston tainted with them; as Mr. Cotton finding how he had been abused, and made (as himself said) their stalking horse, (for they pretended to hold nothing but

what Mr. Cotton held, and himself did at the first think the same,) did spend most of his time, both publickly and privately, to discover those errours, and reduce such as were gone astray. The magistrates also with the ministers spent two or three days together in consultation how to redress those growing evils.

Some of those growing evils or errours were these :

That there is no inherent righteousness in a child of God.

That we are not bound to the law, no, not as a rule.

That the Sabbath is but as other days.

That the soul is mortal till it be united to Christ.

That there is no resurrection of the body, &c.

But by the blessing of God upon all endeavours, the church of Boston at last having agreed with one consent to pass the sentence of excommunication against Mrs. Hutchinson, for many moral evils in her conversation, as well as for corrupt opinions ; many, who had been seduced by her, by what they heard and saw that day, were, through the grace of God, brought off quite from her errours and settled in the truth.

And at a general fast, on the 13th of December, 1638, Mr. Cotton in his sermon that day at Boston did confess and bewail, as the churches, so his own security and credulity, whereupon so many dangerous errours had gotten up and spread in the churches, and went over all the particulars, and shewed how he came to be deceived ; the errours being formed (in words) so near the truth, which he had preached, and the falsehood of the maintainers of them was such, as they usually would deny to him what they had delivered to others. He acknowledged that such as had been seducers of others (instancing in some of those of Rhode Island, though he named them not) had been justly banished ; yet he said such as only had been misled, and others who had done any thing out of misguided conscience, (not being grossly evil,) should be borne withal, and first referred to the church, and if that could not heal them, they should rather be imprison-

ed or fined, than banished, it being likely that no other church would receive them.

At the general court in March, 1638, divers of the chief military officers of Boston, who had been favourers of the familistical persons and opinions, being sent for by the court, and told that they desired good satisfaction from them, having reason to be jealous of them, ingeniously acknowledged that they had been deceived and misled by the appearance which was held forth, of advancing Christ and debasing the creature, which since they had found to be otherwise, and that their opinion and practice tended to disturbance and delusion; and so blessed God that had so thoroughly discovered their error and danger to them.

CHAP. XL.

A synod called in New England, Anno 1637, at Cambridge. The occasion and success thereof.

THE forementioned commotions in the country, occasioned by the spreading of sundry familistical opinions, which had received too much countenance and growth under the wing of the former governour, required the help of the ecclesiastical, as well as the civil power, to suppress and scatter them; and therefore the general court of the Massachusetts judged it necessary to call an assembly of all the elders of the churches, throughout the country, to consider thereof.

Many of the foresaid opinions were fathered upon Mr. Cotton, or were supposed to be gathered from some positions laid down by him in his publick preaching, the which being reduced to several heads were discussed by the synod when they met together in the first place, as well for the clearing of the truths in question, as the vindicating the honour of that reverend divine, not a little eclipsed by the laying those opinions to his charge.

When the synod was assembled, Mr. Thomas Hooker and Mr. Peter Bulkley were chosen moderators for the first day, and continued all the rest of the synod;

two as able and judicious divines as any the country afforded, by whom the disputes were managed with all liberty and fidelity to be desired; and the matters in controversy debated with as much seriousness and intense-ness of mind, in the ministers, as the nature and circumstances thereof required; being apprehended by some more dangerous in their tendency and consequences than in the notions themselves.

The errors spreading in the country were first condemned by one consent in the assembly; then they came to discourse some questions in controversy between Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright on the one part, and the rest of the ministers on the other part.

The questions at that time discussed were five, which follow, with the answers given thereunto, by Mr. Cotton and the rest of the ministers, set down distinct.

Quest. 1. Whether our union with Christ be complete before and without faith?

Reply of Mr. Cotton. Not before the habit, though without the act of faith, i. e. not before Christ hath wrought faith in us; for in uniting himself to us, he works faith in us, yet before our faith hath laid hold on him; not before the gift of faith, though before the work of faith.

Then were two or three arguments urged by Mr. Cotton, that seem to carry some strength with them.

Arg. 1. From the utter impotency of the soul without or before union with Christ to any good act. (I mean complete union, for union standeth indivisible.) If we put forth an act of faith to lay hold on Christ, before we be completely united to him, then we put forth a good act, and so bring forth good fruit before we be in him, and before we be good trees.

Arg. 2. In our regeneration we are merely passive, our faith is not then active. But in our regeneration we are completely united to Christ, when our faith is not active. Many other great divines seem to speak this way. Mr. Strong in a late treatise of the two covenants, page 76, saith, that in our union we are passive, as well as in our conversion.

Arg. 3. If our union with Christ be an act of our faith, then it is by a work of ours, and then it is not a work of grace, according to Rom. xi. 6.

Reply. Answers of the ministers in the synod.

We are not completely united to Christ by the habit of faith without the act, or by a faith merely passive.

We apprehend it to be beyond the reach of reason, or any expression in the scripture, how this joining can be made by the habit merely, not putting forth any act upon the object. The habit of faith in the hand of the Spirit must needs be some cause of the union in question, and therefore must act therein. For faith is not said to receive in scripture as a vessel receives water, but as the wife takes the husband, John i. 12, where the same word is used with that in Matt. i. 20, for Joseph's taking Mary for his wife.

Quest. 2. Whether faith be an instrumental cause of applying Christ's righteousness to our justification?

Reply of Mr. Cotton. It is an instrument to receive the righteousness of Christ applied to us of God for our justification, but not properly an instrumental cause.

Reply of the ministers. Faith is an instrumental cause in applying Christ's righteousness, and faith is active and not merely passive herein.

Quest. 3. Whether the Spirit of God in our justification doth bear witness in an absolute promise of free grace, without qualification or condition?

Reply of Mr. Cotton. The Spirit doth bear witness to our justification, either in an absolute promise, or conditional, in case the condition be understood, or applied absolutely, not attending the condition, as the cause or ground of our assurance, but as the effect or consequence of it.

Reply of the ministers. The Spirit in evidencing our justification doth bear witness only in a conditional promise, i. e. where some saving condition or qualification, wrought in us by the Spirit of Christ, is either expressed or understood; expressed, Acts xiii. 39; understood, Isaiah xliii. 25.

Quest. 4. Whether some saving qualification may be a first evidence of justification?

Reply of Mr. Cotton. A man may have an argument from thence, but not a first evidence.

Reply of the ministers. Some saving qualification, wrought or discovered by the Spirit in the promise, may be a first evidence of our justification.

Quest. 5. Whether Christ and his benefits be dispensed in a covenant of works?

Reply of Mr. Cotton. Christ is dispensed to the elect in a covenant of grace, to others he may be dispensed in some sort, viz. in a taste of him, either in a covenant of works, or in a covenant of grace legally applied.

Reply of the ministers. Although Christ and his benefits may be revealed, offered, and after a sort exhibited to men that be under a covenant of works, yet they are not revealed and offered by a covenant of works.

These things were thoroughly sifted and scanned divers days in the synod, where every one had liberty to make his proposals and use his arguments, pro or con, as he stood affected. And upon this disquisition the presence of God did manifestly appear for the clearing of the truth in controversy to general satisfaction, so that a right understanding was thereby obtained between the rest of the elders and Mr. Cotton, who had been for some time before much estranged the one from the other. Many of Boston church, and some others, were offended with the procedure of the assembly in the producing so many errors, as if it were a reproach laid upon the country without cause, and called to have the persons named which held those errors; but it was answered and affirmed by many, both elders and others, that all those opinions could be proved by sufficient testimony to be held by some in the country, but it was not thought fit to name the persons, because that assembly (not owning themselves to have any judicial power) had not to do with persons, but doctrines only. For according to the principles of those churches of the Congregational persuasion, the question is only to be carried to the synod;

the case remains with the particular church to which the person is related. But this would not satisfy some, but they oft called for witnesses ; yea, many of them were so obstreperous, that the magistrates were constrained to interpose with their authority to prevent civil disturbance ; upon which divers of Boston departed home and came no more at the assembly.

In the first handling of the five questions premised, either part delivered their arguments in writing, which were read in the assembly, and afterwards the answers to them, which spent much time without any effect ; but after they came to open dispute about the questions, they were soon determined, and by that means also they came to understand one another much better.

And in conclusion, the judgment of the assembly did appear in the points controverted between them and Mr. Cotton, and if he were not convinced, yet he was persuaded to an amicable compliance with the other ministers, by studious abstaining on his part from all expressions that were like to be offensive ; for although it was thought he did still retain his own sense, and enjoy his own apprehension, in all or most of the things then controverted, (as is manifest by some expressions of his, in a treatise of the new covenant, since that time published by Mr. Thomas Allen of Norwich,) yet was there an healing of the breach, that had been between him and the rest of the elders, and a putting a stop to the course of errours in the country for the future, through the joint endeavours of himself and the rest of the ministers, in their respective places and congregations. By that means did that reverend and worthy minister of the gospel recover his former splendour throughout the whole country of New England, with his wonted esteem and interest in the hearts of all his friends and acquaintance, so as his latter days were like the clear shining of the sun after rain, whatever distance had appeared heretofore ; but as for others, whether broachers, or fomenters and maintainers of familistical notions, they were all condemned in the synod, and by that occasion prevented from spread-

ing in the country, notwithstanding the many active persons concerned with them.

Some had run on headily so far in the defending of those errors, that one offered to maintain in the synod, that Christ himself was part of the new creature; which made one of his disciples (who usually are more zealous in defence of any opinions than their masters) undertake before the whole assembly in Boston church to maintain it by scripture, that Christ and the new creature were all one: not much unlike the gentleman, that to make it appear how resolute a Catholick he was, was heard to say, he not only believed Christ was really present in the sacrament, but that he was there booted and spurred, as he rode to Jerusalem: so this young familist, not content to affirm that Christ was part of the new creature, will boldly affirm he is the new creature; alleging for proof that in the 2 Cor. v. 17; for having some smattering in the French tongue, he observed that in the French bible [qu'il soit] is written in a different character, as if in the original it must therefore be, [if any man be in Christ, the new creature.] To whom Mr. Cotton, according to his wonted meekness and moderation, yet with a nimble sagacity, replied, brother, if the words [he is] are not literally expressed, they are necessarily understood and implied; for read them in your sense, [if any man be in Christ, the new creature,] what follows then? what sense will that be? at which the nonsensical familist was not a little confounded, which made him soon quit that station of defence and retire himself into a present silence as his best refuge. But this may suffice for a taste of the strange spirit of error, that had begun to leaven several forward professors in that place with such strange notions. Such was the issue of this synod, of which it might truly be affirmed,

“Est synodus, nodus, sed quo constringit* error.”

In the last day of the assembly some other questions were debated and resolved, as about the publick exercising of women's gifts, (as was then the custom in Boston,

* Qu. Constringitur? Ed.

though in a private house,) when fifty or sixty persons were observed to attend constantly every week upon one woman, (who in a prophetic way would take upon her to resolve questions of doctrine, and expound scripture.) This was condemned to be disorderly and without rule.

And about asking of questions in publick by the brethren after sermon, not so much for information as for reproof, (then too much in use,) whereby the doctrines delivered were endeavoured to be refuted, and the ministers themselves reproached, which was also condemned.

There was likewise a motion at that time made by the governour about the way of raising maintenance for the ministers, there having been some difference amongst the churches a little before on that account. It was therefore desired that it might now be determined, by the present synod, what way was most agreeable to the gospel; but the ministers did not like to meddle with the question in that assembly, lest some that were not well minded should thereby take occasion to say, that the ministers of the country had caused an assembly to be gathered together for their own ends and advantage: and seeing it is positively declared, 1 Cor. ix. 14, in the gospel, as a thing ordained of God, that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel; it was thought best to leave it to the liberty of each church and people, to take that course for the maintenance of their ministers, which, all things considered, appears most agreeable to their state and condition.

For a conclusion, the reverend Mr. Davenport (as he had been desired by the assembly) preached out of Philip. iii. 16, "Nevertheless, whereunto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing;" out of which words he laid down the occasion of differences amongst christians, and declared the fruit and effect of the present assembly, and with much wisdom, and sound arguments, persuaded all to endeavour the keeping of the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

CHAP. XLI.

The first planting of the country about the river of Connecticut. The occasions leading thereunto, and progress thereof. in the years 1635 and 1636, with some occurrences which have since happened there, both in their civil and ecclesiastical affairs.

THE discovery of the famous river of Connecticut, known to the Dutch by the name of the Fresh river, and by them intimated to the inhabitants of New Plymouth, (possibly to make them some amends for the abuse formerly offered in supplanting them upon their first adventuring into those parts,) hath been mentioned already, where it is declared how the English about the same time happened to discover it by land, as the other had done by sea. The Dutch had only resorted thither on the account of trade with the Indians; and if those of Plymouth had entertained any thoughts of removing thither, they spent too much time in deliberation about the matter, and so were prevented by the inhabitants of the Massachusetts, who were at that time overpressed with multitudes of new families, that daily resorted thither, so as like an hive of bees overstocked, there was a necessity that some should swarm out. The places about the Bay were already in a manner all taken up, and the country about the said river, (whose fame peradventure did not a little outdo its real excellency,) though more remote, yet was thought to make compensation for that, by the abundant fertility of the soil; a great number therefore of the planters of the old towns, viz. Dorchester, Roxbury, Watertown, and Cambridge, were easily induced to attempt a removal of themselves and families upon the first opportunity afforded; which was not a little advanced by the fame and interest of Mr. Hooker, whose worth and abilities had no small influence upon the people of the towns forementioned. It was also said, that besides the *causa procatarectica*, there was a *causa προηγουμένη*, an impulsive cause, that did more secretly and

powerfully drive on the business. Some men do not well like, at least, cannot well bear to be opposed in their judgments and notions, and thence were they not unwilling to remove from under the power, as well as out of the bounds of the Massachusetts. Nature doth not allow two suns in one firmament, and some spirits can as ill bear an equal as others a superiour: but whether they have mended themselves by their choice, they are best able to judge, that have had longest experience of another colony. Possibly it might have been as well for the whole, if they could have been included in one jurisdiction; for by that means their union together by an incorporation had been much firmer and stronger, than by a confederation, as afterwards it came to pass.

It was generally accounted no wisdom to be straitened in a wilderness, where there was land enough; and therefore these, with Isaac, preferred a Rehoboth before a Situah; and it were to be wished, that men's desires being obtained as to room, there may never be contention about their bounds. But whatever were the cause, or gave the occasion of setting up these plantations, the design being resolved upon in the year 1634, some were deputed from amongst the towns in the Bay, to view the country, who returning from this Eshcol with a large commendation of the commodiousness of the place, and fruitfulness of the soil, they took up a resolution forthwith to begin several plantations there: accordingly in the year 1635, several families, with the approbation of the authority of the Massachusetts, undertook the removal of themselves to that Canaan of Connecticut; and in the way thereunto, whether they so well expected it and prepared for it or no, they met with many difficulties, and trials of a wilderness, before they were comfortably settled there. For those their hasty resolves, that had so early budded, were sorely nipped, and almost quite blasted, by the sharpness of the winter season that year, and other sad occurrences, which they were called to encounter with in the following year, by the barbarous outrage of the Pequod Indians, who, like Amalek of old,

that set upon the rear of Israel in the wilderness, did sorely annoy those plantations upon Connecticut river, at their first settling there.

The place which those that went from Cambridge had by their agents chosen to settle upon, was by the Indians called Suckiang, where some of them began the plantation in the end of the year 1635; Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, the ministers of the church, engaging to follow them the next year, which they did, and called it Hartford. Those of Dorchester settled upon a place called by the Indians Mattaueaug, or Cufchankamaug, after whom Mr. Wareham and the rest of the church engaged to follow, and so likewise did the next year, and called it Windsor. Those that went from Watertown (whereof not above seven were members of the church, and Mr. Smith was afterwards their minister) pitched upon a place known to the Indians by the name of Pauquiaug, which was afterwards by the English named Weathersfield.

The place which these Weathersfield men settled their plantation upon, was a very desirable tract of interval land, which those of Hartford intended for themselves, purposing to stretch one of the wings of their plantation over it; but the other were too quick for them, and seized it to settle their own plantation upon, being situate about three miles from Hartford. In such kind of possessions the *premier seisin* is the best title; they, therefore, being found the first occupants, could not be dispossessed by the pretensions of their neighbours. However it was said, that this preoccupation of theirs had no small influence (directly or indirectly) into those contentions, which for many years (soon after the first planting) disturbed that place, before they could be healed; of which there may be more occasion to speak afterwards. Much of the trouble was said to arise from Mr. Smith, aforesaid, the minister, and one Mr. Chaplin, the ruling elder. If they did answer the apostle's qualification, 1 Tim. v. 17, of ruling well, and labouring in the word and doctrine, they were not, as the text requires, rewarded with double honour.

Those that went from Roxbury (the principal of whom were Mr. William Pyncheon, and one John Burr, a carpenter) settled, at least laid the foundation of a plantation, higher up the river, called by the Indians Agawam, but by the English afterwards named Springfield, in remembrance of the said Mr. Pyncheon, who had his mansion house at a town of that name, near Chelmsford in Essex, before he removed to New England: but this plantation was afterwards found to fall within the line of the Massachusetts patent, and so was always after left to their jurisdiction.

These new plantations were reduced to great extremity the first winter, by reason of the early setting in of the hard weather, which detained their provisions (that came by sea) at the river's mouth, near sixty miles off from them, (the stream being frozen up all the way between them,) so as the several companies were dispersed; some repairing towards the mouth of the river, the rest returning back through the woods with the peril of their lives, leaving some few behind them, (which was of necessity to look after the cattle they carried up,) with whom they were forced to leave all the provisions they could spare, scarce reserving enough for them that were to travel back, insomuch as one or two of them, for want of relief, perished by the way. Many of their cattle also, which they left upon the place, were lost that winter, for want of looking after: on all which accounts the first planters conflicted with much hardship, and many sorrows, before they were fully settled.

But for the better managing of affairs, (as to the government,) in those first beginnings in the year 1636, several gentlemen, that removed thither, were appointed by some kind of commission from the Massachusetts to take care of the government of the place, viz. Roger Ludlow, Esq. Mr. John Steel, Mr. William Phelps, Mr. William Westwood, Mr. Andrew Ward, and some others that were joined with them in the same commission, for the government of the said plantations. As for the mischief they sustained by the Indians, which occa-

sioned the war with the Pequod Indians, near adjoining to them, it is particularly described in the history thereof.

Soon after the setting up of these plantations, the inhabitants being fully satisfied that they were all or most of them without the limits of the Massachusetts, (of which they had no small presumption before,) and therefore not belonging to their jurisdiction, they entered into a combination among themselves, and so became a body politick by mutual consent, and framed such laws and constitutions as were necessary for the foundation of a civil government; choosing some prudent and meet persons yearly to be both magistrates and representatives of the people in some general assembly, empowering them as well to enact new orders as to put the former in execution, so far as was needful for the welfare of the people; which possibly was the the occasion; that those of that colony took a larger compass, as to their freemen, than the Massachusetts had done before them; not restraining the freedom of their civil government to the membership of their churches; for where a government is founded on the consent of the people, it will be necessitated to extend the favour of a civil freedom to many, who otherwise might be looked upon, not so capable, at least not so worthy thereof.

In this way of government the plantations of Connecticut continued until the year 1644, within which time George Fenwick, Esq. a worthy and pious gentleman, came over thither, and in the behalf of sundry lords and gentlemen took up much land about the mouth of Connecticut river, and there began another plantation, which was called Saybrook, in remembrance of those two noble lords, the lord Say and the lord Brook, claiming the government and propriety of those places, by virtue of a patent, granted to the foresaid lords and other gentlemen, and their associates, by the right honourable Robert, earl of Warwick. Although it is since known that there was a grant made of lands containing sixty miles in length and breadth betwixt the river of Connecticut and the Narraganset country, to the marquis Hamilton, by the

grand council of Plymouth, bearing date in the eleventh year of king Charles the first; but whether the patent aforesaid, granted by the earl of Warwick, were of a more ancient date, must be determined by them that have power assigned them for that end, seeing the heirs of the said marquis still challenge an interest therein. But for the extent of the patent, granted by the earl of Warwick, it reaches unto, and takes in all that part of New England, in America, which lies and extends itself from a river, there called Narraganset river, the space of forty leagues upon a straight line, near the sea shore, towards the southwest, west and by south or west, as the coast lieth, towards Virginia, accounting three English miles to the league; and also all and singular the lands and hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being within the lands aforesaid, north and south in latitude and breadth, and in length and longitude, of and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the main lands there, from the Western ocean to the South sea, &c. December 5, 1644, they made their purchase of Mr. Fenwick. The troubles and unnatural wars breaking forth, and increasing in England, the good people of the colony of Connecticut rested contented with what they had, and did not seek for a confirmation of their purchase of the then prevailing powers in England; but as soon as the times were changed, and our gracious king, Charles the second, (whom God preserve,) was restored to the quiet possession of his crown and dignities, the general court of that colony saw reason to make their application to his majesty, to procure a royal stamp and confirmation upon the former purchase, conquests, and improvements; and the design being of great importance, for the managing of it they improved their honourable governour, John Winthrop, Esq. a man eminently qualified with all suitable endowments for such a service, and exceeding ready to spend and be spent in what would advance the publick good. Upon their desires manifested in court, May 16, 1661, he readily complied with the motion, and went for England, addressed himself to the service, and God

(who hath the hearts of kings at his dispose) was graciously pleased to incline the heart of the king towards them, so as he was not unwilling to grant them a gracious charter, and therein many great privileges, and a large tract of land, viz. all that part of his majesty's dominions in New England, in America, bounded on the east by Narraganset river, commonly called Narraganset bay, where the said river falleth into the sea, and on the line of the Massachusetts plantation, and on the south by the sea, and in longitude as the line of the Massachusetts colony, running from east to west, that is to say, from the said Narraganset bay on the east to the South sea on the west part, with all the islands adjoining, &c. as by his majesty's grant, dated in Westminster, the three and twentieth day of April, in the fourteenth year of his reign, will appear.

Sometime after the charter of the colony of Connecticut came over, and the government was established according to the charter; the plantations of New Haven, (who began to settle soon after the Pequod war,) being comprised within their charter limits, (according to the desire of Connecticut, and the honourable William Leet, Esq. then governour of New Haven, as by his letter to governour Winthrop, then going for England, may appear,) did (soon after colonel Nicols his arrival at New York, viz. in the year 1664) conjoin themselves with the colony of Connecticut, about the latter end of the year; and all the privileges of the charter were confirmed upon them, and four of their honoured magistrates, at the next court of election at Hartford, May 11, 1665, were by the freemen of the colony chosen to be assistants to the governour, in the management of the government, according to the charter.

May 10, 1666, at a general court held at Hartford, for the better government of the people of the colony, and administration of justice, according as occasion should require, they divided the colony into four counties, viz. the county of Hartford, in which are these plantations, Hartford, Windsor, Weathersfield, Farmington, Mid-

dletown, Simsbury, and Haddam, in which towns, except it be the two last, are churches already settled, in the two last also are preachers of the gospel settled and now abiding there.

There is also the county of New London, in which are these towns, viz. New London, Saybrook, Norwich, Stonington, Kenilworth, and Lime, in which towns are churches settled, only the last hath not yet so far attained, although they have a reverend and able minister settled there.

There is also the county of New Haven, in which are these towns, viz. New Haven, Milford, Guilford, Brandford, Wallingford, and Derby, in which towns, except the two last, are churches already gathered and settled: in the two last are ministers of the gospel settled, and Wallingford are preparing for gathering themselves into a church fellowship: and lastly,

There is also the county of Fairfield, in which are these towns, viz. Fairfield, Stratford, Norwalk, Standford, Greenwich, Rye, and Woodbury, in which are churches already gathered, except in the three last; and there is a church settling in the last of the said three, and had been upon the place, but the fury of the last war prevented their settlement for the present.

In each county are two county courts annually to be held at the county towns, where justice, for the ease of the people within the county, is to be administered by the persons appointed, and commissioned to that work, by the general court yearly.

In the Narraganset country there is a town called Wickford, who were to have recourse to New London for justice, but the fury of the Indian war, 1675, hath demolished that place; yet now it is again beginning to be inhabited.

By what hath been said in the premises, it doth appear, that the foresaid colony of Connecticut hath had experience of a double settlement, the first by combination and consent among themselves, the other by right of a royal charter or patent from the king. In both which the

constitution of the civil government hath in some things always differed from that of the Massachusetts, as was hinted before, especially in reference to the persons entrusted with the choice of their governour and magistrates, who are not determined by church membership, as in the other colony, but by some other qualification.

But as to their ecclesiastical affairs in that colony, it is to be noted, that the two principal towns, viz. Hartford and Windsor, were peopled with such as were settled in their church state before their removal thither, conformable in all things to the churches in the Massachusetts; and so lived in great peace together all the days of Mr. Hooker, for about eleven years space. Although at Weathersfield the case was much otherwise; for there was scarce men enough removed thither to constitute a church; neither were they supplied with a minister before they removed, and he whom they called to that function among them after their removal was not so happy in his conduct, or in his colleague, (who bore the ruling elder's place,) as to maintain the place in any tolerable degree of unity and peace, insomuch that they were looked upon as a people, by a kind of fatal necessity, destined to contention for many years after. Whether there were any indirect means used in a kind of surreptitious seizure of the land, (which made the plantation,) that of right belonged to their neighbours of Hartford, as some have said, or any other secret occurrence, they were not so blessed in the enjoyment of it, as was to be desired: for it might have been said, not only (as they about Jericho said to Elisha) that the situation was pleasant, and the land also very fertile, but for want of agreement amongst themselves they had not much comfort therein, for a long time after. For about the year 1639 it was found, not only that the church was divided, but that the rent grew greater, notwithstanding the great pains which had been taken for the healing thereof: and the church was not only divided from the rest of the town, but of those seven, which made the church, four fell off, so as it was conceived that thereby the church

was dissolved, which occasioned the church of Watertown (which had divers of their members there not yet dismissed) to send two of their church to look after their members, and to take order with them ; but the contention and alienation of their minds one from another was such, as they could not bring them to any other accord than this, that the one part must remove to some other place, (which they both consented to,) but still the difficulty remained ; for those three, who pretended themselves to be the church, pleaded that privilege for their stay, and the other four alleged their multitude, as being the greater number, so as neither would give place ; whereby it seemed, that they either minded not the example of Abram's offer to Lot, or else they wanted Abraham's (and indeed the christian) spirit of peace and love.

This controversy proceeded so far that it occasioned the calling in of Mr. Davenport, with others of New Haven, by way of mediation ; but they, not according with those of Connecticut about the case, gave some advantage to the enemy to sow some seeds of contention between those plantations also ; but being godly and wise men, on both parts, things were the more easily reconciled not long after. But as to the church and town of Weathersfield, some of the inhabitants chose rather to remove elsewhere, and to live in a cottage in a wilderness, than to abide any longer in the fire of contention in a beautiful habitation. But after the removal of some, those that stayed behind lived not so peaceably together as they should neither : and some time after Mr. Chaplin, the ruling elder, removed back again to England, but did not carry away all the matter of contention ; but there was enough left to maintain the old quarrel, or new fuel was afterward gathered together to rekindle the same fire. But some years after there was an appearance of great unanimity, upon the choice of another minister, one Mr. Russell, who was called to take upon him the pastoral office there, which he faithfully discharged for some time, till another occasion of trouble arose at Hart-

ford, soon after Mr. Hooker's death, when the said Russell removed to another place higher up the river; for that town of Hartford being the centre and chief town of that colony, any leaven of division arising there did the more easily diffuse itself over the whole colony, or a great part thereof. If there were any notions or principles tending that way before, latent in the minds of any persons of interest there, they never had discovered themselves during the time of Mr. Hooker's life, and if there had any such thing appeared, his interest and authority would easily have suppressed it.

But after the removal of him and some other of the principal persons out of the jurisdiction, by death or otherwise, some of the inhabitants, holding more strictly to the former principles of discipline, could not well bear that any, in whose real piety they were not satisfied, (as not being confirmed members in the church,) should partake of any higher privileges, civil or ecclesiastical, than formerly belonged to non-members. The first appearance of disturbance, which on that account happened amongst them, was at Hartford, occasioned on the call of a person to supply the place of Mr. Hooker, who deceased in the year 1647, and that being the principal town of the colony (as was said before) the trouble there easily diffused itself into the body of the colony. Discords upon such an occasion have upon experience been found to make way for sad breaches, in many of those churches that have embraced the Congregational way, which yet cannot be said to arise from any defect in the persuasion itself, but the perverseness of some men's tempers, together with their unacquaintedness with the practice, that are unwilling to submit to the remedy, which is in that way provided for, as well as in any of the other Reformed churches, where any ecclesiastical subordination is supposed the only means to prevent or redress such grievances; for the best sort of government, like the best complexion, may, in case of mal-administration, be as soon or sooner overthrown,

as any other that may be judged more remote from the case. But that point is not now to be debated here.

And not long after there arose another difference in that colony, which was occasioned through the endeavours of some of their ministers for enlarging of baptism, and extending the right of membership to children, before their admission into full communion; which notion, first started in that colony, produced a kind of synodical meeting and dispute of sundry ministers at Boston, anno 1657, managed by twenty six of the chief ministers of that and the other colonies, the result of which was not long after published in print, and the substance of it weaved into the answer of the synod at Boston to the two questions propounded and discussed, anno 1662, as shall be more particularly declared in its proper place.

But the aforesaid differences, in the years 1656, 1657, 1658, arose to such a paroxysm that it ended in the removal (yet orderly and peaceably) of one part of the churches and towns of Hartford, and Weathersfield, and Windsor to another plantation or two up higher, upon Connecticut river, the one of which was called Hadley, the other Northampton; and since that time other towns have been erected there.

Thus was the particular difference between Paul and Barnabas of old overruled by Divine Providence, for the advantage of the church in general, that it might be further propagated and enlarged thereby.

But when once the fire of contention hath begun to kindle, it is hard to say when it will be quenched. Happy therefore are those societies, which, attending the counsel of Solomon, leave off contention before it be meddled withal, seeing the beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water. For the following differences, that arose in that jurisdiction, about the enlarging of baptism, or such like accounts, ended rather in the dividing than multiplying of some of their churches and congregations, cohabiting still within the bounds of the same parish, which was the product of an act of their general court, granting liberty for [distinct walking] (for

how can two walk together unless they be agreed;) but whether such a commission hath or is like much to advance the honour of God, the peace and purity of his church, there or elsewhere, future time will declare. However it may truly be affirmed, that no difference in their civil matters hath been occasioned thereby. The sudden and unexpected (as some say) incorporating of New Haven colony, with that of Connecticut, (which was about the nineteenth year of his majesty, Charles the second, now reigning,) being by this time pretty well digested, and all supposed inconveniences, probably feared to arise therefrom, healed and composed (though it could not be wholly prevented) by a wise and timely condescension on all hands, there seems now to be such a perfect coalescence of all minds and spirits, as leaves no remembrance of the former distinction of two colonies.

CHAP. XLII.

The first planting of New Haven. Some of the most remarkable passages concerning that colony, as also of Rhode Island, Providence, and the places adjoining, near the Narraganset bay, in the years 1637, 1638.

THE same grounds, that stirred up the spirits of many in all parts of England, did also prevail with Mr. John Davenport, the then famous minister in Coleman street, and sundry of his eminent hearers, with many other their friends in and about London, to join in the design of coming over into these parts; accordingly Mr. Davenport, more secretly, as being then under a cloud by reason of his non-compliance in ecclesiastical matters, and Mr. Theophilus Eaton, more manifestly, in behalf of their friends, took part in the patent for Massachusetts Bay, then in designation, which obtained in the season by Providence presented. They passed over into these parts of the world, as many had done before them, and, according to their primitive intention, endeavoured to settle themselves within the proper precincts of the said patent; which was also desired by the magistrates, and

others there already in their new beginnings settled; but upon some considerable trial, not finding any place of meet capacity for them and their many friends expected, which would require sundry townships, and hearing from Connecticut, then lately planted, of considerable tracts of land to the southwest, upon the sea coast, beyond Cape Cod, they inclined to remove thither, as hoping to find the conveniences they were hitherto shortened in thereby redressed, and in order thereunto they sent up to their friends at Connecticut to purchase for them all those lands, lying between them and Hudson's river, of the native proprietors, which was in part effected. Things being thus prepared, the aforesaid worthy men with their partners began to go more southward, and they for their own parts pitched on a place, called Quillipiuk, which is a pleasant land lying on both sides of the mouth of a small river, where it makes a bay of some miles in length, and proportionably broad. The place being by them chosen, they began to make improvement upon it, and to dispose of it into allotments, in a way suitable to their then designs and hopes; for the chief of their company being Londoners, and merchants of considerable estates and dealing in the world, they propounded to themselves the setting up a place of trade, for which they were most fitted, and accordingly chose their town plot upon the face of the bay, and laid out very small proportions to the inhabitants, such as were agreeable enough to their end, if it had stood. But since the frustration thereof, and that they have been forced to husbandry for their subsistence, they have found much incommodity in their situation, by being so close crowded together: however, having made this beginning, they quickly grew to be a considerable people, not so much for numbers, as for the excellency of the ministry, and eminency of sundry persons suited for civil affairs, and capable to manage those of a much vaster territory than this was, or ever like to be; yet they esteemed themselves weak and solitary while alone, and therefore were in expectation of their friends from Eng-

land, but a great change coming about there, soon after, stopped many that had their eyes that way ; yet some came and disposed themselves along upon the sea coast, as they found place and opportunity. A company came out of the southern parts of England, Kent, Suffolk, Surry, &c. with Mr. Henry Whitfield, with whom came also Mr. William Leet, the late worthy governour of Connecticut colony, then a young man. These chose a place about sixteen miles easterly from Quillipiuk, (since called New Haven,) and there sat down, which is since called Guilford. Another company from Hartford there, and the parts thereabouts, came over with Mr. Peter Prudden, and settled themselves nine or ten miles westward from New Haven, at a place since called Milford. Another company came over from Weathersfield, a town upon Connecticut river, upon occasion of some disturbance there, and pitched upon a place forty miles westward from New Haven, since called Stamford ; and not long after some more of Weathersfield inhabitants, with others, pitched upon a small tract of land, overlooked till the greater were taken up, about six or seven miles eastward from New Haven, since called Brainford. There are other towns, sundry upon the sea coast, between and amongst some of these, which yet I make no mention of, because no part of New Haven colony, (but by special occasions, not needful to be insisted upon,) conjoined with Connecticut, but the towns named did all, in their several times of settlement, or other opportunities, conjoin themselves to New Haven, as the principal, and so one with another, as the body politick, to order and manage the concerns accordingly. And to these towns upon the main was joined a small plantation upon Long Island, called Southhold, which came to pass by reason of the purchase of the land by some of New Haven, who disposed it to the inhabitants upon condition of their union. And thus was this small colony born into the world ; small indeed at the best, and something incommodiously stated, by reason of intermixture of towns, and interposure of waters, yet feeling less inconveniency upon those

accounts than may be imagined. In this their settlement they wanted indeed the legal basis of a patent, which is the less to be wondered at, considering the confusions that were in England in the times of the civil war, but in want thereof they took what help and strength they could from the Massachusetts patent, shewing therein their good will to the like for themselves, if it had been attainable ; and so they began to lay their foundation, both civil and ecclesiastical, taking the word of God religiously and conscionably for their guide. For their civil foundations, they were much the same with the other colonies, especially with the Massachusetts ; the magistrates and deputies of towns having the legislative power, and the magistrates the execution of law, and that without a jury, their main difference from their brethren, which was so settled upon some reasons urged by Mr. Eaton (a great reader and traveller) against that way. And for their church settlements, they were extraordinarily exact and thorough, trying, over and over again, those that were to be laid in the foundation, by mutual discourses and other helps, and proportionably careful in after admissions, wherein New Haven was exemplary to other plantations ; in which their proceedings, if any differently persuaded shall judge they were over strict, yet the commendable care and zeal for the truth and power of religion, therein appearing, cannot but have a sweet savour to the present, yea, and to future generations. These transactions were all, or for the main, between the years 1637 and 1643, when they began formally to act as a distinct colony ; being so owned in the articles of confederation, which were that year concluded and agreed upon by the several New England colonies. They chose for governour, in their first election, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, and continued him as the very pillar of their strength in that office for about fourteen years together, when he died, as we shall see in the course of the story. For deputy governour was chosen Mr. Stephen Goodyear, a man at first of good estate, and of a publick and humble spirit, he was also continued in that

place to his death : and Mr. Thomas Grigson was chosen magistrate for New Haven town, a man of quick spirit and parts, but he lived not long. Others were chosen for other plantations.

Being thus settled upon their basis, we shall, without a particular relation of their small affairs, only point out the remarkable passages that befel their colony in the progress of their plantations. And the first thing considerable was, what issue Divine Providence put to the design of trade, by them first intended at New Haven, for that side of the country. There was then no settled place of trade, at least of any great moment, in the country, and the main founders of New Haven were men of great estates, notably well versed in trading and merchandising, strongly bent for trade, and to gain their subsistence in that way, choosing their seat on purpose in order thereunto, so that if the providence of God had gone along with an answerable blessing, they had stood fair for the first born of that employment. But that mercy, as hath since appeared, was provided for another place, and a meaner condition for them ; for they quickly began to meet with insuperable difficulties, and though they built some shipping, and sent abroad their provisions into foreign parts, and purchased lands at Delaware, and other places, to set up trading houses for beaver, yet all would not help ; they sank apace, and their stock wasted, so that in five or six years they were very near the bottom : yet being not willing to give over, they did, as it were, gather together all their remaining strength, to the building and loading out one ship for England, to try if any better success might befall them for their retrieval. Into this ship they put, in a manner, all their tradable estates, much corn, large quantities of plate, and sundry considerable persons also went, amongst whom was Mr. Grigson forementioned, who, besides his own private occasions, carried with him some estate in order to the procuring of a patent ; but all this, though done by very wise men, yet hath since been thought to be carried by a kind of infatuation ; for the

ship was ill built, very walt sided, and to increase the inconveniency thereof, ill laden, the lighter goods at the bottom ; so that understanding men did even beforehand conclude in their deliberate thoughts a calamitous issue, especially being a winter voyage, and so in the dead of winter, that they were necessitated with saws to cut open the ice, for the passage of the ship, frozen in, for a large way together ; yet were all these things overlooked, and men went on in an hurry till it was too late, when such circumstances as these were called to mind. The issue was, the ship was never heard of, foundered in the sea, as is most probable, and with the loss of it their hopes of trade gave up the ghost, which was gasping for life before in New Haven : but this was not all the loss ; besides the goods there were sundry precious christians lost, not less than ten belonging to the church there, who, as Mr. Cotton's expression upon it was, went to heaven in a chariot of water, as Elijah long before in a chariot of fire. There were also some writings of Mr. Hooker's and Mr. Davenport's lost, that never were at all or not fully repaired, which was a loss to the world itself : this was anno Dom. 1645. Since that blow they have done little at foreign trade on that side of the country ; but proceeded in a way of barter with their neighbours at Boston, to the east, or at the Dutch plantation, to the westward, especially while it stood under the Dutch government.

The next head to be spoken to is the conflicts and exercises they have met with, from time to time, from their foreign neighbours, whether Dutch or Indian. For the Indians, they have been mercifully preserved from harm and violence all along from them, setting aside a particular assault or two, the means whereof hath been a due carefulness in doing justice to them upon all occasions against the English, yet far avoiding any thing looking like servility, or flattery for base ends. But for the Dutch, they were, for a course of many years, more than a little troublesome ; for they laid a kind of claim, such as it was, to all the land between Cape Henlopen

(some place near Virginia) and Cape Cod, in pursuance whereof (not mentioning here the disturbance made at Hartford, upon Connecticut, as being proper to the story of that colony) they did frequently send letters, arrogant and imperious enough, and protests in the name of the Hogen Mogens and the Bewnithhebbers of the West India company, setting up the prince of Ourania's arms in a small village near Stamford, threatening to do the like at New Haven, (called by them the Dead Hills,) seizing upon a ship belonging to some Dutch merchants in New Haven harbour, burning their trading houses, seizing upon and imprisoning the persons of sundry as they came in the way of their indignation, with other such like injuries, which continued without remedy, though many means were used, both under Kieft, the first governour of the Dutch plantations, and Stuyvesant, the last, till a decision of compromise was made at Hartford, by both parties, with ultimate reference to the principals in Europe, anno 1650. These and such like molestations, though they never produced any violent effects by war, or the like, yet did provoke and exasperate all that side of the country, so that when there was an opportunity, by the war between England and Holland in 1652, they were more than a little forward to pull so troublesome a thorn out of their feet, and had they not been crossed by some of their confederate brethren, led by other interests, had surely attempted it; but all wise Providence otherwise disposed, whether for affliction or mercy to these parts, standers by may consider, but they themselves think they can best judge.

In the next place we shall take a view of some of their most observable managements among themselves. They were very vigorous in the execution of justice, and especially the punishment of offenders, and that with great authority under the countenance of Mr. Eaton, having compiled by his help a body of very substantial and distinct laws, which are in print, and so the less need be said of them, all which notwithstanding, they were much exercised and humbled by the outbreking, (by a strange

kind of antiperistasis,) at several times, of very gross iniquities, even in unnatural ways; God hereby in his holy wisdom hiding pride from them, which would have been ready to rise, if success had answered their exactness. They made many attempts all along from the first to the last of their being a distinct colony, even such as were above their strength, to promote learning by publick schools; yea, it was in their hearts to set up a college, and there were sundry provisions made and some bank laid up in order thereto, in which desires, though they in the issue failed, yet it is an honourable testimony of their good will to learning and liberal education of youth, and may have its acceptance in proportion with David desiring to build a temple, though it was effected by his son. They have been at several seasons sorely afflicted with diseases, especially fevers, which have proved mortal to many. All that southerly part of the sea coast having, as more propinquity to Virginia, in situation, so a participation with it in its climatical diseases, commonly there called the seasoning, which is an ague and fever seizing upon men in the heat of summer, chiefly upon new comers, therefore called by that name, but not sparing the more settled inhabitants, especially in case of intemperate drinking. Upon these southern coasts of New England it is not annual, as in Virginia, there being sundry years when there is nothing considerable of it, nor ordinarily so violent and universal; yet at some times it falls very hard upon the inhabitants, not without strange varieties of the dispensations of Providence, for some years it hath been almost universal upon the plantations, yet little mortality; at other times it hath been very mortal in a plantation or two, when others, that have had as many sick, have scarcely made one grave; it hath been known also in some years that some one plantation hath been singled out and visited after a sore manner, when others have been healthy round about; so that the considerate inhabitants have seen cause to conclude, that though there might be something in the climate, yet a Divine Hand hath overruled, that so suitable ac-

knowledgments of his greatness and sovereignty might be drawn from those that are unwilling to learn lessons of that importance. At one time or other every plantation, within less than these forty years, hath had its turn of heavy mortality, and some twice or thrice over; and though somewhat hath been thought to be in the situation of the plantations, that some of them have not been so well seated for brisk and wholesome air, either for want of judgment in the planters, or overlooking that in comparison of other inconveniences, yet therein (not denying the ordinary interest of second causes) things have been carried above such sentiments; while some plantations reputed most healthy have been turned as it were into graves, and others reputed for sickly have had a long and pleasant vacation. This disease, wherever it comes, is attended with great prostration of spirits, and sometimes in the hot fit with strange stupefaction of the brain. Strengthening the body with cordials, and gentle conductitious aiding of nature, hath been found better than sudden and violent means by purgation or otherwise; and blood letting, though much used in Europe for fevers, especially in the hotter countries, is found deadly in this fever, even almost without escaping; the reason whereof is left to be inquired by those it may properly concern. Setting aside the effects of this disease, those places have been generally very healthy, and, that notwithstanding, have been all along, and are to this day, in a very increasing way, growing numerous, overstocked, and ready to look out for new plantations almost every where.

There is yet another thing very observable concerning this colony, that they have been sundry times attempting to remove, yet always prevented by strange interposures of Providence: the main occasion of such thoughts was from New Haven itself. They were, as appears by the former part of this discourse, Londoners, (i. e. the chief of them,) and intended to live by trade; when that failed, and they were forced to husbandry, it pinched hard upon them; for their soil generally, till they knew how

to husband it, was but poor and thin, and they had seated themselves, for the harbour's sake, at too great a distance from the main body of the meadow, by which their cattle must subsist : themselves also were very unskilled in husbandry, their bodies unable to bear labour, and yet strong labour was required ; their estates exceedingly wasted, help of servants hard to be procured, and those that were, very costly, and not over diligent. These and many other things withal inclined the New Haven people to look out, and so to settle themselves elsewhere more commodious for their subsistence, and with them also joined a great part of the other plantations of their union, partly from their love and desire to be together, and partly stimulated by some like reasons among themselves ; accordingly they made attempts once and again at Delaware bay, where they had purchased large tracts of land, but were prevented by injuries of the Dutch, or one means or other. They had also offers from Ireland, after the wars there ended, and entered some treaty about the city of Galloway, to have it as a small province to themselves. They had also offers from Jamaica by the powers which then prevailed, designing to people that place, and hearing of their unsatisfied station where they were. But after all proffers, thoughts, attempts, Providence overruled them, and continued them in the same station, yea, and after all those frequent conclusions taken up, that there should be no subsistence for posterity ; but when the remaining strength of the land was worn out, beggary and misery must needs ensue ; that very posterity, so taken care for, have appeared not to need it, as sufficiently able to take care for themselves : for as that first generation could not aptly skill of husbandry, were removed by death, or returned to England or otherways, and have given place to other younger people, many of them their servants, and others of lower calculation, and some of their children, they, having more taken into the ways of husbandry with dexterity and understanding, do make out a comfortable livelihood, yea, and not a few of them grow rich in all those towns intended to be deserted ;

and so amongst the rest in New Haven, where are at this day a numerous people, who, though they live in meaner houses, and content themselves with smaller beginnings, than those did at first, (whose error in great buildings (scarce to be paralleled in the country) hath been long since apparent to themselves and others,) yet are they in a substantial and holding way, that may, in the ordinary course of things, continue from generation to generation; and though they have (as the rest of the country) all along upon the sea coast felt the stroke of the blast on [their wheat*] to their impairment, yet hath it been but an occasion to quicken their industry, putting them upon a more studious diligence in manuring their land for winter grain, which they find not so liable to the blast, especially if early, so that according to probability, if they are spared and abated as to the blast, as of late years they have been, that sea coast is like to prove not the meanest granary of the country.

The next thing we shall give account of is the death or removal of some famous men among them, upon whom the weight of affairs lay much, in their life time, and upon their death accordingly alterations followed: these were some in the magistracy, some in the ministry, whom we shall take notice of in the order of time, as they went off the stage. The first considerable weakening that was that way (passing over those lost in the ship forementioned, 1645) was the removal to England of Mr. Henry Whitfield, the gracious faithful pastor of the church at Guilford, (the most easterly town of that combination,) which was in 1650. He was of good extraction, and which is more, of eminent holiness. He began betimes, and held out lively to a good old age. In his childhood he was piously addicted, and would often be at prayer even at school amongst the scholars, and to hide what he was doing from them would sit as though he were looking upon his book, whilst his heart was elsewhere. He grew up into great acquaintance with his own heart and the riches of free grace in Christ Jesus, concerning his interest wherein he was also persuaded to a

* Ms. illegible. Ed.

full and long lasting assurance, insomuch as he hath been heard to say, he hath not met with any considerable doubts about his good estate for forty years together. He came into New England upon the same account as others, and settled a precious church, wherein it was remarkable that all besides himself, who began that work, were young men, an unusual thing in those times. After sundry years continuance in the country he found it too difficult for him, partly from the sharpness of the air, he having a weak body, and partly from the toughness of those employments wherein his livelihood was to be sought, he having been tenderly and delicately brought up; although I mean not that he was, as many others of like education, put upon bodily labour. He, therefore, finding his estate wasted very much, his body decaying, and many other things concurring, removed back again to England, not without the tears and unspeakable lamentations of his dear flock. This was a great loss not only to them but to all that side of the country, especially considering (besides a great spirit of wisdom and prudence found in him) what he was in the pulpit, an experimental, soul searching preacher, and in the course of his ministry aiming at heart, and life, and conversion, not without good fruit by the blessing of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The next blow was the death of Mr. Peter Prudden, the pastor of Milford. He died 1656. He was a man of great zeal, courage, wisdom, and exemplary gravity in his conversation; a sharp enemy against the growing vices of the times. He had a better faculty than many of his coat to accommodate himself to the difficult circumstances of the country, so as to provide comfortably for his numerous family, yet without indecent distractions from his study. He had an excellent faculty in qualifying and sweetening men's spirits to the preventing and healing contention, as appeared within his own town, which continued in peace all his days, but not long after fell into such divisions as were not healed in some years after; yet in God's time that breach was closed up again, with gracious returns of a divine presence and blessing upon them.

These two pillars were thus pulled out of the building of this little colony, which could not otherwise be but a very sensible loss; yet Mr. Theophilus Eaton was still alive, the governour of the colony, so annually chosen, and whilst he stood, all was as it were made up and continued in his worth; but the next year, 1657, it pleased God to put a period to his days, (which year also died two more great men of this poor Israel, governours also in their respective colonies, Mr. Hopkins, then in London, but frequently chose governour of Connecticut colony, and Mr. Bradford of Plymouth.) For Mr. Eaton, he was son to a minister in Coventry, in the very heart of England, brought up to merchandize, belonging to the Baltick company, and in great reputation with them, and in a very thriving way as to his worldly estate. He came over into this country, as was said in the beginning, with Mr. Davenport, and abode firm with him all his days, to the very death. Soon after his being in these parts he was in great hazard of life, by a cancerous sore, or something near of kin to it, in his breast, which was not without great difficulty cured, not so but that he had some remembrance of it all his life after; and whether the remainder of that venenate humour were not at last the occasion of his death, cannot certainly be determined. He brought over a great estate with him, but after he saw the manner of the country, he soon gave over trading and betook himself to husbandry, wherein, though he met with the inconveniences usual to others, which very much consumed his estate, yet he maintained a port in some measure answerable to his place; and although he was capable of, and had been much used in affairs of a far nobler and broader nature, as having with good advantage more than once stood before kings, yet did he apply himself to the mean and low things of New England, with that dexterity and humility as was much to see, and with as much constancy that no temptations or solicitations could prevail with him to leave his work and look back towards Europe again. He died suddenly in the night, of an apoplectical distemper, as is suppos-

ed. He supped well in the evening and went so to bed, but in the night was heard to turn himself and groan, (unusual symptoms to him, who was a sound sleeper,) but before any could step into the chamber was near speechless, and within a very little time died; and with him the main strength of the colony was as it were buried in the dust, which yet is not intended as a disparagement to the worth of those that rose up and did worthily in their places afterwards. This man had in him great gifts, and as many excellencies as are usually found in any one man: he had an excellent princely face and port, commanding respect from all others: he was a good scholar, a traveller, a great reader, of an exceeding steady and even spirit, not easily moved to passion, and standing unshaken in his principles, when once fixed upon, of a profound judgment, full of majesty and authority in his judicatures, so that it was a vain thing to offer to brave him out, and yet in his ordinary conversation, and among friends, of such pleasantness of behaviour, and such felicity and fecundity of harmless wit, as hardly can be paralleled: but above all he was seasoned with religion, close in closet duties, solemn and substantial in family worship, a diligent and constant attender upon all publick ordinances, taking notes of the sermons he heard exactly, and improving them accordingly; in short, approving himself in the whole course of his life in faithfulness, wisdom, and inoffensiveness before God and man. After his death they were at some loss the next election whom to put in his place, but for some reasons Mr. Francis Newman was pitched upon, one that had lived at New Haven, and been as it were brought up under Mr. Eaton. He was a serious, holy, christian man, and shewed more worth than was thought to be in him when he was so called to place; but he continued not long, little above two years before he also put off his earthly tabernacle, and went to rest. These things one after another brought the colony very low, especially in conjunction with the removal of sundry useful men to England, amongst whom was Mr. William Hooke, the faith-

ful colleague of Mr. Davenport, in the ministry of the gospel at New Haven, who about this time went over to England ; as also the death of Mr. Samuel Eaton, eldest son to the governour, who died sometime before his father, a man of great hope ; yet in the midst of their sorrows the hands of Mr. William Leet, who was next chosen governour, were strengthened to hold up the walls of this building for sundry years, even to the dissolution of the colony, and its conjunction with Connecticut ; of both which colonies, so united, he was the late governour, and his praise is in the gates ; but also was not long after called to his rest, about the year 1680.

There remains now only to give an account of the dissolution, but now mentioned, of New Haven colony, if it may be so called. There had been an appearance of inquietness in the minds of sundry upon the account of enfranchisement, and sundry civil privileges thence flowing, which they thought too shortly tethered up in the foundation of the government. This spirit began to appear after Mr. Eaton's death, and not considerably before, yet things were kept in a tolerable stay by the prudence and vigilancy of their magistracy until Connecticut, after the king's restoration, had procured a patent from his majesty for that side of the country, which, considering the situation of New Haven colony, and the intermixture of towns with those formerly belonging to Connecticut, could not conveniently be drawn without inclusion thereof, and was accordingly done. But when the colonies came to treat together about union, there was for a time some misunderstanding between them ; New Haven thought Connecticut was too hasty in entertaining some parcels out of several towns in a divided way from the rest, who were more forward to embrace the alteration than their neighbours could be ; on the other hand Connecticut was apt to think New Haven was too slow and backward to entertain a motion, so much to their own and the general advantage of the country. These with other like considerations produced some less pleasant passages in letters and treaties ;

but after New Haven had taken time, (which sure they might well be allowed to do.) something like Jephtha's daughter in bewailing her virginity, viz. to breathe upon and look round about them, as to the consequences of so great a mutation, wherein they that had for twenty years time stood and been on all hands owned as a body polittick, with entire power and jurisdiction within themselves, should now be divested of all at once, and be swallowed up in another body, wherein they could not ascertain themselves that things should be carried so much to their satisfaction as they had been while the staff was in their own hands; these things, being at leisure thought upon, could not but affect them; but spirits began to settle at length, and so in the issue to come up to a closure, which hath in time by the blessing of God, who delights in the union of his people, grown up to that measure of comfortableness as that the former days, and troublesome birth pangs, sometime felt, are no more remembered, while every one is sitting under his own vine and his fig tree with peace and tranquillity.

Those who were employed in laying the foundation of New Haven colony, though famed for much wisdom, experience, and judgment, yet did not they foresee all inconveniences that might arise from such a frame of government, so differing from the other colonies in the constitution thereof, manifest in their declining that prudent and equal temperament of all interests in their administration of justice, with them managed by the sole authority of the rulers, without the concurrence of a jury, the benefit of which had been so long confirmed by the experience of some ages in our own nation; for where the whole determining, as well both matter of fact as matter of law, with the sentence and execution thereof, depends on the sole authority of the judges, what can be more done for the establishing of an arbitrary power, which is much complained of elsewhere in the world.

It can never be safe to leave so large a compass for the power of rulers, which is apt to overflow the strictest bounds and limits that can be set. The motions of those

engines, which are carried through many pullies, must needs be more steady, equal, deliberate, and uniform. The best man's passions (which at no time work the righteousness of God) are too often apt to mix themselves with their definitive sentences, if not wholly to overrule them, therefore hath the wisdom of all ages found out some way to balance sovereign and absolute power, which else would move very extravagantly, if not destructively as to the good of the whole. The want of which; as some wise men think, was that which made the Israelites complain so much of the heaviness of Solomon's yoke, with whom it was no more than go and fall upon him; and the people had too much reason to fear that his successor, that had not the tithe of his father's wisdom, might yet double or increase the weight of his father's hand in point of severity. It cannot but be more safe for any people not to have sentences pass, or take place, without the consent of neighbours and peers, as is well known in England, commended for the most equal and best tempered government of any in the whole world. Too much rigour and severity in church administrations is attended also with as great inconveniences as the other; for though negligence and remissness in all publick administrations tends to the ruin of a church or state, like a ship or vessel, whose tackling is loosed, so as they cannot strengthen the mast, and where the law will easily take the prey; yet on the other hand when things are by an undue severity, or an unjustifiable *αυστηρία*, strained to the height, it hazards the breaking all in pieces. Witness the experience of late attempts in those that, not content with the wisdom of their predecessors, have endeavoured the new moulding of societies, after a more exact mode, (as at Frankfort, Amsterdam, and elsewhere,) but have generally shipwrecked their designs upon this undiscerned rock.

A great error was likewise committed by these gentlemen that founded New Haven colony, in that, having been most of them inhabitants and traffickers in the great city of London, the famous mart of the whole world in a

manner, they contrived the frame of their chief towns as if trade and merchandize had been as inseparably annexed to them as the shadow is to the body, in the shining of the sun ; in expectation whereof, and hope of drawing the whole stream thereof to themselves, they laid out too much of their stocks and estates in building of fair and stately houses, wherein they at the first outdid the rest of the country, which had been much better reserved till afterwards, when they could have found the matter feasible ; therein forgetting the counsel of the wise man, first to prepare their matters in the field, or abroad, before they go about to erect their fabricks. Who ever built a tower and wine press before he planted his vineyard, or proved the soil to be commodious for that purpose, that did not thereby leave behind some monument of his error and mistake ? Thus the lot is cast into the lap, but the disposing thereof is from the Lord. Riches is not always to men of understanding, (of which there seemed less want in the aforesaid gentlemen than elsewhere,) but time and chance happens to them all. It is the providence of the Almighty that rules the world, and not the wisdom and contrivements of the sons of men ; he pulleth down one and raiseth up another. However the grace and blessing of God eminently appeared towards that people, who were brought up to a different course of life, yet did they willingly submit themselves to the pleasure of him that governs the world, when his providence put them upon another kind of employment than formerly they had been accustomed unto, and wherein they have been very successful, and in a manner outdone others, that by their education had much more advantage to attain the greatest skill therein.

As to the planting of Rhode Island, Providence, and the places adjoining, near the Narraganset bay, in the years 1637 and 1638 :

The persons who were dismissed out of the colony of the Massachusetts, especially from Boston, or disfranchised therein for their tumultuous and seditious carriages, tending to the subversion both of church and

state, being advised of an island beyond Cape Cod, and near adjoining to, or in the Narraganset bay, called Aquidneyk, made means to purchase it for themselves, and those that should see cause to remove their families thither upon occasion of the troubles they met with at Boston. There were several of them men of estate and quality, who engaged in the business, and had peaceable possession of the island by lawful purchase as well as free consent of the natives, that inhabited it before. And so having transplanted themselves, within a few years by the commodiousness of the soil, with other advantages, that attended the planters, they soon raised two flourishing plantations upon the island; and not long after, the bounds of the said island proving too narrow, those that were willing to join with them in their way of living and government made purchase of some of those lands that lie upon the main, where Mr. Williams and his friends had made some beginnings of a plantation before, anno 1634 and 1635, calling it by the name of Providence, by whom also was procured another neck of land not far off, in like manner, called by them Warwick.

Their civil government was by way of combination at first, until they had opportunity afterwards to purchase a patent for themselves. The laws by which they were governed were those of England, unless in some particulars, which those laws could not reach, in which cases they made some orders and constitutions of their own.

CHAP. XLIII.

Eccl-siastical affairs, with other occurrences, at Providence and Rhode Island to the year 1643. Intercourse between them and the Massachusetts.

As to matters of religion it was hard to give an exact account to the world of their proceedings therein, by any who have not been conversant with them from the beginning of their plantations; yet this is commonly said, by all that ever had any occasion to be among them, that they always agreed in this principle, that no

man or company of men ought to be molested, by the civil power, upon the account of religion, or for any opinion received or practised in any matter of that nature; accounting it no small part of their happiness that they may therein be left to their own liberty, as if they were in those things, *sine jure*, and not liable to give any account of what they practise or profess in the matters either of doctrine or worship; by which means it hath come to pass that the inhabitants are of many different persuasions, as Quakers, Anabaptists, Familists, Seekers. But what tendency that liberty hath had by so long experience towards the promoting of the power of godliness, and purity of religion, they are best able to judge that have had occasion to be most conversant amongst them.

Mrs. Hutchinson persisting in her opinions, notwithstanding all the means which had been used both in the court and in the church to reclaim her, she was at last ordered to remove out of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts; whereupon, on the 28th of March, 1638, she went by water to her farm at Mount Wollaston, with intent (as was supposed) there to take water with her brother Wheelwright, his wife and family, to go to Pascataqua; but there she changed her mind, and went by land to Providence, and so to Aquidneyk, or Rhode Island, with her husband, who, with the rest of that persuasion, had purchased the island of the Indians: Plymouth men having first refused to grant them liberty to make a plantation within their jurisdiction, as they had desired. Amongst those, who at that time removed from about Boston, divers inclined to rigid separation, and favoured Anabaptism, and they removed to Providence, purposing to join with Mr. Williams and those of his company. But others, who were the greater number, passed over to the said island, on the account of Mrs. Hutchinson, so as that side of the country by this occasion began to be well peopled; they all agreeing fully in one principle, not to trouble one another on the account of religion, although in other principal and fundamental points of civil power there was no small difference between them.

Those who took up their station at the island, like men that are wandered out of the right way, and know not where to stop, daily invented and broached new errors, which they disseminated in their new plantation : and since that time they have flourished well in that soil, as to outward things.

Nicholas Eason, a tanner, that removed thither from Newbury, taught that gifts and graces were the Antichrist, mentioned in the Thessalonians, and that which withheld, &c. was the preaching of the law ; and that every one of the elect has the Holy Ghost, and also the Devil, indwelling in him. One Hearne maintained there likewise, that Adam was not created in true holiness, &c. for then he could not have lost it.

At Providence also the Devil was not idle ; for whereas at their first coming thither Mr. Williams had made an order, that no man should be molested for his conscience ; men's wives, children, and servants, in that place, claimed liberty thereby to go to all religious meetings, although never so often, and on the week day, or never so private ; and, therefore, because one Verrin refused to let his wife go to Mr. Williams, so often as she was called for, they required to have him censured. But there stood up one Arnold, of their own company, (who, though he was bewildered in his notions, about some religious points, yet was minded not to go against the very light of nature, and dictates of right reason, no more than the express word of God,) and withstood it, telling them, that when he consented to that order, he never intended it should extend to the breach of any ordinance of God, such as the subjection of wives to their husbands, and gave divers solid reasons against it. Then one Green (who had married the wife of one Beggerly, who was yet living, and not divorced) answered, that if they should restrain their wives, &c. all the women in the country would cry out of them, &c. Arnold answered him thus: Did you pretend to leave the Massachusetts because you would not offend God to please men, and would you now break an ordinance and commandment

of God to please women? Some of the company were of opinion, that if Verrin would not suffer his wife to have her liberty, the church should dispose her to some other man, that would use her better. Arnold then told them it was not the woman's desire to go so aside from home, but only Mr. Williams and others would have them so do. In conclusion, when they would have censured Verrin, Arnold told them it was against their own order, for Verrin did what he did for his conscience. These being the principles they acted by, it is the less wonder that they wandered so far from the truth, since they were separated from their friends in the Massachusetts; and things grew still worse and worse by the increase of their number. For a near relation of Mrs. Hutchinson's, the wife of one Scott, being infested with Anabaptistry, and going the last year to live at Providence, Mr. Williams was imboldened by her to make open profession thereof, and accordingly was rebaptized by one Holeman, (a mean fellow, that went from about Salem;) then Mr. Williams rebaptized him, and some ten more. They also denied the baptism of infants, and the having of magistrates, &c. But soon after one of their company, of a like capricious brain, started this objection, which none of them could answer, viz. if they renounced their former baptism, as well or because it was antichristian in its administration, then what right had Holeman to baptize Mr. Williams; which so gravelled them all, both the baptizers and the baptized, that they turned Seekers, and so continued ever after.

At Rhode Island also Mrs. Hutchinson exercised publicly, and she and her party (save three or four families) would have no magistrates; and soon after sent an admonition to the church of Boston; but the elders would not read it publicly, because she was excommunicated.

By these examples all men may see how dangerous it is to slight the ordinances of God, and the censures of his church; for it was apparent, by these their actings, that God had given them up to strange delusions. Those of the island likewise had entertained two men, whom

the church of Roxbury had excommunicated, and one of them did exercise publickly there; for which the church of Boston called in question such as were yet their members; and Mr. Coddington being present, and not freely acknowledging his sin, (although he confessed himself in some fault,) was solemnly admonished; yet, for aught ever appeared, went on in the same course.

This is further to be observed concerning the delusions, which this people were taken with. Mrs. Hutchinson and some of her adherents happened to be at prayer when the great earthquake was all over the country, and the house being shaken thereby, they were persuaded, (and boasted of it,) that the Holy Ghost did shake it in coming down upon them, as He did upon the apostles. Thus are people apt to be lifted up in their own imaginations. Being thus left to themselves, they grew very tumultuous, as any thing seemed to stand in the way of what they aimed to bring about; therefore, putting Mr. Coddington and three other magistrates out of their places, they chose Mr. William Hutchinson only for their ruler, a man of a mild temper, yet not of the strongest parts, and guided wholly by his wife, who had been the beginner of all the former troubles, and intended still to drive on the same trade, as she did afterwards to her life's end. But not having as yet cast off all shew and form of religion, they gathered a church, but in a very disordered way, taking in some excommunicate persons, and others which were members of the church of Boston, but not dismissed, which was afterwards increased something in number, but never put into much better order; yet had they afterwards one Mr. Clarke for their minister, who had been bred to learning.

As for Providence, Mr. Williams soon after grew sick of his second baptism, as was said, and though he was a few months before in all haste rebaptized, yet now not being able to derive the authority of it from the apostles, otherwise than by the ministers of the church of England, (whom he judged to be all antichristian,) he conceived God would raise up some apostolical power; there-

fore he bent himself that way, expecting (as was supposed) to become an apostle ; and having a little before refused communion with all, save his own wife, he would now preach, if not pray, with all comers ; whereupon some of his followers left him and returned to their former place.

The church of Boston had all this time with patience waited to see whether those, that belonged to their church at the island, would not bethink themselves ; and to that end, the 24th of March, 1639, sent three messengers, viz Capt. Edward Gibbons, Mr. Hibbins, and Mr. John Oliver, with letters to Mr. Coddington, and the rest of their members there, to understand their minds in divers points of religion, formerly maintained by all, or divers of them, and to require them to give an account to the church of their unwarrantable practices in communicating with excommunicate persons, &c. When they came they found those of them that dwelt at Newport had joined themselves to a church newly constituted there, and thereupon refused to hear them, as messengers of the church, or to receive their church's letters ; whereupon, at their return, the elders and most of the church would have cast them out, as refusing to hear the church, but all not being agreed it was deferred.

Things proceeding after this sort, other accidents fell in, about the same time, that strangely concurred to strengthen them in their ways ; as persons given up to a reprobate sense are apt to take encouragement from that, which in reality is but a fuller demonstration of the judgment of God they are left unto.

In the year 1640 there came divers from Christopher's this way, pretending to religion, amongst whom were one Mr. Hales and one Mr. Collins, that were bred up scholars, and being full of zeal had applied themselves to preaching, and had thereby brought over many of the said Christopher's people to embrace the religion held forth by them, and on the account thereof to remove from thence into these parts, being prosecuted and restrained of their liberty there. They met with a bad

market for the commodities, i. e. opinions they brought from thence, which, it may be, cooled but their zeal to the true religion and love to the place whither they were come. But to let that pass, they at the first arrived at New Haven, and from thence dispersed themselves, some here, some there; some went to Ireland; but Mr. Collins (who had been an hopeful professor and preacher also privately, at Gloucester in England, till he came to be seduced there, being carried about with one of the female sex, and of familistical principles,) was entertained first at Hartford, to teach a school. But Mr. Hales (very well conceited of himself and censorious of others) went to Rhode Island, where he soon fell into acquaintance with Mrs. Hutchinson, and became her disciple. His friend Collins, having heard of Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions, wrote to him to beware thereof; but Mr. Hales made him such a return as strangely bewitched the schoolmaster, so as the very next morning, leaving his school, he hasted to Rhode Island, to wait at the feet of the she-Gamaliel there; for coming thither, as Paul speaks of the Galatians, he was so bewitched with their notions, as he resolved to live and die with them, which indeed he did, not long after, by a sad providence. But in the first place he was so taken with the family, and they with him, as he soon matched himself with one of the daughters of Mrs. Hutchinson, presently after engaging in her quarrel and defence of her religion.

The church of Boston was not willing to give them over yet, but resolved to write to them once again, which accordingly was done, and the letters drawn up by Mr. Cotton; wherein he fully repeated all former proceedings both of the church and of the court, and justified both, and condemned their errors, and disturbance to the peace here, and also Mr. Wheelwright's sermons, with their remonstrance, (which formerly had by many been justified and commended,) and shewed how the church had been wronged by them. But all wrought no change in any of them; for every year they broached new errors, the issue of their depraved minds, more misshapen

than those monsters, which were credibly reported to be born of the bodies of some of them.

Divers of them had imbibed some other opinions from their neighbours of Providence ; at last turning professed Anabaptists, and denying all magistrates among christians, maintaining also, that there were no churches since those founded by the apostles and evangelists, nor could any be, nor any pastors ordained, nor seals administered but by such ; and that the church was to want all these, all the time that she continued in the wilderness, as yet she was. Mrs. Hutchinson's son Francis, a member of Boston church, and this Mr. Collins, her son in law, came to Boston soon after, and were there sent for to come before the council, but they refused to come, except they were brought ; so the officers led them. And when they were come, (divers of the ministers being present,) Mr. Collins was questioned for a letter, which he sent to one of the Massachusetts colony, wherein he charged all the ministers and churches there to be anti-christian, with many other reproachful speeches, terming the King also, king of Babylon, seeking to possess the people there with evil thoughts of the government and of the churches. He acknowledged the letter, and what he had written, yet sought to evade by confessing there was a true magistracy in the world, and that christians must be subject to it. He maintained also, that there were no Gentile churches, (as he termed them,) since the apostles' time, and that there was none now could ordain ministers, &c. Francis Hutchinson did agree with him in some of these, but not resolutely in all. But he had reviled the church of Boston, calling it a strumpet. They were both committed to prison. One of the constables of Boston, being required to take Francis Hutchinson into his custody till the afternoon, scrupled whether he might or no, being offended with the governour for proceeding with a member of the church in the court, before he had been dealt with in the church ; but being himself like to fall into the same condemnation for his refusal, he was convinced of his error, and gave satisfac-

tion. Mr. Collins and the said Francis Hutchinson were fined, the one an hundred the other fifty pounds, and to lie in prison till they gave security. Their fines were set the higher, because their family had cost the country some hundreds of pounds before; but they were soon after released, and their own bonds taken for their fines, which were abated, the one to forty the other to twenty pounds.

Other troubles arose in the said island by reason of Nicholas Eason, forementioned, a man very bold and insolent, though ignorant, who used to teach at Newport, where Mr. Coddington, their governour, lived. He maintained that man had no power nor will in himself, but as he is acted by God; and seeing that God filled all things, nothing could be, or move, but by him, and so must needs be the author of sin, &c. and that a christian is united to the essence of God. Being shewed what blasphemous consequences would follow therefrom, they seemed to abhor the consequences, but still defended their propositions, which discovered their ignorance; not apprehending how God could make a creature, and that no part of his essence, as we see by familiar instances: the light is in the air, and in every part of it, yet it is not air, but a thing distinct from it. Mr. Coddington, Mr. Coggeshall, (a great professor formerly in England,) and some others, joined with this Nicholas Eason in those delusions; but their minister, Mr. Clarke, and Mr. Lenthall, and Mr. Harding, with some others, dissented, and publickly opposed, whereby it grew to such heat of contention, that it made a schism amongst them.

Those of Providence in the mean time (being all Anabaptists) were divided in judgment: some were only against baptism of infants, others denied all magistracy and churches; of which Samuel Gorton (that had made so much disturbance at the island before, as brought him under the lash for the same, as is mentioned elsewhere) was their instructor and captain. These, being too strong for the other party, provoked them so by injuries, as they came armed into the field, each against the other; but

Mr. Williams pacified them for the present. This occasioned those of the weaker part to write a letter (under all their hands) to the governour and magistrates of the Massachusetts, complaining of the wrongs they suffered, desiring aid, or (if not that yet) counsel from them. They answered them, that they could not levy any war, &c. without the general court: for counsel, they told them, that except they did submit themselves to some jurisdiction, (either Plymouth or theirs,) they had no call or warrant to interpose in their contentions; but if they were once subject to either of their jurisdictions, they should then have a call to protect them. After this answer, they heard no more of them for a time.

In the beginning of the year 1642, Mr. Aspinwall, that had been censured by the court for joining with these, and having his hand to the remonstrance about Mr. Wheelwright, being licensed by the general court to come and tender his submission, was, on the 27th of March that year, reconciled to the church of Boston. He made a very free and full acknowledgment of his error and seducement, and that with much detestation of his sin. The like he did afterwards before the magistrates, who were appointed by the court to take his submission; and upon their certificate thereof, the sentence of banishment, passed against him with the rest, was taken off.

At a general court in September, 1642, four of Providence, who could not consent with Gorton and his company, and were continually molested and injured by them, came and offered themselves and their lands to the Massachusetts, and were accepted under their government and protection. This was done partly to rescue those men from unjust violence, and partly to draw in the rest in those parts, (either under themselves or Plymouth,) who now lived under no government, but grew very offensive; and the place was like to be of use to them, if there should be occasion of sending out against any of the Indians of the Narragansets, and likewise for an outlet into the Narraganset bay. And seeing it came

without their seeking, and would be no charge to them, they thought it not wisdom to let such an opportunity slip.

As for Mrs. Hutchinson, a woman of an unquiet and restless spirit, she met with something at Rhode Island that disturbed her spirit, and therefore, in or about the year 1642, either out of dislike of the people or place, she, with her family, and some others, removed to some place under the Dutch, beyond all the English plantations, where she had not continued long before she was cut off by the Indians thereabouts. For in the year 1643 the Indians, taking occasion to quarrel with the Dutch, set upon the English, who dwelt under their jurisdiction. The Indians came to her house in a way of friendly neighbourhood, as they had been accustomed to do, and taking the opportunity of their inability to resist, or defend themselves, they killed her and her son in law, Mr. Collins, with her son Francis, and the rest of her family, with divers others that belonged to Mr. Throgmorton's and Mr. Cornhill's families, sixteen in all, viz. all that were at home; and then putting their cattle into their houses burnt them also. But by a good providence of God, there was a boat came in there at that instant, to which some of the women and children fled, and so were saved. But two of the boatmen going up to the houses, were shot down and killed also; as if it had been matter of great danger to come nigh the tomb of these children of Korah. They that forsake God may expect that God will forsake them in time of their greatest need.

Those people had cast off all ordinances and churches, and now at last their own people; and for larger accommodations, had subjected themselves to the Dutch, and dwelt scatteringly, near a mile asunder. And some that escaped, and had removed only for want (as they said) of hay for their cattle, (which increased much,) now coming again to Rhode Island, they wanted cattle for their grass, with which that island doth much abound, more than the rest of the country.

Those Indians having killed and driyen away all the

English upon the main, as far as Stamford, (for so far the Dutch had gained possession by the English,) they passed over to Long Island, and there assaulted the lady Moodey in her house divers times, so that if there had not been forty men to have guarded her, she might have perished by their hands likewise. For she had not long before removed from Salem, upon the account of Anabaptism, and seated herself towards the westernmost part of that island, under the command likewise of the Dutch.

About these times, a door of liberty being opened by the parliament in London, familistical opinions began to swarm in many plantations of the English abroad in other parts, to the disturbance of the civil government where they came.

In the year 1643 the governour of the Massachusetts received letters from Philip Bell, Esq. governour of the Barbados, complaining of the distracted condition of that island, in regard of divers sects of familists sprung up there, and their turbulent practices, which had forced him to proceed against some of them by banishment, and others of mean quality by whipping, &c. earnestly desiring him to send them some godly ministers and other good people, that the island might be planted with men of better principles. The governour imparted this letter to the court, and to the ministers; but considering what little good was like to be done upon persons led away with those notions, and what little encouragement there was like to be in such a plantation as that was, none were forward to hearken to the motion, and answer was returned accordingly. It may appear by this intimation, that New England is not the only place that hath made use of the civil power to prevent the spreading of erroneous principles, that are like otherwise so much to disturb the civil peace. And it was on that account that they suffered under authority, and not for their opinions; for if men that have drunk in any erroneous principles, would also make use of so much prudence as not to publish them in a tumultuous manner, and to the reproach of the

religion and worship established in the place where they live, they would not have occasion to complain of the severity of the civil laws.

About the year 1644 the Anabaptists increased much in the Massachusetts colony of New England. Now because they had found, by sad experience, that those of that persuasion did also usually maintain the unlawfulness either of any civil magistrates, or that the exercising of their power in matters of the first table was unlawful, they drew up an order to banish those who did publickly oppose the truth in that point ; which notwithstanding divers that have questioned the lawfulness of baptizing infants, yet have lived in the country ever since, without any disturbance, and might continue so to do ; but when men cannot be content to enjoy their own liberty of opinion, or soberly defend it, without reproaching the contrary practice of others, they do justly, in the account of all the civil governments that have been in the world, deserve to suffer ; which is all that can be said of any in that place. There was one named Painter, that had lived at divers places in the Massachusetts, and at New Haven, and had been scandalous, and burdensome to them all, by his idleness and troublesome behaviour. This fellow in the year 1644 was suddenly turned Anabaptist, and having a child born would not suffer his wife to carry it to be baptized. He was complained of for this to the court, and enjoined by them to suffer his child to be baptized, (which it seems his wife, a christian woman, desired ;) but he still continuing not only to refuse that, but also to reproach their baptism as antichristian ; he was for this afterwards brought to the court, where he openly professed as much, and for the same, having nothing but his person to satisfy the law, he was sentenced to be whipped ; and endured his punishment without any seeming sense of pain, through the obstinacy of his mind. He boastingly said, when it was over, that God had marvelously assisted him ; whereupon two or three honest men, that were his neighbours, affirmed before all the company, that he was of very loose behaviour at home, given

much to lying and idleness, &c. Nor was there any occasion for him, or any other in like case, to talk of God's assistance; for many notorious malefactors, and one about that time at the court had shewn the like silence, when their punishment was inflicted upon them. It may be, that some others that at that time came down from Providence and Rhode Island, and entering into the assemblies in some places in the Massachusetts, would in time of singing keep on their hats, as it were to brave it out with them, and so occasion disturbance, and breach of the peace. If any such have by that means been brought to suffer corporal punishment, they will certainly in the account of all indifferent and prudent people have cause to find no fault with any thing but their own obstinacy and folly.

Mr. Roger Williams, of whom there is large mention before, having suffered not a little on this score, taking upon himself a kind of voluntary exile, did now take the opportunity of passing over into England, to promote some designs of his own, or of his friends about Providence; and did in the year 1644 return again to New England, bringing with him a letter, under the hands of several honourable and worthy personages, (to whom he was either known before, or had now made himself known unto,) wherein they express their compassion toward him, which he might have found from his neighbours here, long before, if the way had not been obstructed by himself. The copy of the said letter, to prevent mistakes or misreports, here followeth.

To the right worshipful the Governour and assistants, and the rest of our worthy friends in the plantation of the Massachusetts Bay.

OUR MUCH HONOURED FRIENDS,

Taking notice (some of us of long time) of Mr. Roger Williams his good affections and conscience, and of his sufferings by our common enemy, and oppressors of God's people, the prelates; as also of his great industry and travels, in his printed Indian labours in your parts,

(the like whereof we have not seen extant from any part of America,) and in which respect it hath pleased both houses of parliament to grant unto him, and friends with him, a free and absolute charter of civil government for those parts of his abode : and withal sorrowfully resenting, that amongst good men (our friends) driven to the ends of the world, exercised with the trials of a wilderness, and who mutually give good testimony each of other, (as we observe you do of him, and he abundantly of you,) there should be such a distance ; we thought it fit (upon divers considerations) to profess our great desires of both your utmost endeavours of nearer closing, and of ready expressing those good affections (which we perceive you bear each to other) in the actual performance of all friendly offices ; the rather because of those bad neighbours you are like to find too near you in Virginia, and the unfriendly visits from the west of England and from Ireland ; that howsoever it may please the Most High to shake our foundations, yet the report of your peaceable and prosperous plantations may be some refreshings to your true and faithful friends,

NORTHUMBERLAND,	MILES CORBET,
ROBERT HARLEY,	P. WHARTON,
JOHN GURDON,	THO. BARRINGTON,
COR. HOLLAND,	WILLIAM MASHAM,
JOHN BLACKLISTOW,	OLIVER ST. JOHN,
ISAAC PENNINGTON,	GILBERT PICKERING.

Upon the receipt of the said letter the governour and magistrates of the Massachusetts found, upon examination of their hearts, they saw no reason to condemn themselves for any former proceedings against Mr. Williams ; but for any offices of christian love, and duties of humanity, they were very willing to maintain a mutual correspondency with him. But as to his dangerous principles of separation, unless he can be brought to lay them down, they see no reason why to concede to him, or any so persuaded, free liberty of ingress and egress, lest any of their people should be drawn away with his erroneous opinions.

He had so much interest sometimes with the people of Rhode Island, as well as Providence, as to be chosen their governour, (whether before or since his obtaining the charter, specified in the letter above, is not much material,) but for the most part he hath contented himself with a private and retired life; nor will his outward estate admit of any other; on which account he hath many times been an object of charity to divers persons of the Massachusetts, that way disposed. But as to the differing sorts of religion found at Rhode Island; those of the persuasion of the Quakers, as they have had great resort to the place of late years, so are they at present the prevailing party there, or lately were so. They have been strenuously opposed in their damnable opinions by Mr. Roger Williams, who, though himself had vented divers strange notions about separation, yet apprehending the danger of the Quakers' principles, which do overthrow the very fundamentals of Christian religion, he stoutly engaged with sundry of their chief leaders in a publick dispute, since published by himself, anno 1677. But forasmuch as it will be very difficult in an historical way to give a particular and distinct account of all the affairs of that colony, without much reflection upon the persons, or relations yet surviving, of some that were much concerned therein, no more shall be added; only intimating the fear of their neighbours round about them, that the Spanish saying of the English nation may not unfitly be applied to them of Rhode Island, "*bona terra, mala gens.*"

CHAP. XLIV.

Ecclesiastical affairs, with other occurrences, at Pascataqua and the places adjacent. Contests between Mr. Cleeves and Mr. Vines about the bounds of Ligoniam.

MR. WHEELWRIGHT, as was declared before, being sentenced to depart out of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, was not so ill grounded in the truth as to be carried away with any dangerous errors of the Antinomian doctrine, therefore, refusing to go along with the

rest of that sect, removed, with some few that adhered to him, to Pascataqua, and seated themselves upon some of the upper branches or falls of that river, and called the place Exeter; looking at it altogether without the bounds of the Massachusetts. In this place they gathered a church, and walked together in an orderly christian way, till it appeared, by the stretching the line of the Massachusetts more northward, that the place where he first settled was yet within the liberties of the Massachusetts, which, as is judged, occasioned his removal, soon after, from thence into the Province of Maine, to a plantation since by the inhabitants called Wells.

Capt Underhill, after those stirs at Boston, had taken a voyage to England, and returning again to New England, in the year 1698, was intended to have removed after Mr. Wheelwright, for whose sake he had not long before incurred the displeasure of the court of the Massachusetts. In order thereunto petitioning for three hundred acres of land, formerly promised him by the court, he was by occasion thereof questioned for some speeches uttered by him in the ship, as he returned lately from England, viz. that they at Boston were zealous, as the scribes and pharisees were, and as Paul was before his conversion; which he denying, they were proved to his face, by a sober woman, whom he had seduced in the ship, and drawn to his opinion; but she was afterward better informed in the truth. Among other passages, he told her how he came by his assurance, saying, that having long lain under a spirit of bondage, and continued in a legal way near five years, he could get no assurance, till at length, as he was taking a pipe of the good creature tobacco, the Spirit fell home upon his heart, an absolute promise of free grace, with such assurance and joy, as he never doubted since of his good estate, neither should he, whatsoever sin he should fall into; (a good preparative for such motions as he familiarly used to make to some of that sex.) He would neither confess nor deny the words, but objected against the validity of a single testimony, and withal said he was still of the

same opinion he had been of, about the petition or remonstrance, and that his retractation was only as to the manner, and not the matter. Whereupon his said retractation (which he had lately delivered to the governour, to be presented to the court) was read, wherein he professeth how that the Lord had brought him to see his sin in condemning the court, and passing the bounds of modesty and submission, which is required in private persons, &c. and in what trouble of spirit he had been in for it, &c. Upon this the court committed him for abusing them with a shew of retractation, when there was no such thing intended by him. The next day he was called again and banished. The Lord's day after, he made a speech in the assembly, shewing that as the Lord was pleased to convert Paul as he was persecuting, &c. so he might manifest himself to him as he was making moderate use of the good creature, called tobacco. He professed withal that he knew not wherein he had deserved the sentence of the court, and that he was sure Christ was his, &c.

The elders reprov'd him for his speech, and Mr. Cotton told him that he did break a rule, publickly to condemn the court, unless he had privately convinced the magistrates, or some of them; and told him also, that although God doth often lay a man under a spirit of bondage, while he is walking in sin, as Paul was, yet he never sends such a spirit of comfort but in an ordinance, as he did to the same Paul by Ananias, and therefore advised him well to examine the revelation and joy which he pretended to.

The next Lord's day this Capt. Underhill, having been privately dealt with upon suspicion of incontinency with a neighbour's wife, and not hearkening to it, was questioned for it before the church, and put under admonition. The woman was young and beautiful withal, of a jovial spirit and behaviour, and it was known that he did daily frequent her house, and was divers times found there alone with her, the door being locked on the inside. He confessed it was ill, because it had an appearance of

evil in it, but his excuse was, that the woman was in great trouble of mind, and some temptations, and that he resorted to her to comfort her, and that when the door was found locked upon them, they were in private prayer together; but this practice was clearly condemned also by the elders, affirming that it had not been of good report for any of them to have done the like, and that they ought, in such case, to have called in some brethren or sisters, and not to have locked the door. They also declared that once he procured them to go unto her, telling them that she was in great trouble of mind; but taking her, (upon the sudden it seems,) they found no such matter.

However it seems the church, not having sufficient matter of conviction, and proof of what he was suspected as guilty of, left him only under an admonition, and he, like a prophane person, as was sometime said of Cain, that he went from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt on the east of Eden, so this gentleman went to the eastward, and made a great bluster among the inhabitants of Exeter and Dover, and ambitiously affected the government amongst them.

Those of Dover had about this time gotten one Mr. Burdet to be their minister. This Burdet, upon a pretended quarrel with the bishops and ceremonies of the church of England, had, about the year 1634, left Yarmouth, in England, and coming over into New England was brought to Salem, where he was received a member of their church, and was employed to preach amongst them for a year or more, being an able scholar, and of plausible parts and carriage. But finding the discipline of the church as much too strict for his loose conscience, as the other was in pretence too large, he left his brethren at Salem, out of love to his friends at Pascataqua, where he continued for some time in good esteem (at least in appearance) with Mr. Wiggans, that had the power of a governour thereabouts, until he declared himself of what sort he was; for the tree is not known but by its fruits.

The general court of the Massachusetts had left it with

the governour to write a letter to Mr. Wiggans, and the said Burdet, and others of the plantations on the upper part of Pascataqua, to this effect—that whereas there had been good correspondence between them formerly, they could not but be sensible of their entertaining and countenancing, &c. some whom they had cast out, &c. and that their purpose was to survey their utmost limits, and make use of them.

Mr. Burdet returned a scornful answer, and would not give the governour his title, &c. This was very ill taken, because he was one of their civil body, and sworn to their government, as well as a member of the church of Salem; so as the governour was purposed to summon him to appear at their court and answer for his contempt. But advising with Mr. Dudley, the deputy, about it, he was dissuaded from that course, as not willing to give him any opportunity thereby to ingratiate himself further with some that were their professed enemies in England, with whom they knew he had intelligence; judging also that by such courses he would become thoroughly known to those of Pascataqua. Whereupon the governour wrote to Mr. Edward Hilton, declaring his ill dealing, to whom he also sent a copy of Burdet's letter, advising them that they take heed how they put themselves into his power, &c. but rather to give those of the Massachusetts a proof of their respect to them. He intimated likewise how ill it would relish with their court and people if they there should advance Capt. Underhill, who had lately been thrust out for abusing the authority of the Massachusetts, first by a seditious remonstrance, and then by feigning a retractation, as well as for his corrupt opinions, &c. and for casting reproach upon their churches; signifying withal that he was charged with foul incontinency. For beside the suspicion forementioned, he was likewise challenged by a sober young woman to have solicited her chastity, under pretence of christian love, and to have owned to her that he had had his will of the woman in question, (a cooper's wife,) and all out of the strength of love, as he pretended,

&c. and that the church had sent unto him to come and give satisfaction, with a license under the hands of the governour and council, but he refused to come, excusing himself by letters to the elders, that the license was not sufficient, and that he had no rule to come, unless his sentence of banishment were released. But Pascataqua men it seems had chosen him their governour, before this letter came to their hands; for it is like it was intercepted and opened by the forementioned persons, who were most concerned in the contents thereof, and they were so enraged thereby, as they wrote presently to England against them, discovering not only what they knew, but what they falsely imagined of their resisting any authority that should come out of England against them. But how much soever they were moved upon the said letter, no advantage could be taken against him or them that sent it, being so drawn up, as Mr. Hilton might without offence have shewn it to either of them. But Capt. Underhill thereupon wrote a letter to Mr. Cotton, full of threatening and high words, and another to the governour of a contrary strain, and in very fair terms, entreating there might be an obliteration of all that was past, and a bearing with human infirmities, disavowing all purposes of revenge.

But those of Exeter, in the mean time, were taken up with things of another nature; for having gathered a church, as was intimated before, they wrote a letter about the middle of December, 1638, to the church of Boston, to desire Mr. Wheelwright's dismissal to them for an officer or minister; but because it was not desired by himself, the elders did not propound it to the church. But soon after, upon his own letter, they granted a dismissal to him, and to some others also, (upon their request,) who desired to be dismissed thither.

Things proceeding after this rate, they of the Massachusetts looked upon it as very unneighbourly for the inhabitants of Pascataqua to encourage and promote those whom they had thrust out; and not long after they themselves were very sensible of their error, in neglect-

ing the counsel and advice of the vine and fig-tree, and putting their trust under the shadow of a bramble. For they soon found that Mr. Burdet, whom they had formerly received for governour in the room of Mr. Wiggans, set in there by the lords, (as hath been said,) being laid aside, and Capt. Underhill by them called to that place, they had not much advantaged themselves, save only in that the latter was not so subtle or malicious, and therefore not so capable to do them mischief. But Mr. Burdet, either out of necessity or design, (some foul practices of his being discovered,) removed not long after to a plantation of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, on the northeast side of Pascataqua river, and within the Province of Maine, where we shall leave him for a little time, driving on the same trade, (or a worse,) which occasioned his removal out of the country in the issue.

Capt. Underhill, being now quietly possessed of the government, how fair soever he pretended to the governour of the Bay, could not so dissemble it with others; for at the same time he wrote a letter to a young gentleman, that sojourned in the said governour's house, wherein he reviled the governour, with reproachful terms and imprecations of revenge upon him, and the whole colony; which, being shewn to the governour and council, was afterward sent to Mr. Hilton, (though too late to prevent his exaltation,) and did not a little nettle the new governour of Dover, to have his wickedness laid open, and his call to answer for his offences before the church of Boston, withal procuring him safe conduct for three months, from the general court, then sitting, in the year 1639. But instead of coming, he procured a new church at that place, called by them Dover, of some few of the looser sort of persons, who had called one Mr. Hanserd Knollis; whom Dr. Bastwick once not untruly styled, with a little variation of the letters of his name, Absurdo Knowless. This Mr. Knollis had lately come out of England, in the year 1638, and was rejected by the Massachusetts for holding some of the formentioned Antinomian tenets; and, repairing to Pascataqua, was chosen to

be the minister within Capt. Underhill's territories, who soon after suborned him to write letters to the church of Boston in his commendation, wherein he was styled the right worshipful their honourable governour, all which notwithstanding, the church of Boston proceeded with him. And in the mean time the general court wrote to all the chief inhabitants of Pascataqua, and sent them a copy of his letters, (wherein he professeth himself to be an instrument of God for their ruin,) to know whether it were with their privity and consent that he sent them such a defiance, &c. and whether they would maintain him in such practices against them.

Those of the plantations returned answer, that they disclaimed all such miscarriages, and offered to call him to an account, whenever they would send any to inform against him. They at the river's mouth disclaimed likewise, and shewed their indignation against him for his insolencies, and their readiness to join in any fair course for their satisfaction; only they desired them to have some compassion on him, and not to send any force against him.

After this Capt. Underhill's courage became very much abated, for the chiefest of the river fell from him, and the rest little regarded him, so as he wrote letters of retractation to divers, and (according to his wonted policy) wrote a letter to the deputy, and the court, (not mentioning the governour,) wherein he sent the copies of some of the governour's letters to Pascataqua, supposing that something would appear in them, either to extenuate his own fault, or to lay some fault upon the governour; but he failed in both, for the governour was able to make out what he had written.

Mr. Knollis coming over into New England amongst some familistical opinionists, upon that account was denied residence in the Massachusetts, and was also by Mr. Bardet (the preacher and governour at that time at Pascataqua) inhibited from preaching there; but he being in a short time removed to Agamenticus, as was said before, the people having chosen Underhill their gover-

nour, (that they might be like priest like people,) chose him their pastor, who, to ingratiate himself with said Underhill, the governour there, wrote a letter into England, to his friends in London, wherein he bitterly inveighed against the government of the Massachusetts, making it worse than the high commission, and that there was not so much as a face of religion in the country : but a copy of the said letter being sent over, (of the which he had notice from the governour,) he was exceedingly perplexed about it, being indeed convinced in his conscience of the great wrong which he had done them. He wrote to the governour desiring a safe conduct, that he might come into the Bay to give satisfaction, saying that he could have no rest in his spirit till he had so done. This being granted him, under the hand of the governour, with consent of the council, he came, and there at Boston, upon a lecture day, (most of the magistrates and ministers being then assembled,) he made a very free and open confession of his offence, with much aggravation against himself, so as the assembly were all as well satisfied as could be expected, upon a verbal confession of such an offence. He wrote also a letter to his said friends in England to the same effect, which he left with the governour to be sent to them. Capt. Underhill also, about the same time, being struck with horreur and remorse for his many and great offences, both against the church and against the country, he could have no rest till at last he had also obtained safe conduct to come and give satisfaction ; and accordingly at the lecture at Boston, (it being then court time,) he made a publick confession, both of his living in adultery with the said woman, (of which he was before suspected,) and of attempting the like with another woman, and also of the injury he had done to the Massachusetts, and acknowledged also the justice of the court in proceeding against him, &c. Yet all his confessions were mixed with such excuses and extenuations, that they gave no satisfaction as to the truth of his repentance : but, however, his offences being so foul and scandalous, the church present-

ly cast him out. He seemed at the first to submit to the censure, and was for the time he staid at Boston, (four or five days,) much dejected; but returning home he gave not the proof of a broken heart, as he gave hope of at Boston; for to ingratiate himself with some gentlemen at the river's mouth, that had much dependence upon the commissioners in England, he sent thirteen men armed to Exeter to fetch one Fish out of the officer's hands for speaking against the king; and when the church and people of Dover desired him to forbear coming to the court, till they had considered of his case, and had promised so to do, yet hearing that they were consulting to remove him from his government, (which he had before proffered to lay down, but when it came to be done in good earnest he could not bear it,) came and took his place, and grew passionate, and would not stay to receive his dismissal, nor seem to accept it when it was sent after him; yet they proceeded, and chose one Mr. Roberts, to be president of the court, and returned back Fish, to Exeter.

Besides this, in the open court he committed one of his fellow magistrates, for rising up and saying he would not sit with an adulterer, &c. But the chief matter for which they proceeded against him was, that when he himself was the first mover of them to break off their agreement with the Massachusetts, he had written to their governour to lay it upon the people, especially upon some among them. Soon after this he went again to Boston to tender satisfaction; but not being satisfied about his repentance, they would not admit him to publick speech, and so he returned home again; but half a year after, viz. in September, 1640, he was brought to a true and thorough remorse of conscience for his foul sins, and did openly, in a great assembly at Boston, on the lecture day, and in the court time, and in a ruthless habit, (being accustomed to take great pride in his bravery and neatness,) standing upon a form, lay open, with many deep sighs, and abundance of tears, his wicked course of life, his adultery and hypocrisy, his prosecution of people

there, and especially his pride, as the root of all, (which caused God to give him over to his other sinful courses,) and contempt of the magistrates ; justifying God, and the court, and the church, in all that had been inflicted on him, and declaring also what power Satan had over him since his easting out of the church, and how his presumptuous laying hold of a mercy and pardon, before God gave it, did then fail him, when the terrours of God came upon him, so as he could have no rest, nor see any issue, which had put him divers times upon a resolution of destroying himself, had not the Lord prevented him, even when his sword was drawn to have done the execution &c. so with other expressions arguing much brokenness of heart, and looking like one worn out with sorrow, he earnestly and humbly besought the church to have compassion on him, and deliver him out of the hands of Satan. Indeed it was a spectacle which caused many weeping eyes, though also it afforded matter of rejoicing to behold the power of the Lord Jesus in his own ordinances, when they are dispensed in his own way, holding forth the authority of his sceptre, in the simplicity of the gospel. Upon this manifestation of his repentance the sentence of excommunication was taken off in the church, and of his banishment, by the court, and he was also set free from the punishment of his adultery ; for the law against it being made since the fact committed by him, it could not touch his life.

This story is the more particularly related for the satisfaction of all that may ever after hear of such practices, what they may expect from a sort of men that cry down sanctification, and inherent righteousness, under a pretence of magnifying free grace. And indeed they of the Antinomian persuasion had need fortify themselves with arguments to keep off the force of the moral law, that have so little ability or grace to observe and keep the same. But it was to be feared this was but one stray sheep that returned amongst ninety nine that have been entangled in the same snare of temptation, of whose repentance there was little heard.

In the same summer, scil. 1640, there arrived there one Mr. Thomas Gorges, a kinsman to Sir Ferdinando, a young gentleman of the inns of court. He was sober and well disposed, and careful in the prosecution of his charge, (which was to govern the Province of Maine, or New Somersetshire,) to take advice of the magistrates in the Bay how to manage his affairs. When he came to Agamenticus he found all out of order, both as to the personal as well as political state of that province. For as to the state of the proprietor, (whatever vast sum of expense was then or is since pretended,) it was all embezzled, with all the household stuff, save an old pot, and a pair of cob irons and tongs, as the gentleman himself did express to a friend at his return. And as for the government, Mr. Burdet that ruled, or rather misruled all, had let loose the reins to his lust, so as he was grown very notorious for his pride and adultery; taking no notice of any law, unless that which might be improved to establish iniquity. But the neighbours, now finding that Mr. Gorges was well inclined to reform things, they complained of him, and produced such foul matters against him, that he was laid hold on, and bound to appear at their court at Saco. But he had dealt so with some other of the commissioners, such as Mr. Vines, the former agent, and two more, that when the court came, they there stood for him; but Mr. Gorges having the greater part on his side, and the jury finding him guilty of adultery, with much labour and difficulty he was laid under a fine of thirty pounds. He appealed unto England, but Mr. Gorges would not admit of any appeal; but seized some of his cattle. Upon this Mr. Burdet went into England, but when he came there he found the state of things so changed, as his hopes were soon blasted; for falling in with one party he was taken by the other, and committed to prison, where we shall leave him, not having any occasion to call for him again in the pursuit of this history.

The upper part of Pascataqua, all this time, passed under such a vicissitude of changes, as it were designed to

become a stage of great disturbance and trouble ; for being cleared of Mr. Burdet, by his removal to Agamenticus, it was soon after ridden by another churchman, who, though he pretended to more of sobriety and religion, yet was not of much better conduct. His name was Larkham ; one that had been a minister at Northam, near Barnstable in England, and coming to New England, but not favouring their discipline, he removed to this part of Pascataqua, and being of good parts, and gifted to speak well in a pulpit, the people of Dover were much taken with him, and not being able to maintain two ministers, they resolved to cast off Mr. Knollis and embrace Mr. Larkham ; whereupon Mr. Knollis, making a virtue of necessity, for the present gave place. And the other soon after he was chosen discovered himself by receiving into the church all that offered themselves, though never so notoriously scandalous and ignorant, so they would promise amendment ; and soon after fell into contention with the people, taking upon him to rule all, even the magistrates themselves, (such as they were,) so as there soon grew very sharp contention between him and Mr. Knollis, who, either yet retained, or else on that occasion reassumed his pastoral office ; whereupon they were neither able quietly to divide into two churches, nor peaceably live together in one ; the more religious sort still adhering to Mr. Knollis, the first pastor. At the last, the contention proceeded so far that Mr. Knollis and his company, without any more ado, excommunicated Mr. Larkham, in the name if not of the major part, yet of the melior part. And he again laid violent hands on Mr. Knollis, and taking the hat from his head, pretending it was not paid for ; but he was so civil as to send it him again. In this heat it began to grow to a tumult, and some of the magistrates joined with Mr. Larkham, and assembled a company to fetch Capt. Underhill, (another of their magistrates and their captain,) to their court. And he also gathered some of the neighbours together, to defend themselves, and see the peace kept : so they marched forth towards Mr. Larkham ; one car-

rying a bible, one an halbert, for an ensign, and Mr. Knollis with them, armed with a pistol. When Mr. Larkham saw them thus provided, they of his part proceeded no further, but sent down to Mr. Williams, governour of that called Strawberry bank, towards the mouth of the river, who came up with a company of armed men, and beset Mr. Knollis his house, where then Capt. Underhill was, and kept a guard upon him night and day, till they had opportunity to call a court; and when that was assembled, Mr. Williams sitting as judge, they found Capt. Underhill and his company guilty of a riot, and set great fines upon them, ordering him and some others to depart out of the plantation.

The cause of this eager prosecution was because Capt. Underhill had procured a good part of the inhabitants to offer themselves again to the government of the Massachusetts; and being then prosecuted, they sent a petition to them for aid. The governour and council considered of their petition, and gave a commission to Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Peters, and Mr. Dalton, to go thither and endeavour to reconcile them, and if they could not, then to inquire how things stood, and certify them in the Bay, &c. They met accordingly, and finding both sides to be in the fault, they at the length brought matters to a peaceable end; so as Mr. Larkham was released of his excommunication, and Capt. Underhill and the rest from their censures.

And by reason of these agitations, Mr. Knollis was discovered to be tardy in the same guilt with others of the Antinomian sect, viz. to have solicited the chastity of two maids, his servants, and to have used wanton dalliance with them; which he acknowledged before the church there, and so being dismissed, he removed from Pascataqua. This sin of his was the more notorious, in that it was first discovered the same night after he had been exhorting the people, by reason and scripture, to proceed against Capt. Underhill for his adultery. So apt are men to be blinded in their own case, and forbid others to steal, while themselves are committing sacrilege. This

example, added to the former, makes it the more observable, that God doth many times justly give up those that cry down any evidence by sanctification, to such filthy ways, that they should find no sanctification in themselves, to evidence a justified estate by.

The two ministers employed in this service, with another they took along with them, (intended for the minister of Agamenticus,) in going from Pascataqua to Agamenticus, (within but six miles distant from the other,) lost their way, and wandered two days and one night, without food or fire, in the snow and wet. But God heard their prayers, wherein they earnestly pressed him for the honour of his great name; but when they were even quite spent he brought them to the sea side, near the place whither they were bound.

The next year after, Mr. Larkham suddenly departed from his place at Dover, against his own promise, as well as the persuasion of his people, (for every heart knows best its own grief and guilt,) to prevent the shame of a scandalous evil, (of like nature with that fore-mentioned of Mr. Knollis,) which otherwise would unavoidably have fallen upon him. In the mean time leaving the people to provide for themselves as well as they could for a supply, which not long after they obtained, by one Mr. Maud, whom they enjoyed many years for their minister, who was a good man, and of a serious spirit, and of a peaceable and quiet disposition. He continued with them to his death; after whom they procured Mr. Reynor, from Plymouth. About the year 1654, he was called to the pastoral office at Dover, which he discharged with good satisfaction and faithfulness all his days.

About this time the people of the lower part of Pascataqua, toward the mouth of the river, having invited Mr. James Parker of Weymouth, well esteemed of for godliness and scholarship, obtained him for a winter, in the year 1642; in which time he gave such proof of his ministry, that they earnestly desired that he might be settled as a minister amongst them, and signified so much

to the magistrates and ministers of the Bay, under forty of their hands ; but he having a call to remove elsewhere, either for want of due encouragement, or suitable endeavours of the people, they were destitute of a settled minister for many years after. But the light of the gospel, by the ministry thereof, did then begin to dawn, which afterwards did arise with more brightness and power upon them.

In September, 1641, Capt. Underhill not able longer to subsist at Pascataqua, upon the occasions forementioned, and being reconciled to the court of the Massachusetts, and church of Boston, returned thither with his family to seek some way of subsistence ; where having no employment that would maintain him, and having good offers made him by the Dutch governour, (he speaking the Dutch tongue very well, and his wife a Dutch woman,) he removed thither. The church of Boston furnished him out, and provided a pinnace to transport him ; advising him rather to settle at Stamford, where was a town of the English, and in church estate, and near the Dutch ; to the which he hearkened. At first the people there offered him employment and maintenance, according to their ability ; but upon one account or other he changed his mind afterward and went to the Dutch, who gave him good encouragement, having at that time great need of him, by reason of their war with the Indians, wherein he did them good service, having with one hundred and twenty men, Dutch and English, killed one hundred and fifty Indians on Long Island, and three hundred on the main land.

Mr. Wheelwright afterwards, in the year 1643, had removed from Exeter to Wells, near Cape Porpoise, where he was pastor of a church ; but being sensible of the great inconveniency he was in, while excluded from the society of the ministers, as well as other friends, by the sentence of banishment, which he still continued under, he wrote a letter to the governour at Boston, entreating the favour of the court that he might have leave to come into the Bay, upon some special occasions ; which was

readily granted him ; whereupon he came and spake with divers of the ministers, and gave them such satisfaction, as they intended to intercede with the court for the release of his banishment. The contents of his letter were to this purpose:—"Upon the long and mature consideration of things, I perceive that the main difference between yourselves and some of the reverend elders and me in point of justification, and the evidencing thereof, is not of that nature as was then presented to me in the false glass of Satan's temptations, and my own distempered passions, which makes me unfeignedly sorry that I had such an hand in those sharp and vehement contentions, raised thereabouts, to the great disturbance of the churches of Christ. It is the grief of my soul that I used such vehement, censorious speeches in the application of my sermon, or in any other writing, whereby I reflected any dishonour upon your worships, the reverend elders, or any of contrary judgment to myself. I repent me that I did so much adhere to persons of corrupt judgments, to the countenancing and encouraging of them in any of their errors, or evil practices, though I intended no such thing ; and that in the synod I used such unsafe and obscure expressions, falling from me as a man dazzled with the buffetings of Satan ; and that I did appeal from misapprehension of things. I confess that herein I have done very sinfully, and do humbly crave pardon of your honoured selves. If it shall appear to me, by scripture light, that in any carriage, word, or writing, I have walked contrary to rule, I shall be ready, by the grace of God, to give satisfaction. Thus, hoping that you will pardon my boldness, I humbly take my leave of your worships, committing you to the good providence of the Almighty, and ever remain your worships' in all service to be commanded in the Lord.

J. WHEELWRIGHT.

Wells, 7th, 10th, 1643."

Upon this letter the court was very well inclined to release his banishment, and thereupon ordered that he

might have safe conduct to come to the court, &c. Hereof the governour certified him by letter, and received this following answer from him.

“R. W.

I have received your letters, wherein you signify to me that you have imparted my letter to the honoured court, and that it finds good acceptance; for which I rejoyce with all thankfulness, as also for liberty of safe conduct granted by the court, and in case I desire letters for that end. I should very willingly (upon letters obtained) express by word of mouth, openly in court, that which I did by writing, might I, without offence, express my true intent and meaning more fully to this effect. That notwithstanding my failings, (for which I crave pardon,) yet I cannot, with a good conscience, condemn myself for such capital crimes, dangerous revelations, and gross errours, as have been charged upon me; the concurrence of which, (as I take it,) make up the substance of the cause of all my sufferings. I do not see but in so mixt a cause I am bound to use (may it be permitted) my just defence, so far as I apprehend myself to be innocent, and to make my confession, where I am convinced of any delinquency; otherwise I shall seemingly, and in appearance, fall under guilt of many heinous offences, for which my conscience doth acquit me. If I seem to make suit to the court for relaxation to be granted as an act of mercy, upon my sole confession, I must offend my conscience; if by an act of justice, upon my apology, and lawful defence, I fear here I shall offend your worships. I leave all things to your wise and holy consideration, hoping you will pardon my simplicity and plainness, which I am forced unto by the power of an overruling conscience. I rest your worship's in the Lord.

J. WHEELWRIGHT.

Wells, March 1, 1643.”

To which the governour replied to this effect, viz. that though his liberty might be obtained without his personal appearance, yet that was doubtful; nor did he

conceive that a wise and moderate apology would prejudice the acceptance of a free and ingenuous confession; seeing the latter would justify the sentence of the court, which looked only at his action; and yet by the former he might maintain the liberty of his conscience, in clearing his intentions from those ill deserving crimes, which the court apprehended by his actions. And withal, (because there might want opportunity of conveyance before the court,) he sent him enclosed a safe conduct, &c. But the next court released his banishment, without his appearance; and so if they had overdone in passing the sentence, it might in part help to balance it, that they were so ready to grant him a release. Soon after this he removed his dwelling, and being invited to the pastoral office in the church of Hampton, after Mr. Batchelour's deposition, he accepted of the call, and tarried with them till his removal to England, not long after, where he tarried many years, till upon the turn of times he came back to New England again; after which he was called to Salisbury, where he accepted of the pastoral office, in which he continued to the day of his death, which happened about the year 1681.

As for the more eastern parts of the Province of Maine, towards Pemaquid, one Mr. Rigbee, a wealthy gentleman in England, and counsellor at law, and one of the Long parliament, having purchased the Plough Patent at Sagadahock, called Ligonias, gave a commission to one Mr. Cleaves, as his deputy to govern the people there, and sent him over to New England in the year 1643. The ship landed at Boston, and Mr. Cleaves, considering how distasteful this would be to the governors of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who challenged jurisdiction in a great part of Ligonias, petitioned the general court of the Massachusetts to write to them on his behalf; but the court thought fit rather to leave it to the governor to write in his own name, which accordingly he did. But when Mr. Cleaves came to set his commission afoot, and called a court at Casco, Mr. Richard Vines and other commissioners of Sir Ferdinando Gorges op-

posed it, and called another court at Saco, the same time ; whereupon the inhabitants were divided. Those of Casco, &c. wrote to Mr. Vines that they would stand to the judgment of the magistrates of the Bay, till it were decided in England to which government they should belong ; and sent this letter by one Tucker. Mr. Vines imprisoned him, and the next day took his bond for his appearance at Saco, and his good behaviour. Upon this Mr. Cleaves and the rest, about thirty persons, wrote to the governour of the Bay for assistance against Mr. Vines, and tendered themselves to the consociation of the United Colonies. The governour returned answer that he must first advise with the commissioners of the other colonies, although they could not well be admitted upon some articles of the confederation, that Mr. Cleaves did not come up unto. This contention continued still undetermined between Mr. Cleaves and Mr. Vines and Mr. Josselin, one of the commissioners also of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Both parties wrote letters to the governour and council of the Massachusetts, complaining of injuries from each other ; Mr. Cleaves desiring aid against open force, threatened by the other part. They of the Massachusetts Bay returned answer to them severally to this effect, to persuade them both to continue in peace, and to forbear all violent courses, until some London ships should arrive here, by which it was expected that order would come from the commissioners of foreign plantations, to settle their differences. These letters prevailed so far with them, that they agreed to refer the cause to the determination of the court of assistants at Boston, which was to be held the 3d of June next. For Mr. Rigbee came Mr. Cleaves and Mr. Tucker ; for the Province of Maine came Mr. Josselin and Mr. Roberts. The court appointed them a day for hearing of their cause, and caused a special jury to be empannelled : Mr. Cleaves was plaintiff, and delivered in a declaration in writing ; the defendants (though they had a copy thereof before) pleaded to it by word only. Some of the magistrates advised not to intermeddle with it, seeing it was

not within their jurisdiction, and that the agents had no commission to bind the interest of the gentlemen in England. Others, and the most, thought fit to give them a trial, both for that it was an usual practice in Europe for two parties that are at odds to make a third judge betwixt them, and though the principal parties could not be bound by any sentence of their court, (for having no jurisdiction they had no coercion, and therefore whatever they should conclude were but advice,) yet it might settle peace for the present, &c. But the suit going on, upon a full hearing, both parties failed in their proof. The plaintiff could not prove the place in question to be within his patent, nor could derive a good title of the patent itself to Mr. Rigbee, (there being six or eight patentees, and the assignment only from two of them.) Also the defendant had no patent of the province, but only a copy thereof, attested by witnesses, which is not pleadable in law; which so perplexed the jury as that they could find for neither, but gave in a non liquet. And because the parties would have it tried by a jury, the magistrates forbore to deal any further in it, only they persuaded the parties to live in peace, &c. till the matter might be determined by authority out of England. And so the matter rested for the present, and for a long time after; the successours or assigns of either party keeping possession and making improvement of what they had occupied before, according to mutual agreement between themselves, either implicitly or explicitly declared; until Mr. Rigbee or his agents and assigns flung up all their title to any part of the premises, as an unprofitable concern, as is commonly said. What Sir Ferdinando Gorges's heirs or assigns have done unto or gained by what was ever challenged by any of them, may be declared afterwards.

CHAP. XLV.

The general affairs of New England, from 1641 to 1646.

IN the beginning of this lustre, scil. June 2, 1641, Mr. Bellingham was chosen governour, and Mr. Endicot deputy

governour; the first carried it but by six votes, if so many could regularly be made out. It was long before either of these gentlemen were accepted into the chief place of the government, yet had they this advantage superadded, that they were in after times oftener called thereunto, or rather continued therein, after the death of Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Dudley, longer than any of their predecessors. In the end of this year, 1641, upon the supposal that great revolutions were now at hand, two of the ministers of the Massachusetts, with Mr. Hibbins, were sent over to England, viz. Mr. Weld and Mr. Peters. The first had given the greatest encouragement of any man else for invitation of his friends to come over to New England, yet was it observed true of him, which some note of Peter, the hermit, who sounded an alarum and march to all other Christians, to the Holy Land, but a retreat to himself; and indeed he returned not with the dove, which came with an olive branch in her mouth. As for the other, it had been well if he had never gone, or soon after to have returned; and might have been warned by Funccius his example, *disce meo exemplo*, &c. or rather to have taken St. Paul's counsel, to abide in the calling, wherein he was called, whereby he might have prevented a sad sentence, that afterward befell him, as a bird that wanders from her nest. About this time also the Massachusetts began to look more circumspectly into their bounds, than before time they had leisure to do, both westward and northward. For at Connecticut river it did appear that Springfield fell within their limits, which, by a mistake, had been hitherto taken for a member of Hartford jurisdiction; so the loss fell upon them that were not content with an equal allotment; for the business had else never been so narrowly looked into, as is said, if injury had not been offered to some that were there planted, and supposed to be under their jurisdiction. On the other side, toward Pascataqua, some gentlemen, that had a long time tried the pleasure of being lords, to have none to rule over them, but finding they were not able to manage or carry on what they had taken in

hand, were pretty willing to be eased of the burthen, and therefore petitioned the Massachusetts, by several hands subscribed, and some of their patentees, in the name of the rest, to accept of them into their government; which they did, not so much out of ambition of the power, as compassion to the poor inhabitants, who had been almost wearied out with dissensions among themselves, both in their civil as well as church affairs, if not in danger to be ruined thereby. The lords and gentlemen, which had these two patents, finding no means to govern the people there, nor restrain them from spoiling their timber, agreed to assign all their interest of jurisdiction to the Massachusetts, reserving the land to themselves, as is said by them who took notice of things that passed in those times. So that on Sept. 24, 1641, the inhabitants on the south side of Pascataqua, both at Dover and Strawberry Bank, (since Portsmouth,) were declared to belong to the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and in pursuance thereof a committee was chosen to order matters accordingly. A village this year was granted at Billerica; another the next year on Ipswich river, called since Topsfield.

On the 18th of May, 1642, the government of the Massachusetts fell again into the hands of that honourable gentleman, Mr. Winthrop, the deputy's place remaining with Mr. Endicot; at which election, also, Mr. Samuel Symonds, a gentleman of an ancient and worshipful family, from Yeldham, in Essex, was added to the number of the assistants. At this court, a body of laws, that had been a long time under debate, were now established; reserving a liberty in some lesser offences to alter the penalty according to circumstances, about which there was much agitation in the general court. By this time the college at Cambridge was brought to some perfection, and feoffees were this year appointed, viz. all the magistrates of the colony, and the elders of the six next adjoining churches; a needful provision for the taking care of the sons of the prophets, over whom we know of

old they were set that were able, both as prophets to teach, and judges to rule and govern.

May the 10th, 1643, Mr. Winthrop was again chosen governour, and Mr. Endicot deputy governour. This year the practice of Dover, and the other inhabitants, encouraged those of Exeter to follow their example, who were in like manner, upon their petition, received under the government of the Massachusetts, and accordingly declared to belong thereto.

May 29, 1644, Mr. Endicot was a second time chosen governour, and Mr. Winthrop deputy governour, and Mr. Dudley, the first major general, was chosen at this election. This year the Anabaptists began to grow troublesome in the Massachusetts, which irritated the zeal of some principal persons in the country to sharpen the edge of authority against them, the court being by this occasion put on to make laws against them, as is intimated before, but with what success is hard to say; all men being naturally inclined to pity them that suffer, how much soever they are incensed against offenders in general. But natural conscience, and the reverence of a Deity, that is deeply engraven on the hearts of all, makes men more apt to favour them that suffer for religion, (true or false,) on which consideration some are ready to think that corrosives and sharp medicines do but draw evil and malignant humours to the ill affected part, and therefore they say of all arguments against corrupt opinions those are the least proper, and most ineffectual, that conclude in *ferio*; the worst mode and figure for a religious topick. Though men had need take heed on what account they take sanctuary in the holy place of conscience, which is God's throne; for, as one saith, God, who is a God of truth, hath appointed no city of refuge for presumptuous sinners, such as are the father of lies, and murtherer of souls, or any of his instruments. Joab must be taken from the horns of the altar. However, it were well if all those, who cannot comply with the religion of the state and place where they live, yet had so much manners as not to jostle against it, nor openly

practise that that is inconsistent therewith, as if they would bid a kind of defiance thereunto. Moses would not do that in Egypt, upon the account of religious worship, that might seem a matter of abomination, to them that were lords of the place; especially where the difference is not in the circumstantial but in the essential parts of religion, as that of the Quakers and Anabaptists. Therefore the repressing of those kind of persons put the government upon inquiry into the nature and intent of the patent, and the power invested in the general court thereby, whether legislative and jurisdictional, or directive and consultative; and upon consultation had, with the wisest, most learned and judicious in the place, it was, by an unanimous consent, determined in the affirmative, in respect of all those several kinds of power, wherein the general court rested satisfied.

The next year Mr. Dudley took his turn again at the helm of the government, being chosen thereunto, May 14, 1645, to whom was joined Mr. Winthrop as deputy; who, while he lived, was almost always either governour or next him that supplied that place. But this year he met with much opposition from his neighbours of Hingham, who were borne out therein, as was usually done, by one of the magistrates, that in some things seemed much prejudiced against him; the particulars may be declared afterwards, or in another way.

As the country had hitherto begun to flourish in most English manufactures, so liberty was this year granted to make iron; for which purpose a work was set up at Lynn, upon a very commodious stream, which was very much promoted, and strenuously carried on, for some considerable time; but at length, whether *faber aut forcepts, aut ars, ignara fefellit*, instead of drawing out bars of iron, for the country's use, there was hammered out nothing but contention and lawsuits, which was but a bad return for the undertakers; however it gave the occasion to others to acquaint themselves with that skill, to the great advantage of the colonies, who have since that time found out many convenient places where very good

iron, not much inferiour to that of Bilboa, may be produced ; as at this day is seen in a village near Topsfield, seven or eight miles west from Ipswich.

In the following years troublesome occurrents have fallen out, occasioned by the civil wars in England ; whence it came to pass that sundry shipmasters, upon pretence of a commission from the parliament, seized some ships in the harbour of Boston, without the license or privity of the court there, taking them to belong to some of the king's party, which, in the language of those times, was interpreted enemies to the parliament. These things done on the sudden, by a prevailing party, could not be helped ; for oftentimes might overcomes right, according to the proverb, else there were some upon the place that could have adventured much to have secured the harbour.

CHAP. XLVI.

Various occurrents in New England, from 1641 to 1646.

AT this time the people of New England were assaulted with difficulties about their subsistence, with other various accidents, concerning the limits of the civil power, conspiracy of the Indians, uniting of the colonies, with several more troubles, both intestine and foreign. For the great turn of affairs, that happened at this time, putting a stop to the wonted way of their subsistence in New England, occasioned many, through want of faith and patience to wait upon God and observe his providence, to run themselves into divers straits and difficulties ; as not being able to see a way of livelihood any longer in the wilderness, not considering the words of the Psalmist, "Trust in the Lord and do good ; so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed." For many began now to inquire after the southern parts, being much taken with the supposed advantages, and easy way of living, in Virginia, and the Caribbee islands, especially the isle of Providence, which at this time was in great request ; as if there were any place of the earth

where that part of the curse should not take place, "In the sweat of thy brows thou shalt eat thy bread." But the ease and plenty of those countries was so taking with many, as they sold their estates there in New England, to transplant themselves and families to that Spanish island; the chief of whom was a gentleman of good esteem in the country, one of the patentees, a man of great activity, and one of the first beginners in the promoting the plantation of the Massachusetts. He was labouring much in this new design; for his estate being somewhat low for want of prudent managing, he offered his service to the lords that had the interest in the said isle, (to whom he was well known,) and was by them accepted for their next governour, and thereupon laboured much to draw on others to join with him in this (as it was judged) unwarrantable course. For though it was thought very needful to further the plantation of Protestant churches in the West Indies, and all were willing to endeavour it, yet it was looked upon as very unsuitable for those that had but new begun to people another part of America, (more agreeable to the temper and condition of Englishmen,) and with the disparagement of that place, wherein they could not but take notice of many signal providences of God, tending to the establishment thereof. But men that were engaged in the design would not be taken off by such considerations as were laid before them by the wisest of the place where they were, viz. not only to discourage the hearts of their brethren, whom they had at the first occasioned to remove into the wilderness, but to expose themselves to the danger of a potent enemy, (the Spaniard,) and a new climate, they had no experience of, and to be under the command of those which should be set over them by others. These motives prevailed with some to alter their resolution, yet others persisted strongly therein, not taking notice of sundry remarkable providences that crossed their first attempts.

The gentlemen of the Massachusetts were credibly informed how the lord Say had laboured, by discouraging their plantation, to divert men from coming to them, and

so to draw them to the West Indies, and how, finding that wise men were unwilling to come under such governours as were not chosen by themselves, &c. they had condescended to divers articles suited to that form, although they had formerly declared for an aristocracy, and an hereditary magistracy, to be settled upon some great persons, &c. Mr. Winthrop, the usual governour of the Massachusetts, had written to the lord Say about the reports aforesaid, and shewed his lordship how evident it was that God had chosen that country to plant his people in, and that it would be displeasing unto him to hinder that work, and persuade such as were still inclined (if not by their presence, yet by their assistance) to promote it, to desist, by insinuating into their minds that there was no possibility of subsistence there; and told him that God would never have sent so many of his people thither, if he had not seen the place sufficient to maintain them, or that he intended to make it such. His lordship returned answer that he could not deny much of what was written, nor the evidence of God's owning his people in the country of New England, but alleged it was a place appointed only for a present refuge, and that a better place being now found out, they ought all to remove thither. But it is not good judging of things at so great a distance, and to depend upon uncertain reports in things of so great moment. Their lordships that were so highly persuaded of the West Indies, and their plantation at Providence there, were soon after convinced, by the loss of the island to the Spaniards, and 60,000 pounds charge they had been at, that they had raised their hopes but on a sandy foundation. And the gentleman forementioned, Mr. J. H. who with the disparagement of New England had maintained his hopes of a full supply from the Spanish Providence, was that year awakened, by a solemn providence of Heaven, to consider better of his ways; for his barn, with all his corn and hay, was in the year 1640 consumed by fire, through the carelessness of his servants; and himself and family being, in

spite of all his endeavours for Providence, detained in New England another season.

But the next year, news was brought to New England that a church being gathered at Providence the pastor, one Mr. Sherwood, with another minister, were sent home prisoners into England, by one Carter, the deputy governour, (a merciful providence of God to them, whereby they escaped being made prisoners by the Spaniards, soon after ;) and letters came also from the rest of the church to New England, complaining of the persecution of their magistrates and others, and desiring help from them. Many that were before resolved, and preparing for the island, were the more encouraged, and drew on others, that did not so well approve of the design before, to hasten away thither, which might caution others, (considering the issue,) not to build too much upon Providences, without a surer rule from the word or revealed will of God ; for, immediately after, Mr. William Peirse, (that had been very serviceable in transporting passengers to New England,) with two vessels, (wherein were much goods, and some families,) bound for the island of Providence, were unhappily disappointed of their entertainments, by the Spaniards, that had newly retaken the place ; so as the said Mr. Peirse, passing towards the island, was shut in within command of the fort, before he discerned the danger ; but then suddenly was slain, with another active man, (that was forward in carrying on the business,) before they could tack about ; being then forced to return to the despised country of New England, with shame and sorrow ; having some encouragement left in their minds from the last chapter in Genesis, which the master read in the morning, "Behold I die, but God will surely visit you," &c. for it is said, that as they touched at Christopher's, and hearing that there was some probability the island might be taken by the Spanish fleet, (which was then abroad,) he would have persuaded the passengers to return back, but they would not hearken in time to good advice, and that then Mr. Peirse should reply, Then I am a dead

man; as if he had received the sentence of death in himself, as oftentimes cometh to pass.

This solemn accident brought some of them at last to see their error, and acknowledge it to their friends at their return, Sept. 3, 1641. They were very loath to return back, and would have been set ashore any where in the warm country of the West Indies, but the seamen would not be overruled so to do.

A vessel that returned at that time from the isle of Sables made a better voyage, bringing 400 pair of seahorse teeth, with divers tun of oil, besides much other goods of like sort, which they left behind, worth 1500 pounds. And others also, in those times, did with more advantage improve the islands of the West Indies in a way of traffick, still keeping their residence in New England.

But now the plantation at the Spanish island being laid aside, those that were disaffected to New England, not discerning at the present a way of subsistence, nor having patience and confidence in the Almighty to wait upon him, till a door of hope were opened by his wisdom and goodness, took their flight elsewhere. Whether they have thereby mended themselves, considering the hazards they have run, in making out their way, themselves are best able to judge. The affairs of the world are carried in a moveable wheel, wherein it is oft found that what is highest in one season is laid quite underneath soon after.

The gentleman forementioned (so strongly bent to remove) did at last himself go over into England, leaving his children behind, without taking due care for their governing and education, whereby there were divers of them (being under age) shamefully abused and defiled by wicked persons, to such an high degree as the wisest in the country were at a loss to design any punishment, short of death, suitable to the nature of their offences. For, as was observed of old, children left to themselves, bring her that bare them to shame. Thus was this family strangely, though secretly polluted, though it brake not out till he had left the country, which he had been

contriving to do divers years before, against the advice of his best friends.

But besides these afflictive dispensations about their subsistence ; as in the former lustre, the people of New England were exercised with ecclesiastical troubles, so in this, with many difficulties in their civil affairs.

The general court, held in the 10th month, 1641, was not without uncomfortable agitations, and contentions, principally occasioned in a case wherein the deputy governor was concerned about a mortgage of land ; thereby was all business retarded, and an occasion of grief to godly minds, and of reproach to the court. There are dead flies in the apothecary's best ointment. But such infirmities, like dark shades in portraitures, and acupict embroideries, do not take away from the beauty of the whole piece in the issue. However, according to the old observation, that good laws take their original from bad manners, on that condition an wholesome law was made for recording all deeds of conveyance, whether absolute or conditional, that so neither creditors might be defrauded, nor courts troubled with vexatious suits, and endless contentions, about sales and mortgages. Righteousness exalteth a nation, and maketh them honourable, even in the sight of very heathen, as was manifest at this time amongst the Indians, in their observation of the proceedings of the English. For in the year 1642, those of New Haven, intending a plantation at Delaware, sent some to purchase a large portion of land from the Indians there. But when they refused to deal with them, it so fell out that a Pequot sachem, who had fled his country in the time of the wars with them, and seated himself there upon that river, was accidentally present at that time, and taking notice of the English, and their desire, persuaded the other sachem to deal with them, and told him that howsoever they had killed his countrymen, and driven him out, yet they were honest men, and had just cause to do what they did, for the Pequots he owned had done them wrong, and refused to give them reasonable satisfaction, which was demanded. Whereupon the sachem

entertained them, and let them have what land they desired.

In the year 1642, the isles of Shoals being found to fall within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, and having submitted to the government thereof, were provoked to revolt from them, by one Mr. Gibson, a scholar, whom they had entertained in the nature of a minister, and he exercised that function after the manner of the church of England. He had been sent to Richmond island, that belonged to Mr. Trelany, but not liking to abide there he removed to Pascataqua, Strawberry Bank, and so at last came to an employment amongst the fishermen at the Shoals. While he officiated there he was incensed by some speeches in a sermon of Mr. Larkham's, the minister of Dover, wherein he inveighed against such hirelings. Mr. Gibson, in way of retaliation, or rather revenge, sent him an open letter, wherein he scandalized the government of the Massachusetts, and opposed their title to those parts; but being called in question by them, whose authority he had contemned at a distance, he submitted himself to an acknowledgement of his offence, and was discharged, (in regard he was a stranger,) without either fee or fine.

In the same year, 1642, one Darbyfield, an Irishman, with some others, travelled to an high mountain, called the White Hills, an hundred miles, or near upon, to the west of Saco. It is the highest hill in these parts of America. They passed through many of the lower and rainy clouds as they ascended up to the top thereof, but some that were there afterwards, saw clouds above them. There is a plain of sixty feet square on the top, a very steep precipice on the west side, and all the country round about them seemed like a level, and much beneath them. There was a great expectation of some precious things to be found, either on the top or in the ascent, by the glistening of some white stones. Something was found like crystal, but nothing of value. It appeared to them that made the most diligent observation of the country round about, that many great rivers of New Eng-

land rise out of that mountain, as Saco, Kennebeck, to the north and east, Connecticut, to the south, as they conceived; as cosmographers observe that four great rivers arise out of the mountains of Helvetia, accounted the highest land in Europe. In each of those rivers they report, at the first issue, there is water enough to drive a mill.

In the same year fell out a new occasion of starting the old question about the negative vote in the magistrates; for the country, and all the courts thereof, (general and particular,) in a manner, were filled with much trouble, about something that strayed from a poor man's possession in the year 1636; but in this year were revived so many controversies, about the true title thereof, as engaged all the wisdom and religion in the country to put an end thereunto. The poor man's cause is like to engage the multitude with a kind of compassion, against which, as well as against the bribes of the rich, the law of God doth caution judges. It proved almost as long and chargeable as *Arrestum Parliamenti Tholosanni*, in the case of Martin Guerra, to find who was the right owner of the thing in controversy. It is much to see the restless and unreasonable striving in the spirit of man, that a lesser court, that hath power to determine an action of an hundred or a thousand pounds, could not put an issue to a matter of so small a value. It proceeded so far at the last, (through some prejudice taken up against the defendant,) that the very foundations of the whole authority of the country were in danger to be blown up thereby; a report being taken up by the common people of the country that the negative vote of the magistrates (who did in that, as they should in all cases, look more to the nature of the evidence than any pre-occupating notion or prejudice to or against the plaintiff or defendant) had hindered the course of justice. On that occasion it was strongly moved that the said negative vote might be taken away; for by the patent no matter should pass in the general court without the concurrence of six of the magistrates at the least, with the governour

or deputy, which in this case could not be found ; therefore was it the more on this account solicitously endeavoured that the power of the negative vote in the general court might be taken away. And it was so impetuously now carried on, that there was scarce any possibility to resist the torrent of common fame, jealousy, ****† and prejudice of minds, so as at the last, for peace sake, and quieting the minds of the people in the present exigence of the said business, the magistrates yielded to a private reference, as to some circumstances of the action ; and the defendant was persuaded to return the poor woman her charges, i. e. what he had received upon the account of a former action, viz. three pounds, as part of twenty pounds, that was granted by the jury ; which was done rather out of charity, and respect to the publick good, than out of conviction of duty in point of justice, as wise men always apprehended the case. But for the negative vote, it will more naturally fall to be spoken to afterwards.

July 28, 1642, a Dutch ship arrived at Boston, laden with salt from the West Indies, which she sold there for plank and pipe staves, (as good encouragement to promote the trafficks of the country, then newly set on foot.) She brought two Spanish merchants, who, being taken at sea, while they went in a frigate from Domingo, to find an English ship which they had freighted home, and was (by their agreement) stolen out of the harbour, where she was long imbarred, they hired this Dutchman to bring them thither, where they had appointed this ship to come, (not daring to go into England, or Spain, &c.) They stayed about a month and after, but their ship came not ; so they went away again. It was heard afterward that their ship had been beating upon the coast fourteen days, but being put back still by northwest winds she bore up and went for England, and arrived at Southampton. The parliament made use of the treasure which God diverted from New England, that their hearts might not be taken with her wealth, and that it might not cause the Spaniard to have an evil eye upon them.

† Ms. illegible. Ed.

Many difficulties falling in together about those times in New England, put divers that were discontented before, into such an unsettled frame of spirit, that concluding there would be no subsistence for them and their children there, they counted it their wisdom to shift for themselves in time, and retire to places of safety before the storm came; but most of them by that means did but the sooner fall into the misery they hoped to fly from. Amongst others Mr. J. H. forementioned, with four or five other persons of note, returning that year for England, against the advice of their friends, and thinking their passage was like to be short and prosperous, gave too much liberty to their own spirits to speak evil both of the people and place they left behind them; possibly their spirits might be too much elevated by their present success to expect great matters in the country whither they were going, as if they had been already in possession thereof. But when they were upon the coast of England, the wind came up just against them, and tossed them up and down so long, that they had not only spent all their provisions, but at the last were by tempestuous winds in danger of being dashed in pieces on the rocks, which put them into a serious inquiry, not only into the grounds of their removal, but into the frame of their spirits in the way; by their reflecting on which they saw cause to humble themselves before God for their miscarriage therein, and like Jonah to see their great error in running from the presence of the Lord to Tarshish; where they found afterwards, many of them, that their hopes were disappointed, as was reported by some, who knew what entertainment divers of them found there.

Those who first removed into the country, upon due grounds, were (implicitly at least) engaged to support each other in whatever exigents should fall out, and therefore should not have been too forward to have removed, without the free consent of the rest of their friends, with whom they were so confederated. It will be hard to lay down such rules as shall necessarily bind

all particular persons to a strict observation of them, without some allowance; but this may be observed here, that there having so much of God appeared in carrying on that plantation of New England from the first, those that were lawfully called to engage therein had need have had as clear a call from God before they had deserted the same. The church of God is not now confined to a family or nation, as in former ages, but is, in these days of the gospel, dispersed over the whole world; and every part of the same have in every age had their particular work and service to attend, and may therein observe the pillar and cloud of God's presence going before them, to find out a resting place for them, as they in New England have now for fifty years together had experience of; in all which time God hath so ordered his dispensations toward his people there, that they have found as comfortable a way of subsistence, by their diligence and industry, as their friends have done in other places.

Besides the forementioned occurrents, which exercised the minds of the principal inhabitants there, in the year 1642, there was another troublesome business that then fell out, occasioned by a small treatise, brought into the court of election that year, directly levelled against the institution of the standing council, which the author pretended to be a sinful innovation, and therefore ought to be reformed. Upon the first discovery thereof, the governour moved to have the contents thereof examined, and then, (if there appeared a cause,) to have the author inquired after. The greatest part of the general court, (consisting of deputies,) being well persuaded of the honest intentions of the compiler thereof, (as tending to favour the liberty of the people,) would not consent thereunto, but desired rather to inquire how it came into the court. It was at the last yielded to be read in the court, and it was found to have been made by one of the assistants, and by him to be delivered to a principal man among the deputies, to be tendered to the court, if he should approve of it; but upon one account or other that gentleman did not acquaint the court with it, but de-

livered it to one of the freemen, further to consider of, with whom it remained about half a year, and then was it (contrary to the first intention of the author) delivered to one of the principal members of the said council. A worse hand it could not have fallen into as to the design aimed at ; for by him, and the rest of the council, it was complained of, as an attempt to undermine one of the fundamental orders of the government. An answer was also drawn up to it, and read at the next sessions of the court, wherein all the harsher and displeasing passages were laid open, with all the aggravations that an able pen could possibly fasten upon them. Some observations were likewise made thereof by Mr. Norris, the minister of Salem, of like nature, (which were also, with some difficulty, at the same time read in the court,) who not suspecting the author, handled him more sharply than otherwise perhaps he would have done, according as he judged the merit of the matter required.

The governour (who according to the first institution of the said council was to be president thereof, for the time being,) moved a second time that the matter of the book might be considered ; but the whole court would not admit thereof, except the author were first acquitted from any censure concerning the said treatise, though some passages of the same, that were looked upon as very offensive and unwarrantable, were mentioned to induce them thereunto. But at the last, the author's indemnity from any censure being first voted, the matter of it was inquired into, and divers expressions therein were much blamed by many, as that the said council was first instituted unwarily to satisfy the desire of Mr. Vane, &c. whereas it was well known to many in the court, (as themselves affirmed,) that it was upon the advice and solicitation of the ministers, and after much deliberation from court to court, established. Some also conceived that Mr. Cotton had sufficiently proved, from scripture and from reason, that the chief magistrates ought to be for life, as those of this standing council were (when first chosen) to be, and therefore any passages that did reflect

upon such a constitution, with reproachful expressions, were the worse taken, by those that were called to be of that order. In the conclusion, a motion was made to take the advice of the ministers of the country, concerning the soundness of the propositions and arguments alleged for its confirmation; accordingly it was agreed by the whole court that there should be a meeting of all the ministers at Ipswich, on the 18th of October, the same year, to consider thereof. And being there met, and taking into their consideration that which was committed to them by the general court, though they were different in their judgments about it, yet at length they all agreed upon this answer:

First, that the propositions laid down, in the general, were granted, (with a distinction in the first,) which were these:

1. First, that a christian people (rightly and religiously constituted) have no power, office, administration, or authority, but such as is commanded and ordained of God. This was granted with this limitation; that all lawful powers are ordained, &c. either expressly or by consequence, by particular examples or by general rules.

2. That those powers, offices, &c. ordained of God, &c. being given, dispensed, and erected in such a christian society, (by his general providence,) proportioned to his rule by their state and condition, established by his power, carried on and accompanied with his presence and blessing, ought not to be by them changed or altered but upon such grounds, for such ends, in such manner, and so far only, as the mind of God may be manifest therein.

3. The mind of God is never manifested concerning the change or alteration of any civil ordinance, erected or established by him, &c. so long as all the cases, counsels, services, and occasion thereof may be duly and fully ended or ordered, executed and performed, without any change or alteration of government.

Secondly, for the application of the aforesaid propositions to the standing council, and the arguments enforc-

ing the same. They distinguished between a standing council invested with a kind of transient authority, beyond other magistrates, or else any kind of standing council, distinct from magistracy. The former they seemed implicitly to disallow. The latter they approved as necessary for them, not disproportionable for their estate, nor of any dangerous consequence, for disunion among the magistrates, or factions among the people, (which were the arguments used by the author against the said council.) Some passages also they wished had been spared, and other things they found omitted, which if supplied might have cleared other passages, which seemed to reflect upon the gentlemen that were of the present standing council, which yet they thought not to be of that moment but that, (the uprightness of his intentions considered, and the liberty given for advice,) according to the rules of religion, peace, and prudence, they might be passed by.

Lastly, they declared their present thoughts about the moulding and perfecting of a council, in four rules.

1. That all the magistrates by their calling and office, together with the care of judicature, are to consult for the provision, protection, and universal welfare of the people.

2. That some select men, taken out from among the assistants, or other freemen being called thereunto, be in special to attend, by way of council, for the provision, protection, and welfare of the people.

3. This council, or members of it as such, to have no power of judicature.

4. In cases of instant danger to the people, in the interim, before a general court can be called, (which were meet to be done with all speed,) whatsoever shall be consented unto and concluded by this council, or the major part of them, together with the consent of the magistrates, or the major part of them, may stand good and firm till the general court.

In the end, after much agitation in the court and country about the business, by the wisdom and faithfulness of

some of the ministers, the author of the aforesaid treatise was brought to see his error, which he did ingenuously acknowledge, and so was reconciled to those that were offended thereat; but some others that had engaged in that cause, (possibly upon some particular prejudice,) manifested too much stiffness to be brought thereunto.

By this it appears how difficult it is, if possible, for any order or constitution amongst men to be so warily stated but some will be found nibbling thereat, and pretend matter of reason and moment to object against it, and when all is done are forced to sit down with silence and submission, which they might have done before, without troubling themselves or others.

It is well known, by the experience of all places and people, that some are necessarily called to preside and take the charge and oversight of the whole series of affairs distinct from their office, that are to intend matters of judicature. According to the diversity of gifts mankind is furnished withal, many are found to excel in the faculties of some particular science and profession that are not of like ability, in point of prudence, to counsel and advise in managing the general affairs of a people or place. And it will be equally hard to find a competent number of any order to have the same degrees of wisdom and prudence; in case therefore that any notable difference do appear, what inconvenience will be found in advancing some of the same order to an higher degree both of honour and trust. David of old had among his captains and worthies some that were advanced above the rest; and some also that were not advanced among the first three, were notwithstanding placed in an order above the rest of the thirty. And in the Persian monarchy, we read of three that were set over the rest of the governours of the whole number of the provinces.

But this business of the book against the standing council was no sooner ended, but another controversy was revived about the negative vote, upon occasion of the forementioned controversy, which at this time, in the year 1643, was by the restless importunity of some, that

liked to labour in the fire, called over again; and this caused the same question to be moved afresh, about the magistrates' negative vote in the general court. The deputies were very earnest to have it taken away. Whereupon one of the magistrates wrote a small treatise, wherein he laid down the original of it from the patent, and the establishing of it by order of the general court, in the year 1634; shewing thereby how it was fundamental to the government, which if it were taken away would be a mere democracy. He shewed also the necessity and usefulness of it, from scripture, reason, and common practice, &c. Yet this would not satisfy, but the deputies were earnest to have it taken away; and yet it was apparent, (as some of the deputies themselves confessed,) the most did not understand it. But where men's affections are once engaged upon any design, whether reason persuade to it or not, it is usually with great earnestness pressed on. Those that were at this time inclined that way were much strengthened in their purpose by a discourse that fell into their hands, (drawn up by one of the magistrates, as was conceived;) supposing they had now enough clearly to carry the cause, and avoid the danger of all arguments and reasons laid down in the former treatise, and therefore pressed earnestly to have the matter presently determined. But the magistrates told them the matter was of great concernment, even to the very frame of their government, and that it had been established upon serious consultation and consent of all the ministers, and had been continued without any apparent mischief and inconvenience now these fourteen years; therefore it would not be safe nor convenient to alter on such a sudden, and without the advice of the ministers of the country, offering withal that if upon such advice and consideration it should appear to be inconvenient, and not warranted by the patent and by the said order, &c. they should be ready to join with them in the taking it away. Upon these propositions their heat was moderated, and an order drawn up that every member of the court should take advice; and

that it should be no offence for any either publickly or privately with modesty to declare their opinion in the case ; and that the ministers should be desired to give their advice, before the next meeting of the court. It was the magistrates' only care to gain this, that so the people's minds might be the more easily quieted ; for they knew the ministers would hear reason, and that so there might be liberty to reply to the said answer of one of the magistrates, (very long and tedious, but not with that strength of reason, as was by some apprehended,) which accordingly was done soon after the court, and published to good satisfaction. One of the ministers also wrote a small treatise, wherein he both scholastically and religiously handled the question, laying down the several forms of government, both simple and mixed, and the true form of the Massachusetts government, and the unavoidable change of the government into a democracy, if the negative vote were taken away.

Thus the deputies, and the people also, having the heat of their spirits allayed by time, and their judgments better informed by what they had learned about it, let the cause fall, and the gentleman who had written the answer to the first defence, &c. appeared no further in it for that time ; and it was conceived that there would have been a final end put to that controversy by an order made in the next court, March 25, 1644, when there was a motion of the deputies that the court should sit apart in their consultations, the magistrates by themselves, and the deputies by themselves, and what the one agreed upon they should send to the other, and if both agreed then to pass, &c. But the controversy could not be so easily determined, so it was laid aside for that time ; but afterward it was agreed that in case the major part of the deputies, and also of the magistrates, did not unite in the same conclusion, in any matter of judicature, that then the whole court being met together, the vote of the major part should put an issue to the case ; which establishment continued for a long time after.

But at the next court of election there arose a ques-

tion of another nature, about the extent of the standing council; whether all the magistrates were not by the patent to be reputed of the council of the country.

Those of the county of Essex, having at the former court procured that the deputies of their shires should meet before the court, to prepare business, they did accordingly, and propounded divers things, which they agitated and consulted among themselves, without communicating of them to the other shires, (who conceived they had been only such things as concerned the good of the whole,) but when they came to be put to the court, it appeared that their chief intent was only to advantage their own shire; as by drawing the government courts and a good part of the country's stock thither, because the present governour, Mr. Endicot, lived there. Endeavours were also used for procuring four, of those parts, to be joined in commission with the magistrates; and for this end they had made so strong a party among the deputies of the smaller towns, (being most of them of mean estate, and that had small understanding in matters of state,) as they easily carried all those things among the deputies; but when the bills came to the magistrates, they discerned the plot, and that the things were hurtful to the common good, and therefore refused to pass them; and a committee of both parts of the court being appointed, to consider of the reasons on both sides, those of the magistrates prevailed. Another motion was then made for having three of the deputies joined in commission with seven of the magistrates, to order all the affairs of the country, in the vacancy of the general court. The magistrates returned this answer thereunto, that such a commission tended to the overthrow of the foundation of the government, and of the freemen's liberty, and therefore desired the deputies to consider of a way how this danger might be avoided, and the liberty of the freemen preserved inviolable; else they could not comfortably proceed in other affairs. Upon this all the deputies came to confer with the magistrates, who then declared their exceptions against the said proposal. 1. That

this court should create general officers, which the freemen had referred to the court of election. 2. That they should put out all the rest of the magistrates, besides the seven, from that power and trust which the freemen had committed to them. 3. That they ought not to accept that power, by commission from the general court, that belonged to them by the patent, and by their election. The deputies had very little to answer to this, yet they alleged a precedent or two, where the general court had ordered some of the magistrates, and some others, to be a council of war; and that having varied from the patent in some other things, they were not bound to it in this; but they chiefly stood upon this, that the governor and magistrates had no power out of court but what was given them by the general court. To which the magistrates replied, that such examples as were against rules, or common right, were errors, and no precedents, and that the said council was for one particular case only, and not of general extent; and that those things wherein they had varied from the patent did not touch the foundation of the government; and lastly, that the governor and assistants had power of government before they had any written laws or had kept any court; and to make a man a governor over a people gives him (by consequence) power to govern the people, otherwise there were no power to order or punish in any case that there were no positive law declared in. It was at last consented to, that the present court had authority to order and direct the power of these magistrates for time, place, persons, &c. for the common good, but not wholly to deprive them of it, their office continuing; so as these being chosen by the people, according to patent, to govern the people, (a chief part whereof consists in counsel,) they are the standing council of the country; and in the vacancy of the general court may act in all the affairs thereof, without any commission. Upon this the deputies withdrew, and after a few hours tendered a commission for war only, and none of the magistrates to be left out. But the magistrates refused to accept of any com-

mission ; but they would consent the same should pass by order, so as the free power of the magistrates were declared in it, or to a commission of association, to add three or nine to the magistrates, or to advise with the ministers, &c. But this not being admitted, they moved that the magistrates would consent that nothing might be done till the court met again, (which was before adjourned to October.) To this was answered, that if occasion required, they must act, according to the power and trust committed to them. To which their speaker (daringly enough) replied, you will not be obeyed. Two days after, the present court was broke up, before any thing more was done about the premises ; but upon some intervening occurrents, about the Indians, it was called to meet again the next month ; at which time a debate fell in concerning a commission to be prepared for the major general. It was agreed upon and sealed ; and in it he was referred to receive his instructions from the council of the country ; but who were this council was not agreed. Whereupon the magistrates (all save two) signed a declaration in maintenance of their authority, and to clear aspersions cast upon them, as if they intended to bring in an arbitrary government, &c. And this they sent in first to the deputies, with intimation that they intended to publish it. The deputies sent to desire the publishing of it might be forborne, and that a committee might be chosen to state the difference between them, which was done, and the difference brought under this question :

Whether the magistrates are by patent and election of the people the standing council of the country, in the vacancy of the general court, and have power accordingly to act in all things subject unto government, according to the rules of the said patent, and laws of the jurisdiction ; and when any necessary occasions call for action from authority, in cases wherein there is no particular express law provided, there to be guided by the word of God, till the general court give particular rules in such cases ?

This difference being thus stated, the deputies drew up this order following, and sent it to the magistrates : Whereas, there is a difference between the governour and assistants, and the deputies of this court, concerning the power of the magistrates, in the vacancy of the general court ; we thereupon, (*salvo jure*,) for the peace and safety of the colony, do consent that the governour and assistants shall take order for the welfare of the people, in all sudden cases which may happen within the jurisdiction, until the next session of this court, when we desire this question may be determined.

This they accepted, (with the *salvo jure*,) but they refused another, which they had sent before in these words : We do authorize those three, which are of the standing council, to proceed, &c.

Upon this agreement they consented that their declaration should remain with the secretary, and not to be published without the consent of the major part of the magistrates, which they intended not to do, except they were necessitated thereunto, by the deputies' misreport of their proceedings ; and indeed some of the magistrates did decline the publication thereof, upon this apprehension, that it would cause a publick breach through the country ; and if it should come to that, the people would fall into factions, and the non members would certainly take part with the magistrates, (they should not be able to avoid that,) and it would make them and their cause, though never so just, obnoxious to the common sort of freemen, the issue whereof must needs be very doubtful.

In the end of October following, the general court assembled again, and all the ministers were sent for to reconcile the difference between the magistrates and the deputies ; and when they were come, they put the question to them, as it was stated the last session. After they had received the question they withdrew for consultation about it, and the next day were ready to attend the court with their answer. The deputies sent four of their number as a committee to hear their answer, which was af-

firmative on the magistrates' behalf, in the very words of the question, not one dissenting.

Upon the return of this answer the deputies prepared other questions to be propounded likewise to the ministers, and sent them first to the magistrates to take a view of them. The magistrates also prepared four questions, and sent them to the deputies.

The magistrates' questions, with the ministers' answer, were,

1. Whether the deputies in the general court have judicial and magistratical authority?

2. Whether the general court, consisting of magistrates and deputies, as a general court, have judicial and magistratical authority?

3. Whether they may warrantably prescribe certain penalties to offences, which may probably admit variable degrees of guilt?

4. Whether a judge be bound to pronounce such sentence as a positive law prescribes, in case it be apparently above or beneath the merit of the offence?

The ministers' answer.

1. The patent in express words giveth full power and authority, as to the governour and assistants, so to the freemen also assembled in general court.

2. Whereas there is a threefold power of magistratical authority, viz. legislative, judicial, and consultative or directive of the publick affairs of the country, for provision and protection, &c. The first of these is expressly given to the freemen, jointly with the governour and assistants. The third is also granted by the patent as the other. But for the second, the power of judicature, if we speak of the constant and usual administration thereof, we do not find that it is granted to the freemen or deputies in the general court, either by the patent or the election of the people, or by any law of the country; but if we speak of the occasional administration thereof, we find power of judicature administrable by the freemen, jointly with the governour and assistants, upon a double occasion, 1. In case of defect or delinquency of

a magistrate, the whole court (consisting of magistrates and deputies) may remove him. 2. If by the law of the country there lie any appeal to the general court, or any special cause be referred to their judgment, it will necessarily infer that in such cases, by such laws, the freemen, jointly with the governour and assistants, have power of judicature, touching the appellant's cause of appeal; and for those reserved cases, what is spoken of the power of freemen by patent, the same may be said of the deputies, so far forth as the power of the freemen is delegated to them by order of law.

3, 4. As to the third and fourth questions, they answer :

1. Certain penalties may and ought to be prescribed to capital crimes, although they may admit variable degrees of guilt; as in case of prepensed malice and sudden provocation there is prescribed the same punishment of death in both, though murder upon prepensed malice be of far greater guilt than upon sudden provocation. Numb. xxxv. 16—18, with 20, 21. Also in crimes of less guilt, as theft; though some theft may be of greater guilt than other, (as for some man to steal who hath less need is of greater guilt than for another who hath more need,) the Lord prescribed the same measure of restitution to both.

2. In case that variable circumstances of an offence do so much vary the degrees of guilt, as that the offence is raised to an higher nature, there that must be varied to an higher answerable proportion. The striking of a neighbour may be punished with some pecuniary mulct, when the striking of a father may be punished with death; so any sin committed with an high hand, as the gathering of sticks on the Sabbath day, may be punished with death, when a lesser punishment may serve for gathering sticks privately and in some need.

3. In case circumstances do so vary a sin, as that many sins are complicated and wrapped up in it, the penalty is to be varied, according to the penalties of those various sins. A single lie may be punished with a less mulct

than that which is told before the judgment seat, or elsewhere to the damage of any person, whether in his good name, by slander, or in his estate, by detriment in his commerce; in which case a lie, aggravated by such circumstances, is to be punished with respect both to a lie, and to a slander, and to the detriment another sustaineth thereby.

4. In case the circumstances which vary the degrees of guilt concern only the person of the offender, as whether it be the first offence or customary, or whether he were enticed thereto or whether he were the enticer, whether he were the principal or the accessory, whether he were unadvised or witting and willing, &c. there it were meet the penalty should be expressed, (supposed five shillings or, as the case may be, five stripes,) and the highest degree twenty shillings or twenty stripes, more or less; within which compass, or latitude, it may be free to a magistrate to aggravate or mitigate the penalty, &c. yet even here also care would be taken that a magistrate attend in his sentence, as much as may be, to a certain rule in these circumstances; lest some persons, whose sins be alike circumstanced with others, if their punishments be not equal, may think themselves more unequally dealt withal than others.

5. In those cases wherein the judge is persuaded in conscience that a crime deserveth a greater punishment than the law inflicteth, he may lawfully pronounce sentence according to the prescript penalty, &c. because he hath no power committed to him by law to go higher; but where the law may seem, to the conscience of the judge, to inflict a greater penalty than the offence deserveth, it is his part to suspend his sentence, till by conference with the lawgivers he find liberty either to inflict the sentence or to mitigate it.

6. The penalties of great crimes may sometimes be mitigated, by such as are in chief power, out of respect to the publick good service, which the delinquent hath done to the state in former times, as Solomon did to Abiathar, 1 Kings ii. 26, 27.

Questions propounded to the ministers by the deputies.

Quest. 1. Whether the governour and assistants have any power by patent to dispense justice, in the vacancy of the general court, without some law or order of the same to declare the rule?

Ans. They answer negatively; and further they caution it meet the rule should be express for the regulating all particulars, as far as may be, and where such cannot be had, to be supplied by general rules.

Quest. 2. Whether any general court hath not power by patent, in particular cases, to choose any commissioners, (either assistants or freemen,) exempting all others, and to give them commission to set forth their power and places? By any 'particular case' they mean in all things, and in the choice of all officers, that the country stands in need of, between election and election; not taking away the people's liberty in elections, nor turning out any officer so elected by them, without shewing any cause.

Ans. 1. If the terms 'all things' imply or intend all cases of constant judicature and counsel, we answer negatively, &c. because then it would follow that the magistrates might be excluded from all cases of constant judicature and counsel, which is their proper and principal work, whereby also the end of the people's election would be frustrated.

2. But if these terms 'all things' imply or intend cases (whether occasional or others) belonging neither to constant judicature nor counsel, we answer affirmatively, &c. which yet we understand with this distinction, viz. that if the affairs, committed to such officers and commissioners, be of general concernment, we conceive the freemen, according to patent, are to choose them, the general court to set forth their powers and places. Whereas we give cases of constant judicature and counsel to the magistrates we thus interpret the word 'counsel.' Counsel consists of care and action. In respect of care the magistrates are not limited. In respect of action they are to be limited by the general court, or by the supreme council.

Finally, it is our humble request that in case any difference grow in the general court, between magistrates and deputies, either in these or any other cases, which cannot presently be issued with mutual peace, that both parties will please to defer the same to further deliberation, for the honour of God and of the court.

Upon other propositions, made by the deputies, the ministers gave this further answer, viz.

That the general court, consisting of magistrates and deputies, is the chief civil power of this country, and may act in all things belonging to such a power, both concerning counsel, and in consulting about the weighty affairs of the country, and concerning making of laws, and concerning judicature, in orderly impeaching and sentencing any officers, even the highest, according to law; likewise in receiving appeals, whether touching civil or criminal cases, wherein appeals are or shall be allowed by the general court, (provided that all such appeals proceed orderly from inferiour courts to the court of assistants, and from thence to the general court, or if the case there first depending in the court of assistants then to proceed from thence to the general court,) in all such cases as are appealable: [“as in cases evidently against law, or in cases wherein the subject is sentenced to banishment, or loss of limb, or life, without any express law, or in cases weighty and difficult, (not admitting small matters, the pursuit whereof would be more burdensome to the court and country than behoofful to the appellant, nor needlessly interrupting the ordinary course of justice, in the court of assistants, or other inferiour courts;) provided, also, that if it do appear that the appeal proceed not out of regard of right, but from delay of justice, and out of contention, that a due and just punishment be by law ordained and inflicted on such appellant;”] that no magistrate have power to vary from the penalty of any law, &c. without consulting with the general court.

Quest. 3. Whether the titles of governour, deputy, and assistants do necessarily imply magistratical authority in the patent?

Ans. The ministers' answer was affirmative.

Quest. 4. Whether the magistrates' power be not given by the patent to the people, or general court, and by them to the governour and assistants?

Ans. The magistrates' power is given to the governour, &c. by the patent; to the people is given, by the same patent, to design the persons to those places of government; and to the general court power is given to make laws, as the rules of their administration.

These resolutions of the ministers were after put to vote, and were all allowed to be received, except the last clause, in answer to the second question.

Most of the deputies were now well satisfied concerning the authority of the magistrates, &c. but some few leading men (who had drawn on the rest) were still fixed upon their own opinions; so hard it is to draw men (though wise and godly) from the love of the fruit of their own inventions.

Mr. Winthrop, at this time deputy governour, having formerly, and from time to time, opposed the deputies' claim of judicial authority, and the prescribing of set penalties in cases which may admit variable degrees of guilt, occasioned some to suspect that he, and some other of the magistrates, did affect an arbitrary government. He now wrote a small treatise of that point, shewing what arbitrary government was, and that the government (in the state it now stood) was not arbitrary, neither in the ground and foundation of it, nor in the exercise and administration thereof, which tended much to the satisfaction of them that desired distinctly to understand the nature of these things.

CHAP. XLVII.

Troubles occasioned to the Massachusetts inhabitants by one Samuel Gorton, and his company, all of them notorious familists.

Two Indian sachems having submitted themselves to the government of the Massachusetts, for fear of the

Narragansets, their more potent neighbours, and that they might be protected from the injuries of some vagabond English, (as they are called in Sir Ferdinando Gorges' History of New England, page 38,) were after that submission of theirs many ways molested by the said English, which occasioned much trouble to themselves, as well as to the Massachusetts, and the other English plantations round about them. This disturbance happened in the year 1643. The evil consequences of which continued some years, and occasioned as well the death of Miantonimo, the great sachem of the Narragansets, as the ruin of their own estates.

The ringleader of those English at Providence was one Samuel Gorton, (as saith Mr. Cotton, in the Bloody Tenet Washed, page 5 and 6,) a citizen of London, a man of an haughty spirit, and very heretical principles, a prodigious minter of exorbitant novelties, even the very dregs of familism. He arrived first at Boston, in the year 1636, and continued a while there, till a reverend minister of London (Mr. Walker) sent over directions to some friends to demand an hundred pound debt of him, which he having borrowed of a citizen, the citizen bequeathed it to some good use, whereof Mr. Walker was called to some trust. But when Gorton departed out of this jurisdiction to Plymouth, and there beginning to spread some of his opinions, to the disturbance of the church, and fearing disturbance to himself, and because he could not procure sufficient bail for his good abearing in the place, he came to Rhode Island, and there, raising some seditious opposition against the magistrates, he met with publick correction. From thence therefore he went to Providence, the place where Mr. Roger Williams and his friends had sat down, and there abusing the poor Indians by taking away their lands, and some English there that had submitted to the Massachusetts, they complained to the Massachusetts, (to whom they had submitted themselves,) of that and other injuries, which they had suffered. The court of the Massachusetts sent over to Gorton and his company to come down, and

shew what right they had to those lands, which they had taken from those Indians, their subjects. But Gorton and his company, instead of coming or sending any to clear their right, sent two books, written by some of themselves, full of vile heresies and malignant blasphemies, against Christ, and against his churches, his ministers, ordinances, and magistrates; yet withal offered, that if they would send their agents over unto them they would clear their right to the lands, which they took from the Indians. The court therefore sent over some with commission to treat with them, and because Gorton had threatened the former messengers with the offer of some violence, they sent as many armed men with these as might secure their agents from injury; and in case they refused to shew the right and equity of their cause, then to bring some of the principal of them by strong hand to clear it here. When hither they were come, Gorton desired to speak his mind freely, which being granted he held it forth, as the mind of himself and his company, that Christ was incarnate when Adam was made after God's image, for God had but one image, and that image was Christ, and this making of Adam in that image was the exinanition of Christ. But when it was objected, that that exinanition of Christ was unto life in Adam, but Christ was to suffer exinanition unto death, he answered, that Christ died when the image of God died; and the image of God died in Adam's fall. But when it was further objected, that Christ's death was the purchase and price of our redemption, but the fall of Adam was not the price of our redemption, but the cause of our condemnation, he stopped, having nothing to reply, and yet would not revoke his hellish blasphemy. This being all the satisfaction was like to be had of this Gorton and his companions, after all their insolencies and injuries, they were detained for a time about Boston, at several towns, whither they were sent, and where they had more civil entertainment than they deserved, all the time of their continuance there; yet were very forward in any publick assembly, where they came, to be venting of

their familistical notions. But after some months detainment, authority finding no way to imprint any good instruction upon their minds, they were dismissed to their own homes, as is declared afterwards, where they always continued secret and malicious enemies to the United Colonies, like Hadad, the Edomite, that abhorred Israel to the last, which enmity of theirs principally appeared in their encouraging the Narragansets to rise in rebellion against them.

The ground of the quarrel between Gorton's company and the two sachems, that had submitted to the Massachusetts, was briefly this: Saconoroco and Pumham, two sachems near Providence, having under them two or three hundred men, finding themselves overborne by Miantonimo, the sachem of Narraganset, and Gorton with his company having so far prevailed with Miantonimo as he forced one of them to join with him in setting his hand or mark to a writing, whereby a part of his land was sold to them, for which Miantonimo received, but the other sachem would not receive that which was for his part, alleging that he did not intend to sell his land, though, for fear of Miantonimo, he had put his mark to the writing, thereupon those two sachems came to the governour of the Massachusetts, and by Benedict Arnold, their interpreter, did desire they would receive them under their government, and withal brought a small present of wampam, about ten fathom. The governour gave them encouragement, but referred them to the court, and received their present, intending to return it to them again, if the court should not accord to them. The governour acquainted another of the magistrates with this matter, and both agreed to write to Gorton and his company, to let them know what the sachems had complained of, and how they had tendered themselves to come under their jurisdiction, and therefore if they had any thing to allege against it, they should come or send to their next court, &c. They sent also to Miantonimo to signify the same to him. Whereupon, in the beginning of the court, Miantonimo came to Boston, and being de-

manded in open court, before divers of his own men, and Cutshamakin, a sachem near Boston, with other Indians, whether he had any interest in the other two sachems, as his subjects, he could not prove any ; and Cutshamakin also, in his presence, affirmed that he had no interest in them, but that they were as free sachems as himself, only, because that he was a great sachem, they had sometimes sent him some presents and aided him in his wars against the Pequots ; and Benedict Arnold, the interpreter, partly upon his own knowledge, and partly upon the relation of divers Indians of those parts, told them the Indians did usually pay their deer skins to those two sachems, and not to Miantonimo, (which deer skins are a tribute usually paid to their chief sachem,) which Miantonimo could not contradict. Whereupon it was referred to the governour and some other magistrates and deputies to send for the two sachems after the court, and to treat with them about their receiving them into their jurisdiction. But before this, Gorton and his company, instead of coming to the court at Boston, sent a writing of four sheets of paper, full of reproaches against the magistrates, ministers, and churches, and stuffed likewise with absurd familistical stuff, and wherein they justified the purchase of the sachems' lands, and professed to maintain it to the death. They sent word to them afterward, as Benedict Arnold reported to them, that if they sent any men against them they were ready to meet them, being assured of victory from God, &c. Whereupon the court sent two deputies to them, to know whether they would own that writing, which was subscribed by them all, being about twelve in number. Upon conference they did own the said writing, and justified it.

The governour also sending for the two sachems, after the court, they both of them came to Boston, at the time appointed ; and a form of submission being drawn up, (which by Benedict Arnold, their neighbour and interpreter, who spake their language very readily, they

were made to understand particularly,) they signed it openly, which was as followeth :

“This writing is to testify that we, Pumham, sachem of Showamock, and Saconoroco, sachem of Patuxet, have, and by these presents do, voluntarily, and without any constraint or persuasion, but of our own free motion, put ourselves, our subjects, lands, and estates under the government and jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, to be governed and protected by them, according to their just laws and orders, so far as we shall be made capable of understanding them ; and we do promise for ourselves, and our subjects, and all our posterity, to be true and faithful to the said government, and aiding to the maintenance thereof, to our best ability, and from time to time to give speedy notice of any conspiracies, attempt, or evil intention of any, which we shall know or hear of, against the same ; and we do promise to be willing from time to time to be instructed in the knowledge and worship of God.” And in witness hereof they set their marks, in the presence of the ministers and many others. And being told by the court that they did not receive them as confederates but as subjects, they answered, they were so little in respect of them that they could expect no other.

These two sachems and their subjects being thus received under their jurisdiction, they counted themselves in justice bound not to suffer them to be abused, as they complained they were, as did some of the English likewise about Patuxet, that had submitted themselves before this time to the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts ; which was the ground of their sending to fetch Gorton and his company by force, to give an account of their injurious proceedings aforesaid. And when they were come, and not being able to allege any thing rational for their defence, seven of them were sentenced to be dispersed into so many several towns, and there kept to work for their living, and to wear irons upon one leg, and not to depart the limits of the towns, nor by word or writing maintain any of their blasphemous and wicked errors, upon pain of death. This sentence to continue

during the pleasure of the court. There were three more taken with them in the house, but because they had not their hands to the letters, they were dismissed; two of them upon a small ransom, (as captives taken in war,) and the third freely, for that he was but in his master's house, &c. A fourth, being found to be an ignorant young man, was only enjoined to abide in Watertown, upon pain of the court's displeasure. About a week after this sentence was past on them, they sent men to take away so many of their cattle as might defray their charges, both of the soldiers and the court. Many days being spent about them, the whole of the charges, taking in their maintenance in prison, was adjudged to amount to one hundred and sixty pounds. Besides these, there were three who escaped out of the house, where they were taken; these being sent for to come in, two of them did so; and one of them, because his hand also was not to the letter, was freely discharged; the other was sent home, upon his own bond to appear at the next court, only some of his cattle were taken likewise towards the charges. There was a fourth who had his hand to Gorton's first letter, but he died before their soldiers went. They were detained under the sentence aforesaid, but finding that they could not keep them from seducing others, nor yet bring them to any sight of their folly and wickedness, the general court, in March, 1643, sent them away with this caution, that they should not come into any place where the said court had jurisdiction, upon pain of death.

In the beginning of the year 1643 Cutshamakin and Masconomo, sachems about Boston and Ipswich, were received under the protection of the Massachusetts, with many other Indians, upon the same terms that Pumham and Saconoroco were, being first made to understand the articles of agreement, and the ten commandments, which they solemnly promised to observe, which gave some ground of encouragement to hope that the time was at hand that these heathens should embrace the christian faith; but their progress that way was not of

long continuance, like them that followed Christ for loaves. The sachems also about Watchusets, being encouraged by the kindness shewed to Pumham, offered to submit to their government; but it was thought to proceed more from fear of some other enemies than any love to the Christian religion. But it seemed that as yet was not come the day of Christ's power, for then his people shall be willing.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Ecclesiastical affairs in New England from the year 1641 to 1646.

IN the year 1641 one Mr. Blinman, a minister in Wales, came over into New England, with some friends of his, and being invited to Green's Harbour, near Plymouth, they removed thither, and seated themselves amongst the old planters; but after a little time they agreed no better than the piece of new cloth in the old garment, making a rent so bad that it could never be made up again; so they were advised to part, and Mr. Blinman came with his company and sat down at Cape Ann, which at a general court, in the same year, was established to be a plantation, and called Gloucester.

In the latter end of the same year, some of the inhabitants of Charlestown having settled a village within the bounds of their town, called it Woburn. They gathered a church there, and on the 22d of November, 1642, Mr. Carter was ordained pastor thereof. There was some little difference about the manner of his ordination; for in regard they had no other officer in their church besides, nor any of their members that thought themselves fit to solemnize such an ordinance, they were advised by some to desire the elders of other churches to perform it, by imposing hands on the said Mr. Carter; but others, supposing it might be an occasion of introducing the dependency of churches, &c. and so of a presbytery, were not so free to admit thereof, and therefore it was performed by one of their own members, though not so

well to the satisfaction of some of the magistrates and ministers then present; and since that time it hath been more frequent in such cases to desire the elders of neighbouring churches, by virtue of communion of churches, to ordain such as are by the churches and people chosen to be their officers, where there are no elders before.

In the year 1644 there was a town erected at Nantasket; and at this time there being near twenty houses built, and having obtained a minister, it was by the general court named Hull.

In the year 1642, there being an assembly of divines called by the parliament to sit at Westminster, to consider and advise about church government, divers lords of the upper house, and some members of the house of commons, with some ministers, who stood for the independency of churches, sent letters into New England, to Mr. Cotton of Boston, Mr. Hooker of Hartford, and Mr. Davenport of New Haven, to call them, or some of them, (if all could not,) to assist in the said synod.

Upon this some of the magistrates and ministers as were at hand met together, and were most of them of opinion that it was a call of God, yet took respite of concluding till they might hear from Connecticut and New Haven. Upon the return of the messenger that was sent to those towns it appeared that Mr. Hooker liked not the business, nor thought it any sufficient call for them to go a thousand leagues to confer with a few persons that differed from the rest in matter of church government. Mr. Davenport thought otherwise of it; but the brethren of his church having set time apart to understand the mind of God in the case, came to this conclusion, that in regard they had but one officer, they could not see their way clear to spare him for so long a time as such a journey required.

Mr. Cotton apprehended strongly a call of God in it, and was inclinable to have undertaken a journey, (notwithstanding his natural averseness to a sea voyage,) if others had attended the same; but soon after, upon the receipt of other letters, the difficulty came to an end.

In the same year one Mr. Bennet, a gentleman of Virginia, arrived at Boston, bringing letters with him from sundry well disposed people there, to the ministers of New England, bewailing their sad condition for want of the means of salvation, and earnestly entreating a supply of faithful ministers, whom upon experience of their gifts and godliness they might call to office. Upon these letters, (which were openly read at Boston, on a lecture day,) the ministers there met, agreed to set a day apart to seek God in the thing, and agreed upon three, which might most easily be spared, viz. Mr. Phillips of Watertown, Mr. Thompson of Braintree, and Mr. Miller of Rowley, (these churches having each of them two ministers,) which the general court approved of, and ordered that the governour should commend them, by his letters, to the governour and council of Virginia. But Mr. Phillips not being willing to go, Mr. Knowles, his fellow labourer, and Mr. Thompson were sent away, with the consent of their churches, and departed on their way, on the 7th of October, 1642, to meet the vessel that should transport them at Narraganset; but Mr. Miller, because of his bodily weakness, did not accept the call. Both the churches were willing to dismiss their ministers to that work, and the court likewise did allow and further it, for the advancement of the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, not fearing to part with such desirable persons, because they looked at it as seed sown, that might bring in a plentiful harvest. They did also account it as an honour, which God put upon his churches there, that other parts of the world should send to them for help in that kind; for about the same time letters were brought to them from Barbadoes, and other islands in those parts, entreating a supply also of ministers.

They that were sent to Virginia were long wind bound at Rhode Island, and met with many other difficulties, so as they made it eleven weeks of a dangerous passage before they arrived there, but had this advantage in the way, that they took a third minister along with them, viz. Mr. James, (formerly the pastor of the church at

Charlestown,) from New Haven. They found loving and liberal entertainment in the country, and were bestowed in several places, by the care of some honest minded persons, that much desired their company, rather than by any care of the governours. And though the difficulties and dangers they were continually exercised with in their way thither put them upon some question, whether their call were of God or not, yet were they much encouraged by the success of their ministry, through the blessing of God, in that place. Mr. Thompson, a man of a melancholy temper and crazy body, wrote word back to his friends that he found his health so repaired, and his spirit so enlarged, that he had not been in the like condition since he first left England. But it fared with them, as it had done before with the apostles in the primitive times, that the people magnified them, and their hearts seemed to be much inflamed with an earnest desire after the gospel, though the civil rulers of the country did not allow of their publick preaching, because they did not conform to the orders of the church of England; however the people resorted to them, in private houses, as much as before. At their return, (which was the next summer,) by the letters they brought with them, it appears that God had greatly blessed their ministry, for the time while they were there, which was not long; for the rulers of the country did in a sense drive them out, having made an order that all such as would not conform to the discipline of the English church should depart the country by such a day, which a sad massacre of the English (by the Indians, that had conspired against them) intervening had prevented.

For a ship coming from Virginia the 3d of May, 1644, certified of a great slaughter made upon the English, by the natives there, whereby three hundred, at the least, were suddenly cut off. An Indian taken amongst them had confessed that all the Indians for six hundred miles were confederate together to root all strangers out of the country. It was very observable that the massacre came upon them soon after they had driven away the ministers

sent from New England. A great mortality also did accompany the said massacre, so as divers sober persons removed from thence, and many of the rest were forced to give glory unto God, in acknowledging that this evil was sent upon them for rejecting the gospel, and those faithful ministers of Christ that were sent amongst them.

About this time some difference happened in New England about the way of raising the maintenance of the ministers, in regard that many churches (through the defect of money and other considerations) proceeded therein rather by way of taxation than by contribution. This new way of easement was offensive to some in the country, who, it seems, could love none but *εὐαγγέλιον ἀδαπανον*. Amongst others it was very grievous to one Briscoe, a tanner of Watertown, (not of the temper of that tanner that entertained the apostle Peter;) for this man published a book underhand against the way of maintenance, (wherein himself and those that were no members were taxed to maintain the ministers of the place they belonged unto,) fuller of teeth to bite, and reproach the ministers of the country, than arguments to convince the readers. He was convened before the court to answer for his reproachful speeches, which he was forced publickly to acknowledge his error in; but for his arguments they were not worth the answering; for he that shall deny the exerting of the civil power to provide for the comfortable subsistence of them that preach the gospel, *fuste potius erudiendus quam argumento*, as they say of them that are wont *negare principia*, if it be the duty of magistrates to provide that the gospel is to be preached in their territories, it is doubtless a duty incumbent on the same power to provide that they may live thereby. Let him that is taught communicate to him that teacheth, in all good things, saith the apostle. As for the *quota pars* it cannot be less, (whether *decima*, or *duodecima*, or *vicessima*,) than that he may live thereon.

About this time contentions in Hampton were grown to a very great height; the whole town being divided into two factions, one with Mr. Batchelour, the late pas-

tor, the other with Mr. Dalton, the teacher of the church. They were managed with a great deal more passion on both sides, as some said, than reason, or discretion, which made it long before they were composed.

At a general court, March, 1645, two petitions were preferred, one for suspending (if not abolishing) a law made against Anabaptists, the former year, the other was for easing a law of like nature, made in Mrs. Hutchinson's time, forbidding the entertaining of any strangers, without license of two magistrates, which was not easily obtained in those days. Austin long since complained that the church in his time was overburdened with too many canons, and ceremonious impositions. Many christian states have as much reason to complain of too many laws, (unless they were better observed,) especially such as are made to obviate a particular evil, which oftentimes proves no small disadvantage to the general good.

It was always the apprehension of the wisest rulers in New England that it had been better for the country to have left more liberty in the hands of the magistrates, and not to have tied them up so strictly to the observation of particular laws, that many times are very prejudicial to honest men, which cannot well be helped, against laws, whilst they are in force. Some at this time were much afraid of the increase of Anabaptism, which, by a kind of antiperistasis, is observed the more to increase thereby; there being little observable in them, that make profession of that and other novel errors, but the glory of their suffering for something, that with this sort of people goes for truth.

This was the reason why the greater part prevailed for the strict observation of the foresaid laws, although peradventure, on some accounts, a little moderation, as to some particular cases, might have done very well, if not much better.

One Capt. Partridge arrived at Boston in October, 1645, who was observed in the ship, as he came, to have broached and zealously maintained several points of

familism and Antinomianism; for which he was called before the magistrates and charged with the said opinions, but he refused to give any answer. But before he departed he was willing to confer with Mr. Cotton, which accordingly he did, and Mr. Cotton reported to the magistrates that he found him corrupt in his judgment, but ignorant of those points which he had maintained, so as he perceived he had been but lately taken with them, and that upon argument he was come off from the most of them, and he had good hope to reclaim him wholly. But some of the magistrates requiring a present renouncing of all under his hand, he was unwilling to that before he were clearly convinced of his error in them. It was moved by some that he might have liberty to tarry till the spring, because of the near approach of the winter; but the greater number in the court overruled, and voted the contrary, so as he was forced to depart before winter, and so he removed to Rhode Island. This strictness was offensive to some, and approved by others; and surely where there is hope of reducing any from the error of his way, and from the snare of the Devil, the rule of love (besides that of hospitality to strangers) doth seem to require more moderation and indulgence toward human infirmity, where there appears not obstinacy against the clear truth.

This year twenty families (most of them of the church of Braintree) petitioned the court for liberty to begin a plantation where Gorton and his company had erected two or three houses at Showamet, some part of Pumham's land, but it was challenged by Mr. Brown of Plymouth, as belonging to their jurisdiction. This he did without any order from their court or council, (as they declared afterward,) but only out of respect to some private end of his own. It might have been of some advantage to the interest of the English on the frontiers of the Narraganset country; but oftentimes regard to particular profit proves prejudicial to the general good. For if there had been a plantation erected there, by those of Braintree, it might have been as a bulwark against the

corruption in faith and manners prevailing in that part of New England, about Providence ; but it is to be feared those parts of the country, like the miry places and marshes, spoken of in Ezek. xlvii. 11, are not as yet to be healed, but to be given to salt.

Many books coming out of England in the year 1645, some in defence of Anabaptism and other errors, and for liberty of conscience, as a shelter for a general toleration of all opinions, &c. others in maintenance of the Presbyterial government, (agreed upon by the assembly of divines at Westminster,) against the Congregational way, which was practised in New England, the ministers of the churches, through all the United Colonies, agreed upon a meeting at Cambridge, where they conferred their counsels, and examined the writings which some of them had prepared in answer to the said books, which, being agreed upon and perfected, were sent over into England to be printed, viz. Mr. Hooker's Survey in answer to Mr. Rutherford, Mr. Mather's, Mr. Allen's, and Mr. Shepard's discourses about the same subject ; though all did not undergo the same destiny, *habent enim sua fata libelli* ; for Mr. Hooker's book, which he had so elaborately penned, was lost in the New Haven ship, that perished about that time in the main ocean. The author did not long survive after it, nor could ever be persuaded to let another copy be sent over in his life time ; but after his death a copy was sent over, (whether so perfect an one as the original shall not now be discussed,) and was printed in the year 1648, which put such a stop to the Presbyterial career, for the present, that it brought that cause to a stand, till the antagonist there took a time to rally up his broken arguments for the defence of that cause, in something an angry, not to say hasty and disorderly posture, to make good the Presbyterial platform, as sometimes Shammah did, with more manly force, the field of the Lentiles. Those of that persuasion that began to muster together in New England, in the year 1643, were at the first sight easily routed by an assembly that met together on that account in the year 1643.

September 19, 1644, two churches were appointed to be gathered, the one at Haverhill, the other at Andover, (both upon Merrimack river.) They had given notice thereof to the magistrates and ministers of the neighbouring churches, as the manner is with them in New England. The meeting of the assembly was to be at that time at Rowley, (the forementioned plantations, being then but newly erected, were not capable to entertain them that were like to be gathered together on that occasion.) But when they were assembled, most of those who were to join together in church fellowship at that time refused to make the confession of their faith and repentance, because, as was said, they declared it openly before in other churches, upon their admission into them. Whereupon, the messengers of the churches not being satisfied, the assembly brake up, before they had accomplished what they intended. But in October, 1645, messengers of churches met together again on the same account, when such satisfaction was given, that Mr. John Ward was ordained pastor of the church of Haverhill, on the north side of the said Merrimack, and Mr. John Woodbridge was ordained pastor of the church of Andover, on the south side of the same.

On the 5th day of November following there was a church gathered at Reading, six miles to the west of Lynn, and Mr. Henry Green was ordained pastor thereof. Thus the people of New England having rest, their churches were multiplied and edified, walking in the fear of God and comfort of the Holy Ghost, as was said of old concerning the primitive times.

And at the general court in the year 1645 it was ordered, that divers farmers belonging to Ipswich and Salem, (but so far distant from either town that they could not duly repair to the publick worship there,) should erect a village, and have liberty to gather a church. This was much opposed by those of the town of Ipswich, pleading their interest in the land, &c. But it was answered, that when the land was granted to the towns it was not intended only for the benefit of the near inhabit-

ants, or for the maintenance of the officers of that one church only, but of all the inhabitants, and of any other church which should be there gathered; and a principal motive which led the court to grant them, and other towns, such vast bounds was, that (when the towns should be increased by their children and servants, &c.) they might have place to erect villages, where they might be planted, and so the land come to be improved to the more common benefit.

Many years after, that village was raised to a township, and called Topsfield, and a church being there gathered, Mr. Thomas Gilbert was the first pastor that was ordained there, which was many years after.

A troublesome business fell out the same year at Hingham, which was the cause of much disturbance, both to the town and church there, the occasion of which was this: The captain's place being void in that town, they chose one Eames (that had been the lieutenant, with good approbation, seven or eight years) into that office, and presented him to the standing council, in the year 1644, to be established therein; but before it was accomplished the greater part of the town took some light occasion of offence against him, and chose one Allen into the place, and presented him to the magistrates to be allowed; but the magistrates considering the injury that would thereby accrue to Eames, that had been the chief commander so many years, and had deserved well in his place, and that Allen had no other skill but what he had learned of Eames, refused to confirm him, but willed both sides to return home, and every officer to keep his place, until the court should take further order. Upon this the party that stood for Allen endeavoured, with a kind of violence, to bring him into the place, and upon a training day (appointed by themselves) did by vote choose him thereunto, and he accepted thereof, and exercised the company two or three days, as their captain, only about a third part of them followed Eames, their lieutenant. In the agitation of the business, when Allen was chosen to be captain, some had reported that authority had advised

Eames to lay down his place, but he denied it, and in some sort put the lie upon them that had so reported it; whereupon he was the next Lord's day called to answer it before the church, when he stood to maintain what he had said. Five witnesses were produced to convince him; some of them affirmed the words, the others explained their meaning to be, that one magistrate had so advised him; but he denied both. Upon which the pastor (Mr. Peter Hobart, brother to three principal persons in the faction) was very forward to have excommunicated the lieutenant presently; but upon some opposition it was put off to another day.

The pastor was reported to be of a Presbyterian spirit, and managed all affairs without advice of the brethren, which divers of the congregation not liking, they were divided into two parts; and the lieutenant having complained of the injury done him, to the magistrates, they would the more eagerly have cast him out, pretending he had told a lie. Afterwards some motion was made to the elders of other churches, (both by some of the magistrates and some of Eames his friends,) by whose intercession their proceedings were stayed awhile. But he, and about twelve more, perceiving the pastor was resolved to proceed to censure, and that there was no way of reconciliation, they withdrew from the church, and openly declared it in the congregation. This course was not approved of by the elders of the neighbour churches; and therefore, (during the adjournment of the court, where the case was depending,) upon the desire of the pastor, (fearing the case was likely to go against him and his party in the church,) the said elders were called to Hingham, who readily accepted the motion, and spent three or four days in hearing the case; but though they found the pastor and his party in great fault, yet could not bring them to any acknowledgment, and therefore were forced to return home, *re infecta*. At the last, the pastor, and the prevailing part of the church, proceeded to pass the sentence of excommunication on the lieutenant and two or three more. But upon further advice

with the elders of the other churches, it was concluded, that seeing neither *clavis litigans*, nor *errans, ligat*, those that were without just cause cast out at Hingham were received into the church of Weymouth, in the town next adjoining; and the matter so continued, through the stiffness of their minds, and their self willed resolution; by which it is to be feared that many who are called unto liberty use it for an occasion to the flesh, and forget that golden rule of our Saviour, and the precept of the apostle, by love to serve one another.

CHAP. XLIX.

Memorable accidents in New England from 1641 to 1646.

MARCH, 1641, one Swain, of Agamenticus, fell into despair, and being often heard to utter dreadful speeches against himself, and cry out that he was all on fire under the wrath of God, but would never discover any other heinous sin but that having gotten about forty pounds by his labour, &c. he went over into England and spent it in wicked company. After he had so continued awhile he hanged himself. One of his neighbours, J. Baker, a member of the church of Boston, having gone away from the church in a disorderly manner, and fallen into drunkenness, was so awakened by this sight, that of his own accord he returned to the church, and made open confession of his sin, and manifested repentance to the satisfaction of the church; yet not taking heed to himself, fell into gross distempers soon after, and at last died by the hand of justice, in London, upon a worse account.

In April, on a Lord's day, the same year, two children were left at home alone, in the town of Concord, one in the cradle; the other having burned a cloth, and for fear his mother should see it, went to hide it in the hay stack near the house, the fire not being quite out, whereby the hay, house, and child in the cradle were burnt up.

About the same time, a woman at Boston, counted religious, some time a citizen of London, having brought

with her a parcel of fine linen, of great value, which she set her heart too much upon, was at charge to have it washed, and curiously folded and pressed; but the very next night after, a negro maid, going late into the room where it stood, cast the snuff of her candle accidentally upon some of the linen, whereby it was all burnt to tinder before the morning, yet the house not burnt. It pleased God, by the loss of this, to take off her heart from all worldly comforts, and fit her for a greater affliction that soon after befell her, by the untimely death of her husband, slain at the isle of Providence, as was intimated before.

June 21, 1641, a young man at Boston, going to wash himself in a creek, said, jestingly, I will go and drown myself now, which fell out accordingly; for his feet sliding from under him, by the slipperiness of the earth, he fell in past his depth, and having no skill to swim was drowned, though company were at hand, and one in the water with him. It is bad jesting about matters of life and death.

About this time, three boys that had stole away from the Summer islands, above two hundred leagues off; in a skiff, and having been eight weeks at sea, their boat was cast away, upon a point of sand lying out at Long island, and the persons saved by the Indians.

In November, 1641, one Archibald Thompson, of Marblehead, carrying dung on the Lord's day to his land, in a canoe, it sunk down under him, in the harbour, the weather being fair, and he was never heard of again.

November 19, 1641, the Charles, of Dartmouth, a ship of 400 tons, lying in the harbour, was wrecked in a storm, being forced from her anchors. They had unrigged their ship on the Lord's day, to be new masted, though they were admonished not so to do.

This year, Mr. Stephen Batchelour, pastor of the church at Hampton, (having suffered much from the hands of the bishops, about the ceremonies,) when he was eighty years of age, was complained of for soliciting

the chastity of his neighbour's wife, though he had at that time a comely grave woman for his own wife. Being dealt withal for his offence, he denied it, (as he told the woman he would,) and complained to authority of the man and the woman, for slandering him ; yet was forced soon after, by the terrour of his conscience, to confess it openly in the church, and for the scandal of the same, notwithstanding his confession, he was cast out of the church, and two years after, upon his repentance, he was released of his sentence. In this time his house, and near all his substance, was consumed by fire.

January, 1641, a shallop, with eight men, would go from Pascataqua, (though advised to the contrary,) on the Lord's day, towards Pemaquid, but were by the northwest wind driven to sea, for fourteen days ; at the length they recovered Monhegin, and four of them in this time perished with the cold. The bay before Boston was that year frozen over, from the 18th of January to February 21, so as they passed over with horse and cart. About which time one Ward of Salem, an honest young man, going to shew a traveller the safest way over the ice, fell in himself, though he had a pitchfork in his hand, and was presently carried with the tide under the ice and drowned. The traveller, going to help him, fell in with one leg, and so escaped. He brought all the letters that used to come by the fishing ships in those times to Pascataqua, which by that means were kept safe.

One Turner of Charlestown, being fifty years of age, having led a loose and disordered life, his conscience being terrified by a sermon of Mr. Shepard's, he went and drowned himself on a Lord's day night, in a pit where there was not two feet water. He neither revealed the distress of his mind, nor carefully attended the ministry for comfort, by which he had been wounded.

About the same time, in the southern colony, a beast brought forth a creature in an human shape, which was observed to have a blemish in one eye, like as a loose fellow in the town had, on which account being suspected, he confessed, upon examination, and was executed.

April 14, 1642, eight or nine persons were cast away in a vessel and drowned; they were noted to be loose fellows, that lived by trucking with the Indians.

1642. One Huet's wife, of Hingham, having been long in a sad melancholy distemper, near to frenzy, and having formerly in the year 1637 attempted to drown her child, did now again take her child of three years old, and stripping it of its clothes, threw it into the creek, but it scrambling out of the water and mud, came to the mother, who took it another time and threw it so far into the creek, that it could not possibly get out, yet by good providence a young man that accidentally passed by took it up. The mother conceived she had sinned the sin against the Holy Ghost. She was afterwards proceeded with by church council, and by that means was brought off from those satanical delusions, and after the manifestations of repentance, was received into the church again, being brought to a sound mind.

June 8, 1642, one Nathaniel Briscoe, of Boston, counted sober and religious, yet carried out too much after the world, being asked over night to help his father in his necessity, (being poor, though very godly,) refused, but went early in the morning to help another man for wages, and was drowned before night out of a boat which he was loading with wood.

June 22, 1642, a windmill of Boston was smitten in a tempest of thunder and lightning. The upper sail yard shattered in many pieces, whereof some were carried a bowshot off. It struck into the mill, and wrung the axletree in pieces. The main standard, bound about with a great iron hoop, fastened with many spikes, was broken in pieces, the iron being thrown off; one one of the main spars riven to the ground in three pieces; the boards rived off the sides, the sacks fired; the miller at work beneath the mill was smitten down, but came to himself the next day, but knew nothing of what had befallen him; within two hours after he was smitten he began to stir with such force that six men could hardly hold him; it was the next day before he came perfectly to his senses again.

About September 1642, one Richard Silvester, of Weymouth, he and his wife going to the assembly on the Lord's day, left three children at home; the eldest was abroad looking after the cattle; the second, about five years old, taking his father's fowling piece, laid it upon a block, and then pulled up the cock and let down the hammer and then went to blow in at the muzzle of the piece, as he had seen his father use to do, but the spring being weak gave way and fired the gun, which shot the child in at the mouth and through the head. The parents with astonishment and trembling came to understand it by the speech and signs given by the youngest, not above three years old.

Much hurt was done by fire this year. Amongst others, about the 7th of November, 1642, one Briscoe, a rich tanner of Watertown, refused to let his neighbours have leather for corn, saying he had corn enough, soon after had his barn, leather, and corn burnt, to the value of two hundred pounds.

In the beginning of the year 1643, the wife of one Onion of Roxbury died in great despair. While a servant she was stubborn and self-willed, and used to deny what she was guilty of, and when married proved very worldly; upon her first child, (that was still-born through her unruliness,) she fell into a fever, and withal into so great horror and trembling, shaking the very room where she was, crying out of her torment, and complaining of her stubbornness and worldliness, saying that she had neglected her spiritual good for a little worldly trash, and now must go into everlasting torments; exhorting others to be warned by her example to take heed of such evils, and being moved to lay hold on the mercy of God, she replied, I cannot for my life, and so died.

In the year 1643, a young fellow, servant to one Williams of Dorchester, being out of service, fell to work for himself, and by his excessive wages, working only for ready money, in a little more than a year he had scraped together twenty five pounds in money, and then returned with his prey into England, speaking evil of the country by the way. He was not gone far after his arrival be-

fore he met with some of the sons of Mars that eased him of his money ; so knowing no better way he hurried back to New England with more wit but less money than he carried out, hoping to repair his loss in the place which he had so much disparaged.

July 2, 1643, arrived here at Boston Mr. Carman, in a ship of 180 tons. He sailed from New Haven the December foregoing to the Canaries, and being earnestly commended to God's protection by the prayers of the church there. At the isle of Palma he was set upon by a Turkish pirate of 300 tons and twenty five pieces of ordnance and two hundred men. He fought with her three hours, having but twenty men and seven guns, (his muskets being all unserviceable by rust.) The Turk lay cross his hawser so as he was forced to shoot through his own vessel, yet by those shots killed many of the enemy ; then the Turk came and boarded him side by side, and poured an hundred of his men upon him at once, but Mr. Carman by some lucky shots broke the tiller, and killed the captain of the Turks, and forced them to fall off, leaving fifty of their men behind, who were either killed or forced to leap overboard into the sea. This fight was within sight of their port, whither they got safe and were courteously entertained, and supplied with whatsoever they wanted, losing but one man in the fight.

July 23, 1643, arrived at Boston Capt. Chaddock in a bark of 100 tons, belonging to the Earl of Warwick, from Trinidada. He came for people and provisions, but the people of New England were now grown so wise, and encouraged by hope of trade appearing, that they refused all proffers for removing, which made the captain alter his designs, and went towards Canada, guarding home La Tour.

The father of this Chaddock had been governour of Bermudas, from which with his family and an hundred more he removed to Trinidada, where the most of them died, with himself and wife. This Capt. Chaddock, (not so well minded as his father,) as he returned to Boston, five of his men fell off the main yard, as they were hand-

ing the sail, and notwithstanding it was smooth water, three of them were drowned, not having their boat out. The rest not being warned hereby, but falling to drinking and swearing, their pinnace (which they brought from the French) was soon after blown up by the firing of two barrels of powder, whereby five more of the company were destroyed. The captain said the day before, that New England were a base heathen people, and being contradicted therein by the master, he swore blood and wounds he would kill him; but he was prevented by the company, and fined twenty pounds by the court for quarrelling.

On the 18th of January that year there were strange sights seen about Castle Island and the Governour's Island over against it, in form like a man, that would sometimes cast flames and sparkles of fire. This was seen about eight of the clock in the evening by many. About the same time a voice was heard between Boston and Dorchester upon the water in a dreadful manner, crying out, boy, boy, come away, come away; and then it shifted suddenly from one place to another a great distance about twenty times. About fourteen days after, the same voice was heard in the like dreadful manner; divers sober persons were ear witnesses hereof, at both times, on the other side of the town towards Noddle's Island.

These prodigies seemed to have reference to the place where Capt. Chaddock's pinnace was blown up, and gave occasion of speech concerning one of the company, who professed himself to have skill in necromancy, and to have done some strange things in the way from Virginia hither, (and was suspected to have murdered his master there,) but the magistrates had no notice of him till after he was blown up. This is to be observed, that his fellows were all found, as were those that were blown up in the former ship or pinnace, and many others who have miscarried by drowning, were usually found, but this man's body was never heard of again.

About January 2, 1643, Capt. Patrick was shot dead with a pistol by a Dutchman at Stamford. He was en-

tertained in the Massachusetts, and brought out of Holland (having been one of the Prince's guard there) to teach the people military discipline. He was made a freeman, admitted a member of the church of Watertown, but being proud and otherwise vicious, he was left of God to a profligate life, which brought him at last to destruction by the hand of one of that people, from whom he sought protection, after he had fled from the yoke of Christ in the Massachusetts, the strictness of whose discipline he could neither bear in the church, nor yet in the country.

At the court of Assistants in the end of the year 1643, James Britten and Mary Latham were condemned to die for adultery, upon a law formerly made and published. J. Britten had been a professor in England, and went to New-England on that account, but not approving their church government, became a great enemy thereunto, and so was given over unto dissoluteness, hating both the power and profession of godliness. At the last he grew so profane, that in the evening after a day of humiliation, much company sitting up late in the night a drinking, he was seen upon the ground with this woman near the house, &c. But soon after, being smitten with the dead palsy, and followed with horreur of conscience withal, he could not keep secret, but discovered this and other like practices with other women, and was forced to acknowledge the justice of God, in that having oft called others fools for confessing against themselves, he was now forced to do the like himself.

The woman was young and handsome, religiously brought up. Being rejected by a young man she had an affection unto, or else hindered by her friends, [she] vowed to marry the next man that proffered her marriage, and made good her word to her shame and sorrow, matching herself against the mind of all her friends to an antient fellow, whom she never affected, and one that was neither suitable to her temper, nor of ability to maintain her; which made her the more ready to despise and abuse him, and was easily drawn away by lewd persons, that prevailed with her to drink wine, and keep bad company,

amongst whom this Britten was one. She confessed the fact with him, and many others, having often abused her husband with words and deeds; and setting a knife to his breast, would threaten to kill him. When she came to die, she suffered very penitently. (as did the man,) exhorting young maids to be obedient to their parents, and take heed of evil company, which brought her to an untimely end in the very flower of youth, before she had attained to the twentieth year of her age.

In the year 1643, three fishermen, belonging to the Isles of Shoals, very profane and scorers of religion, being drinking all the Lord's day, the boat was cast away the next week, and themselves all drowned.

In May 1644, one Dalkin and his wife going home to Medford, or Mystick, after sermon on the Lord's day, and passing over at a ford, where (the tide not being fallen enough for them comfortably to pass over) the woman was carried away with the stream, and crying out, her husband not daring to help her, the dog in the house near by came running out, and seeing something stir in the water, swam to it, so as she catching hold of his tail was thereby drawn to the shore, and saved her life.

In the latter end of the year 1643, Thomas Morton, the old adversary of New England, and accuser of the brethren, being cast off by his friends in England, by whose help he expected means to be revenged of the country, returned thither again for shelter, not having else whither to betake himself; which in justice seemed to be so ordered by Providence, that his malicious practices being there publicly laid open, he might become a spectacle of shame and reproach to his dying day in that place, and amongst that people, whom he had so spitefully, and without cause, so much reproached. He could not lurk up and down there so privily, but he was detected soon after his arrival, and brought to the Court of Assistants in September 1644, to answer for his former injuries and offences. He had prosecuted the country with a *quo warranto* in the year 1634, or thereabouts, which he did not deny. He had charged them also with

treason and rebellion, and published a book against them full of scoffs and invectives. And a letter also was produced against him, written by his own hand to his old friend, Mr. Jefferies, 1634, which will give a full character of his disposition towards those of the Massachusetts, which letter here follows :

“ My very good gossip, if I should commend myself to you, you would reply with this proverb, *propria laus sordat in ore* ; but to leave impertinent salutes, and really proceed, you shall hereby understand, that although when I was first sent to England to make complaint against Ananias and the brethren, I effected the business but superficially (through the brevity of time.) I have at this time taken deliberation, and brought the matter to a better pass. And it is thus brought about, that the king hath taken the matter into his own hands. The Massachusetts patent, by an order of the council, was brought in view; the privileges therein granted well scanned upon, and at the council board in publick and in the presence of Sir Richard Saltonstall and the rest, it was declared (for manifold abuses therein discovered) to be void. The king hath reassumed the whole business into his own hands, appointed a committee of the board, and given order for a general governour of the whole territory to be sent over. The commission is past the privy seal ; I did see it, and the same was, 1 mo. of May, sent to my lord Keeper to have it pass the great seal for confirmation, and I now stay to return with the governour, by whom all complainants shall have relief. So that now Jonas being set ashore, may safely cry, repent, you cruel schismatics ; repent; there are as yet but forty days. If Jove vouchsafe to thunder, the charter and kingdom of the separatists will fall asunder. Repent, you cruel schismatics, repent. These things have happened, (and I shall see, notwithstanding their boasting and false alarums in the Massachusetts with forged cause of thanksgivings,) their merciless cruelty rewarded according to the merit of the fact, with condign punishment, for coming into those parts, like Samson’s foxes with firebrands at their tails.

The king and council are really possessed of their preposterous loyalty, and irregular proceedings, and are incensed against them. And although they be so opposite to the Catholic axioms, yet they will be compelled to perform them, or at least wise suffer them to be put in practice to their sorrow. In matter of restitution and satisfaction more than mystically, it must be performed visibly, and in such sort, as will be subject to the senses, in a very lively image. My lord of Canterbury, with my lord privy seal, having caused all Mr. Cradock's letters to be viewed, and his apology for the brethren particularly heard, protested against him and Mr. Humphreys, that they were a couple of imposterous knaves, so that for all their great friends they departed the council chamber in our view, with a pair of cold shoulders. I have staid long, yet have not lost my labour, although the brethren have found their hopes frustrated, so that it follows by consequence that I shall see my desire upon mine enemies; and if Jo. Grant had not betaken himself to flight, I had taught him to sing *clamari* in the fleet before this time; and if he return before I depart, he will pay dear for his presumption. For here he finds me a second Perseus. I have uncased Medusa's head, and struck the brethren into astonishment. They find, and yet will more to their shame, that they abuse the word, and are to blame to presume so much; that they are but a word and a blow to them that are without. Of these particulars I thought good, by so convenient a messenger, to give you notice, lest you should think I had died in obscurity, as the brethren vainly intended I should, and basely practised, abusing justice to their sinister practices, as by the whole body of the committee it was, *una voce*, concluded to be done, to the dishonour of his majesty. And as for Ratchitt, he was comforted by their lordships with the cropping of Mr. Winthrop's ears, which shews what opinion is held amongst them of K. Winthrop, with all his inventions, and his Amsterdam fantastical ordinances; his preachings, marriages, and other abusive ceremonies, which do exemplify his de-

testation to the church of England, and the contempt of his majesty's authority, and wholesome laws, which are and will be established in those parts, *invita minerva*, with these. I thought to salute you as a friend, by an epistle, because I am bound to love you as a brother by the gospel, resting

Your loving friend,

Dated 1 mo. May, 1634. THOMAS MORTON."

Yet notwithstanding all these vain boastings of his, he lived to see all his hopes frustrate, and his great brags vanish into the air; for after all his vain attempts, he came back to New England without money or friends. He was kept in prison about a year, in expectation of evidence out of England, and then called before the court again, and after some debate what to do with him, he was fined 100 pounds and set at liberty; for having nothing, he would have been but a charge to have kept him longer under such restraint, and they did not think meet to inflict corporal punishment upon him because of his age, being at this time both old, and labouring under many infirmities of body; but chose rather to give him his liberty, that he might procure his fine, or at least go out of the jurisdiction, as he did soon after, for he removed to Agamenticus, where he lived poor and despised, and died within two years after.

February 26, 1644, the country's ammunition for greater security was sent to Roxbury and ordered to be lodged at the house of J. Johnson, the Surveyor General; but by some unknown accident the house was fired at noon day, and all that belonged to his dwelling house was, together with the country's store of seventeen barrels of powder, destroyed by the said fire, none of the inhabitants daring to lend any helping hand to save their neighbour's goods, for fear of losing their own lives; and if the wind had not been favourable it might have endangered all the houses adjoining; but God doth often in judgment remember mercy.

Every one was ready to make their observations of that accident, amongst which, as to the particular case, these seemed to be very obvious to wise men: First,

There was not that due care taken to pay for it, which ought, the debt being of divers years standing. Secondly, The overruling party in the court had denied a supply to some of their neighbours not long before, in some distress, which is not according to our Saviour's rule, who requires that he that hath two coats should give or lend to him that hath none. Thirdly, Some were apt to think it was a great oversight to place their powder and ammunition so far out of the center of the country, (if any exigent should have fallen out that should have required a present supply of ammunition,) and more confidence possibly was put in the officer than he deserved to be betruſted with ſuch a charge, he having never really approved himſelf of more fidelity or ability than other men, to diſcharge the truſt committed to him.

Much hurt was about the ſame time done by fire in other places, as at Mr. Downing's farm at Salem. That which was moſt remarkable happened in the journey of ſome of Hingham towards Seakonk, to make preparation for a new plantation there. The place was not long before concluded by the commissioners to belong to Plymouth, yet was it granted to ſome of the Maſſachuſetts with their conſent, for a plantation. Mr. Peck, and three others of ſaid Hingham, were removing thither, and making their ſtage in an Indian wigwam by the way, by ſome occaſion or other it took fire, and though they were four there preſent, and laboured to the utmoſt to prevent the damage of the fire, yet were three of their horſes conſumed thereby, and the value of fifty pounds in goods.

In the year 1645, the Swedes' fort at Delaware was burnt down, with all the buildings in it, and all their powder and goods blown up. It happened in the night, by the negligence of a ſervant, who fell aſleep, leaving a candle burning. At Hartford and at Hingham alſo were houſes burnt down that year.

CHAP. L.

The colonies of Connecticut and New Haven disturbed by the Dutch at Manhatoes, and the Swedes at Delaware Bay, during this lustre, from 1641 to 1645.

THE Dutch, who had seated themselves upon Hudson's river, about the same time that the English began to plant at Patuxet or Plymouth, were the first that discovered the river of Connecticut, and gave some intimation thereof to their friends at Plymouth, but it being neglected by them, they took possession of it themselves, which they were not willing to quit to the use of the Massachusetts, although they had made no other use thereof, but for a place whereon to build an house for trading with the Indians. On that occasion, in June 1641, letters came from the governour of Connecticut to the Massachusetts to advise about the difference between them and the Dutch. The Dutch governour had pressed them hard for his interests in all Hartford, &c. to which he could lay no other claim, but by the law of possession, or *primer seisin*. At least he demanded so much as one could see from their trading house, alleging they had purchased so much of the Pequots, and threatened force of arms to make it good. They of the river alleged their purchase of other Indians, the true owners of the place, with other arguments of patent, both of Saybrook and of the Massachusetts, &c.

The governour and council returned answer without determining the case on either side, but advising to a more moderate way, viz. of yielding more land to the Dutch house, for they had left them but thirty acres. But the Dutch would not be satisfied, but prepared to send soldiers to be billeted at their house there. But it pleased the Lord to disappoint their purpose at that time, for the Indians falling out with them, killed some of their men at the fort of Aurania, whereby they were forced to keep their soldiers at home to defend themselves. And a gentleman at that time going for England, that pre-

tended to be well acquainted with the West India company in Holland, undertook to pacify the matter, but he not carrying over a commission with him from Hartford, the said company would not treat with them, by which means the controversy still remained, and their claim was pursued as earnestly as before, though it was for the present on the forementioned occasion, not so effectually carried on, as else it might have been.

But July 22, 1643, a Dutch sloop arrived at Boston, with letters written in Latin, and signed by the secretary there in the name and by the command of the governour and senate, directed to the governour and senate R. P. of New England, wherein first he congratulates their late confederation, then he complains of unsufferable wrongs done to their people at Connecticut, and more of late than formerly, and of misinformation given by some of the Massachusetts to the states ambassadours in London, and desires to know by a categorical answer, whether they will aid or desert them of Hartford, so that they may know their friends from their enemies, &c. To which, answer was returned by the governour, and as many of the magistrates as could on the sudden be called together, that they desired the continuance of that good correspondency which had been betwixt them, ever since their arrival in those parts, and that their chief council, to which their letters were directed, being far distant, they that were then present could return no other answer at that time, which they might look upon rather as a declaration of their particular conceptions, than any determination from the chief authority of the place, from which they should receive further answer in time convenient; intimating also their griefs for the difference there was between them and their brethren at Hartford, which they conceived might be composed by arbitrators, either in England, or in Holland, or here, as those of Hartford had offered; and that by their confederations they were bound to seek the good and safety of each other as their own, which they hoped need not hinder the continuance of the wonted amity between themselves and those of the Manhatoes;

and that the ground of the difference, being only a small point of land, was a matter of so little value in this vast continent, as not worthy to cause a breach between two people so nearly related, both in profession of the same Protestant religion, and otherwise; therefore they would seriously request them, as they would also do the other, that until the justice of the cause might be decided by one of the ways forenamed, there might be an abstaining on both sides, from injury and provocation; and if any should happen on their part, that it might be duly examined, and they were assured, (being a people that feared God, &c. they durst not allow themselves in any unrighteous course,) they should receive equal satisfaction. The commissioners also of the United Colonies did, about the same time, write letters to the Dutch governour concerning some injuries which his agent at Delaware river had done to the people of New Haven, in burning down their trading house, and in joining with the Swedes against them.

But the general court did at their next meeting return an answer to the letters of the Dutch governour, wherein they declared the complaints, which had been made by their confederates of Hartford and New Haven, of injuries done to their agents in both places, as also their opinion of the justice of the cause of Hartford, in respect of title to the land in question between them, which they could not alter, without more light than yet had appeared about the title which the Dutch insisted on; nor might they desert either of their confederates in a righteous cause.

The Dutch in their next answer still continued their complaint of injuries done, and maintained their title to the land at Hartford; this was sent in the end of the year 1643. In July following the general court of the Massachusetts gave order at the breaking up, that an answer should be returned to this effect; first, by way of gratulation, of his respect and correspondency with them, and manifestation of their good will to him, with desire of continuance of all friendly intercourse, &c. acknowledg-

ing that they had largely and prudently discoursed of the matters in difference ; but they were also to attend the allegations on the other part ; but seeing proofs were not yet heard on either side, he could expect no further answer than before, but if he would please to send commissioners to Hartford, to treat with the commissioners there for the colonies, it would be very acceptable, and an hopeful means to propound for a good issue. Yet notwithstanding all these overtures of amity and good correspondency, the Dutch governour carried always a secret prejudice against the English at New Haven and Hartford all his time, and left the quarrel with Hartford men to be pursued by his successor, Peter Stuyvesant, under whose government there was an issue put unto it by the interposition of the commissioners of the United Colonies within a few years after, although at the first he seemed to make as great or greater bluster than the former governour, as sometimes wise men will speak most where they intend to do least. For the said Stuyvesant, coming to the governour's place at Manhatoes, about the year 1647, soon after sent his secretary to Boston with letters to the governour there full of all courtesy, and tender of good correspondency, yet laying claim to all between Connecticut and Delaware, and withal taking notice of the differences between them and Connecticut, offering to have them referred to friends here, not to determine, but to prepare for an hearing and determination in Europe. The commissioners of the United Colonies were then at Boston, and upon advice with them, answer was returned according to the inclination of the commissioners of New Haven and Connecticut colonies, so as might be most for their advantage, who supposing best for their purpose to stand a little upon terms of distance, wherein they did only in the general take notice of his offer, and shewed a readiness to give him a meeting in time and place convenient ; so leaving matters at the present to continue as they were before. But at the same time an accident fell out that carried a contrary appearance to the friendship, which the Dutch governour had pretended in his letters.

For on the 26th of September, 1648, a Dutch ship from Holland, being in the harbour at New Haven, (where they had traded about a month,) was surprized by the Dutch governour and carried to the Manhatoes; the manner was thus : The merchants of New Haven had bought a ship at Manhatoes, to be delivered at New Haven. The Dutch governour had put into her a company of soldiers, who, being under decks when the ship entered the harbour, took their opportunity afterwards, on the Lord's day, to seize the Dutch ship, and the wind being fair, brought her away. The governour of New Haven complained of the injury of the Dutch governour, and made a protest, &c. The Dutch governour justified the act, by the examples of the like in Europe, &c. but especially by claiming the place, and all along the sea coast to Cape Cod, he pretended to seize the ship, as forfeit to the West India company, for trading within their limits without leave or recognition. If on any account this dealing could be justified as honest, sure it could in no sense be made out to be honourable, by those that had made the pretensions of fair dealing and amicable correspondencies, as before. But the children of this world are oftentimes found to be more wise in their generation than the children of light.

The governour, in way of requital, thought to make themselves some part of amends by detaining three of the Dutch governour's servants, that at the same time ran away to New Haven; but the design was too low for the said governour to attempt, as he was advised by the worthy governour of the Massachusetts. *Aquila non capit muscas.* But besides, the Dutch governour in return to such a petit injury, made open proclamation of liberty to all the servants of New Haven that should come thither; which retaliation of his looked so like a piece of ill natured policy, that he was even ashamed of it himself, and in excuse of himself he wrote to the governour of the Massachusetts, blaming the practice in general, but excusing of it in his particular case, as being enforced thereunto.

Those of New Haven might have delivered those Dutch fugitives, without prejudice to their rights or reputation, and might thereby have prevented the dishonour of being outwitted by the Dutchman, who in the end of winter did himself, and caused the Dutch minister to write privately to the said fugitives, with such assurance of pardon, and other satisfaction, that he enticed them back again out of New Haven jurisdiction, to their no small disadvantage, which they might have had the honour of sending home, and thereby have heaped coals on their enemies' heads; but wise men are not always wise. For thereupon the Dutch governour wrote to the Massachusetts, complaining of the injuries done by the pretended governour of New Haven, (as he styled him,) in particular for wronging his reputation by slanderous reports, and proffers to refer all differences to the two governours of the Massachusetts and of Plymouth, Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Bradford by name, professing all good neighbourhood to the rest of the colonies, with some kind of retractation to his former claim of New Haven, &c. As if all claims by word, writing and protest, &c. were of no value, so long as there is no invasion by force.

On the other hand, the governour of New Haven made the like complaint of manifold injuries offered by the Dutch governour, in his letters to the general court of the Massachusetts, which were by them referred to the commissioners of the colonies for answer.

But in the end of May the same year, 1648, the Massachusetts governour read two letters from the Dutch governour, holding forth much assurance of his sincere affection to a firm peace and neighbourly compliance with all the English, and that upon these grounds. 1. Their unity in the true religion. 2. The ancient league between the two nations. 3. The community in danger from the common enemies of both, as Spaniards abroad, and Indians at home. 4. The reconciling former differences, and preventing all future occasions of like nature. 5. The benefit of a mutual league, both offensive and defensive, against a common enemy; and withal offered to

meet Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Bradford at Hartford, at such time as they should appoint.

Mr. Winthrop returned answer, of what gladness he conceived in his forwardness to peace, and had no reason to doubt of his cordial intentions, &c. promising to further the matter what lay in his power. There was some reason more than ordinary why the Dutch governour's spirit was so much lowered at this time : As first, the states of Holland were not so well able as formerly to make good their interest against their neighbours of Spain, with whom they were willing to make a peace at this time. 2dly, The West India company had sustained much loss by some wrecks of late; and 3dly, The Dutch plantation consisting of such unruly people, so as they would not be restrained from furnishing the Indians with ammunition, though themselves were in danger to be ruined thereby. And it may be added, in the last place, that the Dutchmen are usually more happy by their trading in times of peace, than by assailing their enemies in time of war. Divers letters had at this time passed between the Massachusetts and the Dutch, but Mr. Bradford, governour of Plymouth, coming to Boston soon after, declined the service for the present, by reason of bodily infirmities and some other considerations, but promised (the Lord assisting) to prepare against the middle of the next summer; at which time Mr. Winthrop was on the like account unable to attend it; however, the business of a reconciliation was happily effected by some others, that were deputed in his room to manage that affair, by whose endeavours a final end was put to that uncomfortable difference that had been continually alarming them with new fears or troubles upon every occasion for many years before.

But besides the forementioned difficulties which the people of the United Colonies were exercised with from the Dutch at Manhatoes, they were in like manner annoyed by the Swedes, that had before this time seated themselves in that called Delaware Bay, beyond Manhatoes, toward Virginia, especially those of New Haven, who, find-

ing by sad experience, when it was too late, that the place they had pitched upon was more commodious for farmers than merchants, and that the bay or river of Delaware was capable of many more inhabitants, than as yet had taken possession thereof, had taken up a resolution, either to remove their town of New Haven thither, or at least to erect a plantation there for some of their people; in all which attempts, as they found the Swedes open enemies, so the Dutch, (especially the former governour,) to be secret underminers of their interest there. Their first attempt indeed for planting there, anno 1642, was hindered by a general sickness prevailing in the place at that time.

But the first complaint of any injury done to the English, either by Dutch or Swedes at Delaware, was made to the commissioners of the United Colonies about September, 1643, when Mr. Lamberton, in the name of himself and others, employed in settling a plantation there, in the behalf of New Haven, complained of many foul injuries offered them there; for besides the burning down of their trading house, on the river of Delaware, by the Dutch, (trade being the Diana of that people, for which they are observed to contend more violently than *pro aris et focis*,) they declared how the Swedish governour behaved himself against them, as if he had neither principles of christian nor moral honesty: Getting Mr. Lamberton into his power by feigned and false pretences, kept him prisoner with some of his men, and laboured by promises and threats to draw them to accuse him, for having conspired with the Indians to cut off the Swedes and Dutch, (an old Amboyna trick,) and not prevailing those ways, he attempted to make them drunk, that so he might draw something from them, as matter of accusation against Mr. Lamberton; and in the end (though they could get no testimony, yet) he forced him to pay many skins of beaver before he would set him at liberty. They reported the said governour also to be a man very furious and passionate, cursing and swearing upon every occasion, and also reviling the English of New Haven as runagates,

&c. himself with his own hands putting irons upon one of Mr. Lamberton's men, and went also to the houses of those few families planted there, and forced them to swear allegiance to the crown of Sweden, (though himself had no colour of title to the place,) and such as would not, he drove away.

All things were clearly proved by Mr. Lamberton's relation, and other testimonies upon oath. The commissioners of the colonies gave a commission to Mr. Lamberton to go treat with the Swedish governour about satisfaction for those injuries and damages, and to agree with him about settling their trade and plantation. But the Swedes, in their answer to the letters from the commissioners, denied what they had been charged with, and sent copies of divers examinations upon oath, taken in the case, with a copy of all the proceedings between themselves and those of New Haven from the first, and in their letters used large expressions of their respect to the English, and particularly to the colony of the Massachusetts; not that they loved them better, but that being further off, they had no occasion of falling out with them.

Mr. Eaton on that occasion desired a copy of the Massachusetts patent, to shew it the Swedish governour, (at his request,) and a new commission from the commissioners of the union, allowing them to go on with their trade and plantation in Delaware river and bay, (for the governour had told their agent, that upon such a commission they should have liberty.) This coming while the general court was sitting, the commissioners advised the court about it, who granted both, but the commission with a *salvo jure*. They were informed also then of a Dutch ship, lately arrived at Hudson's river, sent to the free boors at the fort of Aurania, which brought them four thousand weight of powder, and seven hundred pieces to trade with the natives; but the Dutch governour having notice thereof, did very prudently confiscate them to the use of the company, thereby depriving the enemies of arms, whereby they might themselves have been destroyed, and furnishing themselves and friends with wea-

pons for their safety. For at this time the Indians had fierce war with the Dutch, and if it had not been for the assistance of the English, they might have been all cut off.

The occasion of the war was this: an Indian being drunk had slain an old Dutchman. The Dutch required the murderer, but he could not be had. The people called oft upon the governour to take revenge, but he still put it off, because he thought it not just, or not safe, &c. It fell out in that time, that the Maquas or Mohawks, (a people inhabiting the west parts, beyond the fort of Aurania,) either upon their own quarrel, or (as the report was) being set on by the Dutch, came suddenly upon the Indians near the Dutch, and killed about thirty of them; the rest fled for shelter to the Dutch. One Marine, a Dutch captain, hearing of it, goeth to the governour and obtained a commission of him, to kill so many as he could of them; and accordingly went up with a company of armed men, and setting upon them, fearing no ill from the Dutch, he slew seventy or eighty of their men, women and children. Upon this the Indians burnt divers of their farm houses, and their cattle in them, and slew all they could meet with, to the number of twenty or more, of men, women and children, and pressed hard upon the Dutch, even home to their fort; that they were forced to call in the English to their aid, and entertained captain Underhill (of whom large mention is made before) into their service, &c. Marine, the Dutch captain, took this so ill, (seeing the governour preferred him before him,) that he presented his pistol at the governour, but was stayed by a stander by; then a tenant of Marine's discharged his musket, but missed him narrowly; whereupon the sentinel, at the governour's command, shot the fellow presently dead, and his head was set upon the gallows, and the captain was sent prisoner into Holland. The people also were so offended with the governour for the damage they now sustained by the Indians, (though they were all for war before) that the governour durst not trust himself amongst them, but entertained a

guard of fifty English about his person ; and the Indians did so annoy them by sudden assaults out of the swamps, &c. that he was forced to keep a running army to be ready to oppose them upon all occasions. The Indians also on Long Island took part with their neighbours upon the main ; and as the Dutch took away their corn, &c. so they fell to burn the Dutchmen's houses. But these by the mediation of Mr. Williams, (who was then there to take ship for England,) were pacified, and a peace reestablished between the Dutch and them. But still on the main they set upon the Dutch with an implacable fury, killing all they could come by, burning their houses and destroying their cattle without any resistance ; so as the governour and such as escaped betook themselves to their fort at Manhatoes, and there lived upon their cattle. But many of the Indians being destroyed by captain Underhill and his followers, at last they began to be weary of the sport, and condescended to terms of peace with those, against whom they had manifested so great hostility before.

But to return to the affairs of the Swedes at Delaware, from which this long digression hath been made. In the beginning of the year 1644, divers of the merchants of Boston, being desirous to discover the great lake, (supposing it to lie in the northwest part of their patent, and finding that the great trade of beaver, which came to all the southern and eastern parts, did originally come from thence,) petitioned the court to be a company for that design, and to have the trade, which they should discover, to themselves for twenty one years. The court was very unwilling to grant any monopoly, but perceiving that without it they would not proceed, granted their desire ; whereupon (having commission granted them also under the public seal, and letters from the governour to the Dutch and Swedish governours) they sent out a pinnace, well manned and furnished with provisions and trading stuff, which was to sail up Delaware river, so high as they could go, and then some of the company, (under the conduct of Mr. William Aspinwall, a good artist,

and one that had been in those parts,) by small skiffs or canoes to pass up the river as far as they could. But when they came to the place, the Dutch governour promised to let them pass, but for maintaining their own interest he must protest against them. And as for the Swedish governour, his fort shot at them ere they came up, whereupon they cast forth their anchor, and the next morning (being Lord's day) the lieutenant came aboard them, and forced them to fall down lower; when Mr. Aspinwall came to the governour he complained of the lieutenant's dealing, both in shooting at them before he hailed them, and in forcing them to weigh anchor on the Lord's day. The governour acknowledged he did ill in both, and promised all favour; but the Dutch agent being come down to the Swedes' fort, shewed express order from the Dutch governour not to let him pass, whereupon he returned; but before they came out of the river, the Swedish lieutenant made them pay 40s. which he had unduly forced from them. The pinnace arrived at Boston the 20th of July, 1644, but with much more news than what is mentioned before, for though they were not permitted to pass up the river, they were not so narrowly watched but they found opportunity to trade on Maryland side, and had gotten a good parcel of beaver; but at last the Indians coming aboard under pretence of further trading, while some were trading, others pulled out hatchets from under their garments, and therewith killed the master and two men, and carried the other two (being but five in all) ashore, and rifled the pinnace of all her goods, and sails, &c. Soon after other Indians came aboard, and falling upon these, slew the sachems and took away all the goods they had stolen. There was one Redman suspected to have betrayed this pinnace, for he (being truckmaster, because he could speak the language) was put out of his employment on account of his evil carriage, and did bear ill will to the master, and out of revenge, sold them to the Indians, bargaining however for his own life; but at last, at the procurement of the Swedish governour, was fetched in by other Indians, who brought him and the boy to the fort,

from which he was carried to Boston, and there tried for his life, and found guilty by the grand jury, but sentence was deferred in expectation of further evidence from Delaware. If there were evidence enough to condemn him more would have been redundant, but all men's sins do not go before unto judgment. But he shall give an account in due time.

For a close of these uncomfortable transactions between the Dutch, Swedes, and English of New Haven and those parts, the reader may take notice that trucking with the Indians hath seldom been observed to be blessed to them that were most addicted thereunto, whether French, Dutch or English; but for the present Dutch governour, scil. in the year 1643 and till the year 1647, Mr. William Kieft, (a sober and prudent man,) although he always abstained from outward force, yet had continually molested the colonies of New Haven and Connecticut, using menacings and protests against them, upon all occasions, so as they were almost wearied out with his vexations, demands and oppositions. But at last going for Holland in the year 1647, in a ship of 400 tons, well manned and richly laden, to the value (as was supposed) of 20,000 pounds, in their passage home, the mariners mistaking the channel, were carried into Severn and cast away upon the coast of Wales near Swanzy, so as the said Dutch governour, with about eighty other persons were drowned, and not above twenty suffered to escape. This fell out in the year 1648.

The loss in general ought sadly to have been lamented, especially as to the lives of so many christians, that perished so near their own home by such a sad mistake; yet those who were acquainted with the particulars of some or more of the forementioned circumstances, could not but take notice of the solemn providence of God that appeared therein, to bear witness against those that had so many ways injured his own people in those parts, which some could not pass by without due acknowledgment and observation; for though indeed God seemed not to favour the designs of those colonies in the matter of their

trade with the Indians, (the salvation of whose souls should have been their principal aim, and so their merchandize might have been holiness to the Lord of Hosts,) by his constant blasting their plantations, intended chiefly to carry on such designs, yet he seemed to be more highly offended with them, that without cause set themselves so violently to oppose them.

The inhabitants of the towns about Boston, being alarmed by the forementioned troubles, (for those who now began to bark, might ere long be as ready to bite,) looked upon themselves but as a place without gates and bars, and that without some fortification, at the entrance into the harbour of Boston, they were laid open to the invasion of a mean and contemptible enemy, were willing to raise some fortification, and maintain it at their own charge, rather than to be left open to an enemy any longer.

The general court had given all the encouragement they could in the year 1643, although some were discouraged because they found so many avenues about Boston, that if one passage were stopped, others were left open, wherein enemies might enter; and also because they feared, that the people would not be so able to perform, as they were forward, and willing to engage.

But in the year 1645, being every day made more sensible, that the keeping the said fortification would be of no small benefit for their defence and security, they set upon the work with a fresh resolution, and chose a committee out of the several towns to raise means to get the work done; but at last the general court, being informed by the petition of the inhabitants, that the charge of the work, and maintaining of the garrison, would be a burthen too heavy for them that had undertaken it, were induced to put the publick hand thereto, by which it was always after that time effectually carried on.

CHAP. LI.

Conspiracies of the Indians against the English in New England discovered and prevented, from the year 1641 to 1646.

AFTER the subduing of the Pequots in the year 1637, the Narragansets, the most numerous of the other Indians, either out of discontent, that the whole sovereignty over the rest of the Indians was not adjudged to belong to them, or out of envy that Uncas, a sachem of the Mohegan Indians, had insinuated further than themselves into the favour of the English, were observed to be always contriving mischief against them, though they carried it subtilly and underhand for some years, and were pretending quarrel with the said Uncas, against whom they always had an inveterate malice ever since the agreement made about distributing of the Pequots after the war with them was ended, expecting in probability, that all should have been left to their sole arbitrament. And therein were animated by the haughty spirit and aspiring mind of one Miantonimo, the heir apparent of all the Narraganset people, after the decease of the old sachem, Canonicus, that was his uncle. This Miantonimo was a very good personage, of tall stature, subtil and cunning in his contrivements, as well as haughty in his designs. It was strongly suspected that in the year 1642, he had contrived to draw all the Indians throughout the country into a general conspiracy against the English; for the first of September 1642, letters came to Boston from the court at Connecticut, and from two of the magistrates there, that the Indians had conspired to cut off the English all over the country. Mr. Ludlow certified so much from the place where he lived near the Dutch, the time appointed to be for the assault was said to be after harvest; the manner to be by several companies entering into the chief men's houses, by way of trade, and then to kill them in their houses, and seize their arms, and others should be at hand to prosecute the massacre. This was also con-

firmed by three Indians that were said to reveal it in the same manner, and at the same time, to Mr. Ludlow and to the governour of New Haven. It was added also, that another Indian should discover the same plot to Mr. Haines of Connecticut, by some special circumstances, viz. that being much hurt by a cart, (which usually there are drawn with oxen,) he should send for Mr. Haines and tell him, that Englishman's God was angry with him, and sent Englishman's cow (meaning the oxen in the cart or wain) to kill him, because he had concealed such a plot against the English, and so told him all, as the other Indians had done.

Upon this, their advice from Connecticut was, that we should begin with them, and enter upon a war presently; and that if the Massachusetts would send 120 men to Saybrook, at the river's mouth, they would meet them with a proportionable number. This was a very probable story, and very likely it was, that the Indians had been discoursing of some such business amongst themselves. But the general court of the Massachusetts, when called together, did not think those informations to be a sufficient ground whereon to begin a war. Although the governour and magistrates, as many as could convene together before the court, ordered that all the Indians within their jurisdiction should be disarmed, which they willingly yielded unto; and upon all the inquiries and examinations, which were made by the court, when assembled together, they could not find any such violent presumption of a conspiracy, as to be the ground of a war. Besides, it was considered that the reports of all Indians were found by experience to be very uncertain, especially when it may well be supposed, that they are or may be raised and carried by such as are at variance one with another; who may be very like to accuse one another, to ingratiate themselves with the English. Miantonino, sachem of Narraganset, was sent unto, and by his readiness to appear, satisfied the English that he was innocent as to any present conspiracy, though his quarrel with the Mohegans (who bordered upon Connecticut colony) might

very probably, as was judged, render him the subject of such a report, or an occasion of it.

The said Miantonimo, when he came before the court, peremptorily demanded that his accusers might be brought before him face to face, and if they could not prove it, then to be made to suffer what himself, if he had been found guilty, had deserved, i. e. death, which was a very rational collection. He urged very much the prosecuting such a law against his accusers, alleging that if the English did not believe it, why did they disarm the Indians round about; and if they did believe it, equity required that they that accused him should be punished according to the offence charged upon himself. He offered also to make it good against Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans, that the report was raised either by him, or some of his people. The English answered, that divers Indians had robbed some of the Englishmen's houses, which might be a sufficient ground to disarm, and with that he was something satisfied. Connecticut men were hardly prevailed with to forbear the war against them, but at the last they were overcome with the allegations of the Massachusetts to lay it aside.

Miantonimo, when he was at Boston, was very deliberate in his answers, shewing a good understanding in the principles of justice and equity, as well as a seeming ingenuity withal. But though his words were smoother than oil, yet, as many conceived, in his heart were drawn swords. It was observed also, that he would never speak but when some of his counsellors were present, that they might, as he said, bear witness of all his speeches, at their return home.

They spent two days in the treaty, wherein at last he gave them satisfaction in all things, though he held off long about the Nianticks, of whom he said they were as his own flesh, engaging on their behalf, that if they should do any wrong, so as neither he nor they could satisfy without blood, then he would leave them to the mercy of the English. At his departure he gave his hand to the

governour, telling him that was for the magistrates that were absent.

Intimations of a like nature about a conspiracy were sent down from Plymouth, but not backed with sufficient proof, so as at the last a present war was declined by all. The Massachusetts government also restored to the Indians their arms, (which they had honestly purchased from the French or Dutch,) choosing rather to trust God with their safety, than secure themselves by any act of unrighteousness, in withholding from Indians that which was their own.

However, this rumour of a conspiracy of the Indians so filled men's minds with fear, that a man could not halloo in the night, (as one did in a swamp near Watertown, upon the howling of a kennel of wolves, fearing to be devoured by them,) but it was feared by some of his neighbours he had fallen into the hands of the Indians, who were torturing him to death. Such an accident raised an alarm in all the towns about the Bay, on the 19th of September that year.

The Indians upon Long Island were more fierce and barbarous; for one Capt. Howe, about this time going with eight or ten men to a wigwam there, to demand an Indian that had killed one Hammond, an Englishman, the Indian ran violently out, (with a knife in his hand, wherewith he wounded one of the company,) thinking to escape from them, so as they were forced to kill him upon the place, which so awed the rest that they durst not attempt any revenge. If they had been always so handled, they would not have dared to have rebelled, as they did afterwards.

But to return to the Narragansets, with whom at present the English had to deal. This plot being discovered, thereby was the danger of it prevented, at least for the present; yet was not Miantonimo quiet, but still was hatching of new plots against Uncas, who stuck close to the English, that at last they might be revenged upon the English by their hostility against him; for in July, 1643, letters came from Mr. Haynes, the governour of Hartford, to Boston,

that there was a war begun between one Sequasson, sachem of Connecticut, (a kinsman and firm friend of Miantonimo's,) and Uncas, the Mohegan sachem, who complained to the English at Hartford that Sequasson had assaulted him. The governour of Hartford sent for Sequasson, and laboured to make them friends, but Sequasson chose rather to have war, so as they were forced to leave them to themselves, promising to be aiding to neither. Soon after this, Uncas set upon Sequasson, and killed seven or eight of his men, wounded thirteen, burnt his wigwams, and carried away the booty. Upon this Miantonimo sent to Hartford to complain of Uncas, but were answered, that the English had no hand in the quarrel, nor would encourage them in it. He gave notice hereof in like manner by two of their neighbour Indians, and was very desirous to know if they would not be offended, if he should make war upon Uncas. The governour answered him, that if Uncas had done him or his friends any wrong, and would not give satisfaction, they should leave him to take his course. Miantonimo upon this took his first opportunity to invade Uncas, with near a thousand men, and set upon him suddenly, without either demanding satisfaction or denouncing the war before hand, so as Uncas had no time to make defence, not having with him above three or four hundred men. But the battle is not always to the strong, no more than the race to the swift; time and chance happens to them all; for Uncas, with his small company, had the victory, either by reason of better skill, or courage, though principally by the overruling hand of God, who is always wont to abase the children of pride. They killed about thirty of the Narragansets, wounded many more, and caused the rest to fly. Amongst the wounded were two of Canonicus his sons, and a brother of Miantonimo's. But he himself escaped a little way, where he was overtaken by the pursuers, being tired with armour, which Gorton, his friend, had furnished him with for the securing his person; but he was so hampered or burthened therewith, that not being able to fight for want of courage, he was

unable to flee through too much armour, and so was easily overtaken by his enemies. Some say that two of his own captains, perceiving his danger, laid hold of him and delivered him into the hands of Uncas, hoping thereby to obtain their own pardon; but he rewarded them with traitors' wages, the loss of their own heads, but reserved Miantonimo, as a matter of state, not hastily to be determined. When he was brought to Uncas, he stood mute, choosing rather to die than make supplication for his life, such was the dogged sullenness of his disposition. Uncas demanded of him, why he would not speak? If you had taken me, saith he, I would have besought you for my life; but some men's obstinacy and pride is beyond the command of their reason, choosing death rather than to yield to an insulting foe. The news of Miantonimo's captivity coming to Providence, Gorton and his company (that was the occasion of his ruin) wrote to Uncas to deliver him, or else threatened the power of the English; upon which Uncas carries his prisoner to Hartford, to take the advice of the magistrates there, and at Miantonimo's earnest entreaties left him with them, (who it seems could yield to the English, though not to Uncas, whom he looked upon as his mortal enemy, and inferior in dignity, however at this time his superior in battle.) The English used him courteously, yet as a prisoner, and kept him under guard, and so continued till the commissioners met at Boston, which was to be in September following. They all concluded it would not be safe to set him at liberty, although themselves concluded they had not sufficient ground to put him to death. In conclusion, therefore, they delivered him into the hands of Uncas, letting him understand the apprehension of the commissioners of all the colonies, that he was worthy of death, which accordingly was executed upon him. The reasons that induced them so to judge were: 1. It was now clearly discovered, that there was a conspiracy among the Indians to cut off all the English, and that Miantonimo was the head and contriver of the plot. 2. He was known, by long experience, to be of such a turbulent

and proud spirit, that there was no hope of peace, if he should be suffered to live. 3. He had procured a Pequot to shoot Uncas, as probably appeared, and in open court promised to deliver the said Pequot to Uncas, yet killed him himself in his way homeward, out of enmity against the said Uncas. 4. He used to beat and spoil some of the other Indians, that had submitted to the English, and then bid them go and complain to the Massachusetts. Upon these considerations, the commissioners could not but judge Miantonimo ought to die ; but the enmity of the Narragansets did not die with him, although they were so quelled with the loss of their chieftain Miantonimo, that they durst not openly rebel, but dissembled their malice as well as they could for a time ; but in the end of the year they send a present to the Massachusetts, with a request, that having sat still at the desire of the English, all the present year, they would suffer them to fight with Uncas the next year ; but answer was returned, they would not be hired by all the wealth of Narraganset to desert Uncas in a righteous cause, but it was their resolution, all to fall upon them if they meddled with their allies, the Mohegans.

The Narragansets rested not fully satisfied in this answer, but at the next court of election, in the year 1644, a letter came to the Massachusetts under the marks of Canonicus and Pessacus, (chief sachems amongst them,) though written by some of Gorton's company, to this effect, that they purposed to make war with Uncas, in revenge of the death of Miantonimo, and other of their people, and marvelled the English should be against it, and that they had put themselves under the government and protection of the king of England, and so now were become their fellow subjects, and therefore if any difference should fall between them, it ought to be referred to him, professing withal their willingness to continue all friendly correspondence with them. The general court received another letter from Gorton and his company to the like effect. In answer to the former, they sent two messengers to the Narragansets, to know whether they did

own the said letters, and by whose advice they had so proceeded, to persuade them also rather to sit still and be quiet, than to take counsel from evil men, such as they had banished from them. Canonicus would hardly admit of any speech with any of their messengers, unless it were some few froward expressions, but referred them to Pessacus, who came about four hours after, and carrying them into an ordinary wigwam, discoursed with them a long time about the business; his answers were witty and full to the question, and in conclusion told them, they would presently go to war upon Uncas, but not after the manner which Miantonimo did, with a great army, but by sending out small parties to catch his men, and prevent them from getting their livelihood; and did make small attempts that way, but saw it was in vain to begin a war afresh with the Mohegans, so long as the English stood engaged to defend them, and therefore turned all their contrivance how to cut off the English throughout the country, insomuch that the next year, the United Colonies were so far satisfied with the reality of their intentions, that they were fully resolved to fall upon them first, and had called several companies together for that end, who had their officers assigned them, and commissions drawn, and ammunition and provision prepared to send along with them, and forty or fifty men were sent before to secure Uncas his fort, and others came from Connecticut, for that end, so as when it came to the pinch, that the Narragansets perceived the English were in good earnest, their hearts failed them, and they were so alarmed with the terrour of the English soldiers, (the conquest of the Pequots being yet fresh in their minds,) that they sent down their messengers, and one or more of their chief sachems came along with them, to sue for peace, and brought along with them the sachem's son for hostage, and engaged to pay a tribute, and yielded also to pay the charges which the English had been at in making their preparations for the war; for they happened to come down to Boston just as their soldiers were ready to march out against them, as not

being willing to run any more hazard; which occasioned the country to turn the fast, appointed to be kept September 4, into a day of thanksgiving. The commissioners being then met at Boston to take care for the managing the war with the Narragansets, as is aforesaid, put out a declaration of the grounds of their proceedings, which here follows:

A Declaration of former passages and proceedings betwixt the English and the Narragansets, with their confederates, wherein the grounds and justice of the ensuing war are opened and cleared.

Published by order of the commissioners for the United Colonies, at Boston, the 11 of the sixth month, 1645.

The most considerable part of the English colonies profess they came into these parts of the world with desire to advance the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy his precious ordinances with peace, and (to his praise they confess) he hath not failed their expectation hitherto, they have found safety, warmth and refreshing under his wing, to the satisfaction of their souls. But they know, and have considered that their Lord and Master is king of righteousness and peace; that he gives answerable laws, and casts his subjects into such a mould and frame, that (in their weak measure) they may hold forth his virtues in their course and carriage, not only with the nations of Europe, but with the barbarous natives of this wilderness. And accordingly, both in their treaties and converse, they have had an awful respect to divine rules, endeavouring to walk uprightly and inoffensively, and in the midst of many injuries and insolencies to exercise much patience and long suffering towards them.

The Pequots grew to an excess of violence and outrage, and proudly turned aside from all ways of justice and peace before the sword was drawn, or any hostile attempts made against them. During those wars, and after the Pequots were subdued, the English colonies were careful to continue and establish peace with the rest of the

Indians, both for the present and for posterity, as by several treaties with the Narraganset and Mohegan sagamores may appear; which treaties for a while were in some good measure duly observed by all the Indians, but of late the Narragansets, and especially the Nianticks, their confederates, have many ways injuriously broken and violated the same, by entertaining and keeping amongst them, not only many of the Pequot nation, but such of them as have had their hands in the blood and murder of the English, seizing and possessing at least a part of the Pequot's country, which by right of conquest justly appertains to the English; by alluring or harbouring and withholding several Pequot captives fled from the English, and making proud and insolent returns when they were redemanded; and more lately, the English had many strong and concurrent Indian testimonies from Long Island, Uncoway, Hartford, Kennebeck, and other parts, of Miantonimo's ambitious designs, travelling through all the plantations of the neighbouring Indians, and by promises and gifts labouring to make himself their universal sagamore or governour, persuading and engaging them at once to cut off the whole body of the English in these parts; which treacherous plots were confirmed by the Indians' general preparations, messages, insolencies and outrages against the English and such Indians as were subjects or friends to them, so that the English colonies, to their great charge and damage, were forced to arm, to keep strong watch day and night, and some of them to travel with convoys from one plantation to another; and when Miantonimo, in his circular travel, was questioned at New Haven concerning these things, instead of other and better satisfaction he threatened to cut off any Indian's head that should lay such a charge upon him to his face.

The commissioners by the premises observed Miantonimo's proud and treacherous disposition, yet thought not fit to proceed against him in that respect, till they had collected more legal and convincing proof. But while these things were under deliberation, Miantonimo was

brought prisoner by Uncas to Hartford, and the case being opened and cleared as followeth, he craved the commissioners' advice how to proceed with him.

It appeared that in a treaty, made with the English at Massachusetts, anno 1637, Miantonimo engaged himself not to fight with any of the Indians, and particularly not to invade Uncas without the English consent; and after, in a tripartite agreement, made and concluded at Hartford, between Miantonimo and Uncas, with reference to the English, anno 1638, in which one of the articles runs, That though either of the said Indian sagamores should receive injury from the other, yet neither of them shall make or begin war, until they had appealed to the English, and till their grievances were first heard and determined, and if either of them should refuse, the English might assist against and compel the refusing and obstinate party.

Notwithstanding which, Miantonimo and his confederates have both secretly and openly plotted and practised against the life of Uncas, not at all acquainting the English or advising with them, but more especially of late, since the forementioned plots and designs were in hand.

First, a Pequot Indian, one of Uncas' subjects in the spring, 1643, aiming at Uncas' life, shot him with an arrow through the arm, and presently fled to the Narragansets or their confederates, boasting in the Indian plantations that he had killed Uncas; but when it was known Uncas (though wounded) was alive, the Pequot (taught as was supposed) changed his note, affirming that Uncas had cut through his own arm with a flint, and had hired him to say he had shot and killed him.

Miantonimo, being sent for by the governour of the Massachusetts upon another occasion, brought this Pequot with him, and would have covered him with the former disguise; but when the English, out of his own mouth, found him guilty, and would have sent him to Uncas his sagamore, Miantonimo earnestly desired he might not be taken out of his hands, promising he would send him safe to Uncas to be examined and punished.

But fearing (as it seems) his own treachery would be discovered, within a day or two, he stopped the Pequot's mouth, by cutting off his head; but at parting he told the governour in discontent, that he would come no more to Boston.

After this, some attempts were made, (as is reported,) to take away Uncas' life by poison and by sorcery; these failing, some of Sequasson's company (an Indian sagamore relied unto, and an intimate confederate with Miantonimo,) shot at Uncas with an arrow or two, as he was going down Connecticut river. Uncas, according to the forementioned treaty, 1638, complained, and the English by mediation sought to make peace; but Sequasson, expressing his dependence on Miantonimo, refused, and chose war. They fought, and Uncas had the victory.

Lastly, without any provocation from Uncas, (unless the disappointment of former plots provoked,) and* suddenly without denouncing war, came upon the Mohegans with 900 or 1000 men, when Uncas had not half so many to defend himself. Uncas, before the battle, told Miantonimo that he had many ways sought his life, and for the sparing of blood, offered by a single combat betwixt themselves to end the quarrel, but Miantonimo, presuming upon his number of men, would have nothing but a battle. The issue fell contrary to expectation; his men were routed, divers of considerable note slain, and himself taken prisoner.

These things being duly weighed, the commissioners judged that Uncas could not be safe while Miantonimo lived, wherefore they thought he might justly put such a treacherous and blood thirsty enemy to death, but advised him to do it in his own jurisdiction, without torture or cruelty. And Uncas having hitherunto shewed himself a friend to the English, and in this and former outrages (according to the treaty) craving their advice, if the Narragansets or their confederates should for his just execution unjustly assault him, the commissioners for the colonies promised to assist and protect him.

* For 'and,' read Miantonimo. Ed.

Uncas hereupon slew an enemy, but not the enmity against him ; the Narragansets soon fell to new contrivances. They pretended they had paid a ransom for their sachem's life, and gave it in particulars, to the value of about 40 pounds. This for a while cast an imputation of foul and unjust dealing upon Uncas, but in September 1664, the English commissioners, meeting at Hartford, sent for the Narraganset sachems or their deputies, desiring they might be instructed to make good their charge. Uncas came himself ; they sent their deputies, but after due examination it appeared, though some loose discourses had passed, that for such quantities of wampum, and such parcels of other goods to a great value, there might have been some probability of sparing his life ; yet no such parcels were brought, and the Narraganset deputies did not allege, much less prove, that any ransom was agreed, nor so much as any serious treaty begun to redeem their imprisoned sachem. And for wampum and goods sent, as they were but small parcels, and scarce considerable for such a purpose, so they were disposed by Miantonimo himself to sundry persons, for courtesies received during his imprisonment, and upon hope of further favour.

The Narraganset deputies saw their proofs fell far short of former pretences, and were silent. The commissioners promised, that upon better evidence hereafter, they should have due satisfaction ; whereupon a truce was made, and both parties were engaged that all hostility should cease till planting time, 1645, and after that they would give thirty days warning, either at the Massachusetts or at Hartford, before the truce should cease ; yet in February last, by messengers sent to Boston, declared, that unless Uncas would render 160 fathom of wampum, or come to a new hearing within six weeks, they would begin the war.

This crossed the former agreement, and the season was such, as neither the commissioners could be advised with, nor could Uncas travel, if notice had been given. After which, about or before planting time, Tantaquey-

son, a Mohegan captain, who took Miantonimo prisoner, was dangerously and treacherously wounded in the night, as he slept in his wigwam; and other hostile acts were on both parts attempted in a private and underhand way, as they could take advantage each against other.

But since, the Narragansets have at several times openly invaded Uncas, so that Connecticut and New Haven were forced, according to engagement, to send men from those colonies for his present defence, but with express direction not to begin any offensive war against the Narragansets, or their confederates, till further order.

In the mean time, messengers were sent to the Narragansets from the general court in the Massachusetts, signifying the commissioners' meeting, promising their grievances should be fully and justly heard, and requiring a cessation of war in the mean time, but they refused; and hearing probably that the English from the western colonies were returned, they made a new assault upon Uncas, and have done him much hurt.

The commissioners being met, sent messengers the second time both to the Narragansets and the Mohegan Indians, minding them of the former treaties and truce, desiring them to send their deputies, instructed and furnished with authority to declare and open the ground of the war, and to give and receive due satisfaction, and to restore and settle peace.

At first the Narraganset sachem gave a reasonable and fair answer, that he would send guides with them to the Mohegans, and if Uncas consented, he would send his deputies to the commissioners, and during eight days hostility should cease; but he soon repented of this moderation, told the English messengers his mind was changed, sent private instructions to the Niantick sachem, after the delivery of which there was nothing but proud and insolent passages. The Indian guides, which the English messengers brought with them from Pumham and Socononoco, were by frowns and threatening speeches discouraged and returned; no other guides could be obtained, though much pressed; they knew (as they ex-

pressed themselves) by the course held at Hartford last year, that the commissioners would press for peace, but they resolved to have no peace, without Uncas his head. It mattered not who began the war, they were resolved to continue it. The English should withdraw their garrison from Uncas, or they would take it as a breach of former covenants, and would procure as many Moquauks* as the English should affront them with; that they would lay the Englishmen's cattle on heaps, as high as their houses; that no Englishman should step out of doors to piss* but he should be killed. They reviled Uncas, charged him with cutting through his own arm, and saying the Narragansets had shot him; affirmed that he would now murder the English messengers as they went or returned, (if he had opportunity,) and lay it upon the Narragansets.

The English messengers, upon this rude and uncivil usage, wanting guides to proceed, and fearing danger, returned to the Narragansets, acquainted Pessacus with the former passages, desired guides from him, he (in scorn, as they apprehended it) offered them an old Pequot squaw, but would offer no other guides. There also they conceived themselves in danger, three Indians with hatchets standing behind the interpreter in a suspicious manner, while he was speaking with Pessacus, and the rest frowning and expressing much distemper in their countenance and carriage. The English messengers, not hoping for better success at that time, departed, telling Pessacus, that if he would return any other answer, he should send it the English trading house, where they intended to lodge that night. In the morning he invited them to return, and promised them a guide to Uncas, but would grant no cessation of arms. When they came to Providence, they understood that in their absence a Narraganset Indian had been there, and feigning himself to be of Connecticut, spake in that dialect, but could not put off the Narraganset tone. He told Benedict Arnold's wife, (who well understands the Indian language,) that the English messengers should not pass to the Mohegans. He knew they should have no guides, but should

* So the Ms. En.

be destroyed in the woods, as they travelled towards Uncas.

Thus the English messengers returned, and the interpreter under his hand, and upon his oath, related the former passages, with others less material more largely.

Mr. Williams by the messengers wrote to the commissioners, assuring them, that the country would suddenly be all on fire, meaning by war; that by strong reasons and arguments he could convince any man thereof, that was of another mind; that the Narragansets had been with the plantations combined with Providence, and had solemnly treated and settled a neutrality with them, which fully shews their counsels and settled resolutions for war.

Thus while the commissioners, in care of the publick peace, sought to quench the fire, kindled amongst the Indians, these children of strife breathe out threatenings, provocations, and war against the English themselves; so that unless they should dishonour and provoke God, by violating a just engagement, and expose the colonies to contempt and danger from the barbarians, they cannot but exercise force, when no other means will prevail, to reduce the Narragansets and their confederates to a more just and sober temper.

The eyes of other Indians, under the protection of the Massachusetts, and not at all engaged in this quarrel, are (as they have expressed themselves to the English messengers) fastened upon the English with strict observation, in what manner and measure they provide for Uncas' safety. If he perish, they will charge it upon them, who might have preserved him; and no Indians will trust the English, (if they now break engagements,) either in the present or succeeding generations. If Uncas be ruined in such a cause, they see their heads upon the next pretence shall be delivered to the will of the Narragansets, with whom therefore they shall be forced to comply (as they may) for their future safety; and the English may not trust an Indian in the whole country. The premises being duly weighed, it clearly appears that God calls the colonies to a war.

The Narragansets and their confederates rest on their

numbers, weapons, and opportunities to do mischief; and probably, (as of old, Ashur, Amalek, and the Philistines, with others did confederate against Israel,) so Satan may stir up and combine many of his instruments against the churches of Christ, but their Redeemer is the Lord of Hosts, the mighty one in battle; all the shields of the earth are in his hands; he can save by weak and by few means, as well as by many and great. In him they trust.

JO: WINTHROP, President,

In the name of all the commissioners.

This storm being blown over, all the rest of the Indians never durst make any open attempt upon any of the English, till the year 1675, when they broke out into an open rebellion, as is at large declared in a narrative published for that end, and intended to be annexed to this history.

But at Stamford in the end of August 1644, an Indian coming into a poor man's house, and none of the family being at home but the wife, and a child in the cradle, he barbarously struck her divers blows on the head with the edge of a lathing hammer, and so left her for dead; but he being afterwards taken, confessed the fact, with the reasons why he did it, and brought back some of the cloathes he had carried away. The woman was recovered afterwards, though her senses were very much impaired by the wounds, (some of which almost pierced to her brains,) and the Indian was put to death by the court at New Haven, in whose jurisdiction the fact was committed.

And at the meeting of the commissioners at New Haven, 1647, information was given them, that Sequasson (the sachem near Hartford) would have hired an Indian to have killed some of the magistrates near Hartford, whereupon he was sent for, but came not; but being gotten among the Indians at Pocompheake, they sent for Uncas, who undertook to fetch him in; but not being able to do it by force, he surprized him in the night, and brought him to Hartford, where he was kept in prison divers months, but there not being proof enough to convict him, &c. he was discharged; but the Indians, from

whom he was taken, took it so to heart against Uncas, as they intended to make war upon him, and the Narragansets sent wampum to them to encourage them ; accordingly in August, 1648, they were gathered together from divers parts, about a thousand Indians, and three hundred or more having guns and other ammunition. The magistrates of Hartford hearing thereof, sent three horsemen to them, (one being very expert in the Indian language,) to know their intent, and to tell them, that if they made war upon Uncas, the English must defend him. The Indian sachem entertained the messengers courteously, and having heard their message, after some time of deliberation gave them this answer, viz. they knew the English to be a wise and warlike people, and intended not to fall out with them, and therefore would at present desist, and take further time to consider of the matter.

And God had so disposed that at the same time, they had intelligence of a defeat given to some of their confederates, by other Indians, which called them to their aid ; also the Narraganset failed to send all the wampum he had promised, so as by the concurrence of all these accidents, the English were freed from war at that time, which might have proved very dangerous to them all, especially to their friends at Connecticut.

But the Narragansets being behind with their tribute, the commissioners being met at Plymouth in the month of September following, ordered four men to be sent to them, with an interpreter, with instructions how to treat with them, both concerning their hiring other Indians to war upon Uncas, and also about the tribute of wampum that was behind. Capt. Atherton, with Capt. Pritchard, undertook the service, and going to Mr. Williams, they procured the sachems to be sent for, but they hearing that many horsemen were come to take them, shift for themselves. Pessacus fled to Rhode Island, but soon after they were by Mr. Williams his means delivered of their fear, and came to the messengers, as they were desired, and being demanded about hiring the Mohawks against Uncas, they solemnly denied it ; only confessed that the

Mohawk being a great sachem, and their ancient friend and being come to meet them, they sent about twenty fathom of wampum for him to tread, as the manner of the Indians is. But Canonicus' son used this asseveration, "Englishman's God doth know that we do not stir up or hire the Mohawks against Uncas." They also then promised that they would not meddle with Uncas, nor stir up any other against him, before they had paid all the tribute to the English that was behind; and then they would require satisfaction for all the wrongs Uncas had done them, and if the English would not see them satisfied, they would then consider what to do. But for what was behind, of what was due to the English, they desire to be borne with at this time, in regard their want of corn the last winter had made them lay out their wampum for corn to the English, but the next spring they would provide part of it, and the rest so soon as they could, which was a fair answer, and according to equity accepted by the English. But still it appeared that this condescension was more out of fear than love, and that the old quarrel was not like easily to be forgotten and forgiven in the present age. Canonicus, the great sachem of the Narragansets, died the 4th of June, 1648, being a very old man, still leaving the hereditary quarrel entailed upon his successour. But Uncas was alive and well in the year 1680, and probably may live to see all his enemies buried before him.

It is here to be minded also, that although they were engaged to pay a yearly tribute to the English, upon the account of the forementioned rebellion, yet after some years they grew slack in the payment thereof, and at the last in a manner denied to do any thing that way, inso-much that the general court of the Massachusetts, or else the commissioners, sent Capt. Atherton, of Dorchester, with twenty soldiers to demand it. When he came to the place, Pessacus, the chief sachem, put him off with dilatory answers awhile, not suffering him to come into his presence; while his followers were gathered into a great assembly, consulting how to put them off, but the captain,

not able with patience to wait any longer, carried his twenty soldiers to the door of the wigwam, where the Indians sat in consultation, and there leaving them, himself boldly entered in amongst them all, with his pistol in his hand, (as was said,) and taking hold of Pessacus his locks, drew him from the midst of his attendants, (some hundreds in number, and all armed,) telling him that he should go along with him, and if any of them stirred he would presently speed him. By this undaunted courage of Capt. Atherton, Pessacus and all the other sachems were so affrighted, that they durst make no resistance; but presently paid down what was demanded, and so they were dismissed in safety.

Not long after, Ninicrite, another of their sachems, began to raise new troubles against the English amongst the Nianticks, but upon the sending Capt. Davis with a troop of horse into his quarters, he was struck with such a panick fear, that he scarce durst come to the speech of the English, till he was fully secured of his life, and then, readily complied with their demands. Such was the terrour of the English upon them in those times, till afterwards, by too much familiarity, they grew more emboldened, and ventured upon a war with them.

CHAP. LII.

The Confederation of the United Colonies of New England; the grounds and reasons leading thereunto, with the articles agreed upon, for that end.

Woe to him that is alone, saith Solomon. The people that came over to New England were necessitated to disperse themselves further, each from other, than they intended; yet finding that in their first and weak beginnings, they might be exposed to danger by many enemies, and as well from the natives as any foreign nations, although that they saw they could not be accommodated within the bounds of one and the same patent, yet judged it very expedient to be joined together in one common bond of unity and peace, by as firm engagement as

might be on either side. They saw also, by daily experience from the beginning, that without some such obligation, seeds of jealousy and difference might easily be sown between them, either about their bounds or other occasions; wherein all discovered an unwillingness to be subordinate one to another, yet could not be able to stand alone by themselves, without engagement of mutual assistance. For this end, some of the wisest in each division had been contriving some means of unity and accord, by a kind of confederation; and some had drawn up articles in that way in the year 1638, which were left to further consideration till after time. In the year 1639, the said confederation was earnestly prosecuted by Mr. Haines and Mr. Hooker, who tarried several weeks in the Bay to solicit the matter; by whose means the said treaty of confederation was again renewed, and commended to the consideration of the general court in the Massachusetts, who did not unwillingly accept thereof. Those of Connecticut were especially concerned to be solicitous about it, because they had some reason to expect trouble from the Dutch, who had lately received a new governour, one that was more discreet and sober than the former, and was very sensible and apprehensive of injury done to their people at Connecticut, and also very inquisitive how things stood between the Massachusetts and Connecticut; which made them the more ready to renew the former treaty, that the Dutch might not take notice of any breach or alienation between them. Yet notwithstanding how seriously and strenuously this motion was driven on, by several occasions that interposed, it could not be brought to any desirable issue till afterwards, viz. in the year 1643, when commissioners came from all the several colonies to Boston, in the time of the general court there assembled. Mr. Fenwick also, of Saybrook fort, joined with them in carrying on the treaty. The general court of the Massachusetts chose as commissioners for their colony, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Bradstreet, from among the magistrates; Mr. Hathorne, Mr. Gibbons and Mr. Ting, from amongst the deputies.

From Connecticut, came Mr. Haines and Mr. Hopkins; from New Haven, came Mr. Theophilus Eaton and Mr. Grigson; Mr. Winslow and Mr. Collier from Plymouth. These coming to consultation, encountered with many difficulties, before they could agree upon a good foundation wherein all might center; but being all desirous of union and studious of peace, they readily yielded each to other, in such things as tended to the common good of the whole, so as after two or three meetings they lovingly accorded upon some articles, which here follow, being allowed by the general court of the Massachusetts, and signed by all the commissioners, and sent also to be confirmed and ratified by the general courts of the rest of the jurisdictions. Only Plymouth commissioners having power to treat but not to determine, deferred the signing of them till they came home, &c. but soon after they were confirmed by their general court also, as well as by all the rest.

Those of Sir Ferdinando Gorges' province, beyond Pascataqua, were not received nor called into this confederation; because they ran a differing course from the rest, both in their ministry and their civil administrations. Nor indeed were they at that time furnished with inhabitants, fit for such a purpose, for they had lately made Agamenticus (a poor village) a corporation, and had made a mean person major thereof, and had also entertained a contentious person, and one under offence, for their minister.

Articles of Confederation between the plantations under the government of the Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven, in New England, with the plantations in combination with them.

Whereas, we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, namely, to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity with peace; and whereas in our settling, (by the wise providence of God,) we are further dispersed from the sea coast and rivers, than was at the first intended, so that we cannot accord-

ing to our desire, with convenience communicate in one government and jurisdiction; and whereas we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us and our posterity; and forasmuch as the natives have committed sundry insolencies and outrages upon several plantations of the English, and have of late combined themselves against us, and seeing, by reason of the sad distractions in England, (which they have heard of, or by which they know,) we are hindered, both from the humble way of seeking advice, and reaping those comfortable fruits of protection, which at other times we might well expect; we therefore do conceive it our bounden duty, without delay, to enter into a present consociation amongst ourselves, for mutual help and strength, in all future concernments; that as in nation and relation, so in other respects we be, and continue one, according to the tenour and true meaning of the ensuing articles.

1. Wherefore it is fully agreed and concluded, between the parties and jurisdictions above named, and they jointly and severally do by these presents agree, and conclude that they all be, and henceforth be called by the name of the United Colonies of New England.

2. The said United Colonies, for themselves and their posterities, do jointly and severally, hereby enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity, for offence and defence, mutual advice and succour, upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truths and liberties of the gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare.

3. It is further agreed, that the plantations which at present are, or hereafter shall be, settled within the limits of the Massachusetts, shall be forever under the government of the Massachusetts, and shall have peculiar jurisdiction amongst themselves, in all cases, as entire body. And that Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, shall each of them, in all respects, have peculiar jurisdiction and government, within their limits; and in reference to

the plantations which are already settled, or shall hereafter be erected, and shall settle within any of their limits respectively; provided that no other jurisdiction shall be taken in, as a distinct head or member of this confederation, nor shall any other, either plantation or jurisdiction in present being, and not already in combination, or under the jurisdiction of any of their confederates, be received by any of them, nor shall any two of these confederates, join in one jurisdiction without consent of the rest, which consent to be interpreted, as in the sixth ensuing article is expressed.

4. It is also by these confederates agreed, that the charge of all just wars, whether offensive or defensive, (upon what part or member of this confederation soever they shall fall,) shall both in men and provisions, and all other disbursements, be borne by all the parts of this confederation, in different proportions, according to their different abilities, in manner following, viz. That the commissioners for each jurisdiction, from time to time, as there shall be occasion, bring account and number of all the males in each plantation, or any way belonging to or under their several jurisdictions, of what quality or condition soever they be, from sixteen years old to sixty, being inhabitants there; and that according to the different numbers, which from time to time shall be found in each jurisdiction, upon a true and just account, the service of men, and all charges of the war be borne by the poll. Each jurisdiction or plantation being left to their own just course or custom of rating themselves and people, according to their different estates, with due respect to their qualities and exemptions among themselves; though the confederates take no notice of any such privilege, and that according to the different charge of each jurisdiction and plantation, the whole advantage of the war, (if it pleased God so to bless their endeavours,) whether it be in land, goods, or persons, shall be proportionably divided amongst the said confederates.

5. It is further agreed, that if any of these jurisdictions, or any plantation under, or in combination with

them, be invaded by any enemy whatsoever, upon notice and request of any three magistrates of that jurisdiction so invaded, the rest of the confederates, without any further notice or expostulation, shall forthwith send aid to confederates in danger, but in different proportions, viz. the Massachusetts, an hundred men, sufficiently armed and provided for such a service and journey ; and each of the rest forty five men, so armed and provided, or any less number, if less be required, according to this proportion. But if such a confederate in danger may be supplied by their next confederate, not exceeding the number hereby agreed, they may crave help thence, and seek no further for the present ; the charge to be borne, as in this article is expressed ; but at their return to be victualled and supplied with powder and shot, (if there be need,) for their journey, by that jurisdiction, which employed or sent for them. But none of the jurisdictions to exceed those numbers, till by a meeting of the commissioners for this confederation, a greater aid appear necessary ; and this proportion to continue, till upon knowledge of the numbers in each jurisdiction, which shall be brought to the next meeting, some other proportion be ordered ; but in any such case of sending men for present aid, (whether before or after such order or alterations,) it is agreed, that at the meeting of the commissioners for this confederation, the cause of such war or invasion be duly considered. And if it appear that the fault lay in the party invaded, that then the jurisdiction or plantation make just satisfaction, both to the invaders, whom they have injured, and bear all the charge of the war themselves, without requiring any allowance from the rest of the confederates, towards the same. And further, that if any jurisdiction see danger of an invasion approaching, and there be time for a meeting, that in such case three magistrates of that jurisdiction may summon a meeting at such convenient place, as themselves think meet, to consider and provide against the threatened danger. Provided, when they are met, they may remove to what place they please ; only when any of these four confede-

rates have but three magistrates in their jurisdiction, a request or summons from any two of them shall be accounted of equal force, with the three mentioned in both the clauses of this article, till there be an increase of magistrates there.

6. It is also agreed and concluded, that for the managing of all affairs, proper to and concerning the whole confederation, two commissioners shall be chosen by and out of each of those jurisdictions, viz. two for the Massachusetts, and so for the other three, (all in church fellowship with us,) which shall bring full power from their several general courts respectively, to hear and examine, weigh and determine, all affairs of war or peace, leagues, aid, charges, numbers of men of war, division of spoils, or whatsoever is gotten by conquest, receiving of more confederates or plantations into combination with any of these confederates, and all things of like nature, which are the proper concomitants and consequents of such a confederation, for amity, offence and defence, (not intermeddling with the government of any of the jurisdictions, which by the 3d article is preserved entirely by them;) but if these eight commissioners, when they meet, shall not agree, yet it is concluded that any six of the eight agreeing, shall have power to determine and settle the business in question. But if six do not agree, that then such propositions, with their reasons, (so far as they have been debated,) be sent and referred to the four general courts, viz. the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, and if at all the said general courts, the business so referred be concluded, then to be prosecuted by the confederates and all their members. It is further agreed, that these eight commissioners shall meet every year, (besides extraordinary meetings, according to the 5th article,) to consider, treat, and conclude of all affairs, belonging to this confederation; which meeting shall ever be the first Tuesday in September, and that the next meeting after the date of these presents, (which shall be accounted the second meeting,) shall be at Boston, in the Massachusetts; the third, at Hartford; the

fourth, at New Haven ; the fifth, at Plymouth ; the sixth, and seventh, at Boston ; and then at Hartford, New Haven, and Plymouth, and so in course successively ; if, in the mean time, some middle place be not found out, and agreed upon, which may be commodious for all the jurisdiction.

7. It is further agreed, that at each meeting of these eight commissioners, (whether ordinary or extraordinary,) they all, or any six of them, agreeing as before, may choose their president, out of themselves, whose office and work shall be, to take care and direct for order, and a comely carrying on of all proceedings in their present meeting. But he shall be invested with no such power or respect, as by which he shall hinder the propounding or progress of any business, or any way cast the scales otherwise, than in the preceding article is agreed.

8. It is also agreed, that the commissioners for this confederation hereafter, at their meetings, (whether ordinary or extraordinary,) as they may have commission or opportunity, do endeavour to frame and establish agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature, wherein all the plantations are interested for preserving peace among themselves, and preventing, (as much as may be,) all occasions of war or differences with others ; as about free and speedy passage of justice in each jurisdiction, to all the confederates equally as to their own ; receiving those that remove from one plantation to another without due certificates ; how all the jurisdictions may carry it towards the Indians, that they neither grow insolent, nor be injured without due satisfaction, lest war break in upon the confederates through miscarriages. It is also agreed, that if any servant run away from his master, into any of the confederate jurisdictions, that in such case, (upon certificate from one magistrate in the jurisdiction out of which the said servant fled, or upon other due proof,) the said servant shall be either delivered to his master, or any other that pursues, and brings such certificate and proof.

And that upon the escape of any prisoner, or fugitive,

for any criminal cause, whether breaking prison or getting from the officer, or otherwise escaping; upon the certificate of two magistrates of the jurisdiction out of which the escape is made, that he was a prisoner or such an offender at the time of the escape, the magistrate, or some of them of that jurisdiction, where for the present the said prisoner or fugitive abideth, shall forthwith grant such a warrant as the case will bear, for the apprehending of any such person, and the delivery of him into the hand of the officer, or other person who pursueth him. And if there be help required, for the safe returning of any such offender, then it shall be granted unto him that craves the same, he paying the charges thereof.

9. And for that the justest wars may be of dangerous consequence, (especially to the smaller plantations in these United Colonies,) it is agreed, that neither the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut nor New Haven, nor any of the members of any of them, shall at any time hereafter begin, undertake or engage themselves, or this confederation, or any part thereof, in any war whatsoever, (sudden exigencies, with the necessary consequences thereof excepted, which are also to be moderated as much as the case will permit,) without the consent and agreement of the forenamed eight commissioners, or at least six of them, as in the sixth article is provided. And that no charge be required of any of the confederates, in case of a defensive war, till the said commissioners have met, and approved the justice of the war, and have agreed upon the sums of money to be levied; which sum is then to be paid by the several confederates, in proportion according to the fourth article.

10. That in extraordinary occasions, when meetings are summoned by three magistrates, of any jurisdiction, or two, as in the fifth article, if any of the commissioners come not, (due warning being given or sent,) it is agreed that four of the commissioners shall have power to direct a war which cannot be delayed, and to send for due proportions of men, out of each jurisdiction, as well as six, might have done, if all had met; but not less than six

shall determine the justice of war, or allow the demands or bills of charges, or cause any levies to be made for the same.

11. It is further agreed, that if any of the confederates shall hereafter break any of these present articles, or be other way injurious to any of the other jurisdictions, such breach of agreement or injury shall be duly considered and ordered by the commissioners of the other jurisdictions, that both peace and this present confederation may be entirely preserved without violation.

12. Lastly, this perpetual confederation, and the several articles and agreements thereof being read, and seriously considered, both by the general court for the Massachusetts, and the commissioners for the other three; were subscribed presently by the commissioners, (all save those of Plymouth, who, for want of sufficient commission from their general court, deferred their subscription till the next meeting, and then they subscribed also,) and were to be allowed by the general courts of the several jurisdictions, which accordingly was done, and certified at the next meeting, held at Boston, September 7, 1643.

Boston, May 29th, 1643.

CHAP. LIII.

Ships seized in the harbours of the Massachusetts, by pretended commissions of the Admiralty in England, in the year 1644.

ABOUT July, in the year 1644, one Capt. Stagg arriving at Boston, in a London ship of 24 pieces of ordnance, and finding there a ship of Bristol, of one hundred tons, laden with fish for Bilboa, he made no speech of any commission he had; but having put ashore a good part of his lading, (which was in wine, from Teneriffe,) suddenly weighed anchor, and with a sea turn gale, sailed from before Boston to Charlestown, and placed his ship between the town and the Bristol ship, and moored himself aboard her. Then he called the master of the Bris-

tol ship and shewed him his commission, and told him if he would yield, himself and all his men should have what belonged to them, and all their wages to that day; and then turning up the half hour glass, set him in his own ship again, requiring his answer by that time the glass was out. The master coming aboard, acquainted his men therewith, demanding their resolution. Two or three of his men would have fought, and blown up their ship, rather than yielded, but the greatest part prevailed; so she was quietly taken, and all the men (save three) sent to Boston, where order was taken by their captain for their diet. In this half hour's time, much people were gathered together on the shore to see the issue; and some who had interest in the prize, especially a Bristol merchant, (counted a very bold malignant, as then they were termed,) began to gather company and raise a tumult. But some of the people laid hold of them, and brought them to the deputy governour, who committed the merchant, with some others that were strangers, to a chamber in an ordinary, with a guard upon them; and others who were town dwellers, he committed to prison, and sent the constable to require the people to depart to their houses; and then hearing the ship was taken, wrote to the captain to know by what authority he had done it in their harbour, who forthwith repaired to him with his commission, which was to this effect: "*Rob. Comes Warwici, &c. Magnus Admirallus Angliæ, &c. civibus cujuscunq. status, honoris, et saltem sciatis quod in Registro cur. Admiralt.*" And so recites the ordinance of parliament in English, to this effect, "That it should be lawful for all men, &c. to set forth ships and take all vessels, in or outward bound, to or from Bristol, Barnstable, Dartmouth, &c. in hostility against the king and parliament, and to visit all ships in any port or creek, &c. by force, if they should refuse, &c. and they were to have the whole prize to themselves, paying the 10 pounds to the admiral. Provided before they went forth, they should give security to the Admiral to observe their commission, and that they should make a true invoice of all goods, and not

break bulk, but bring the ship to the Admiral, and two or three of the officers, and that they should not rob or spoil any of the friends of the parliament," and so concludes thus: "*Stagg capitaneus obligavit se, &c. in his mille libris, &c. In cujus rei testimonium, Sigillum, Admiralt. presentib. apponi fieri, &c. Dat. March 1644.*"

Upon sight of this commission, the deputy appointed Capt. Stagg to bring or send it to Salem, where was an assembly both of magistrates and ministers, to consider of some matters then under debate. The tumult being pacified, he took bond of the principal actor, with sureties to appear at the said meeting, and to keep the peace in the mean time. The captain brought his commission to Salem, and there it was read and considered of. The seizure of the ship was by divers gentlemen diversely apprehended; some were strongly conceited it was a violating the country's liberties, and that a commission out of the admiralty could not supersede a patent under the broad seal. Those that were of that mind, judged that the captain should be forced to restore the ship; others were of different minds, and judged that this act could be no precedent to bar us from opposing any commission or foreign power, that might indeed tend to our hurt, &c. But not to dispute the power of the Parliament here, it was in the issue determined not to intermeddle with the case, lest by interposing in a strife, that was not within their reach, they should but take a dog by the ears. But because some merchants in the country had put goods aboard the Bristol ship, before the seizure, wherein they claimed propriety, they desired to try their right by action, to which the captain consented to appear; so a court was called on purpose, where the merchants intended to do their utmost to save their principals in England from damage, by a trial at law, procured an attainder against the captain; but they were dissuaded from that course, and the deputy sent for Capt. Stagg and acquainted him therewith, and took his word for his appearance at the court. When the time came, that the court was to sit, the merchants were persuaded

not to put it to a jury, which could find no more but the matter of fact, viz. whose the goods were, whether the merchants in England, or those that shipped them, in regard as yet no consignment of them had been made, nor bills of lading taken, and this the magistrates could as well determine upon proof, and certify accordingly; for they were not willing to use any force against the parliament's authority; and accordingly, they certified the admiral of the true state of the case, as they found it upon examination and oath of the factors, and so left it to be decided elsewhere. The merchants of Bristol wrote afterward to the general court about it, who made an address to the parliament, but the success seemed not to answer the charge.

One Capt. Richardson, pretending to have such a commission as was Capt. Stagg's, would have taken a Dartmouth ship, September 16, following; but he was prevented by the interposition of the government, who seized her at the request of some of the inhabitants, in way of recompense for loss they had sustained of the like nature in Wales. But when Capt. Richardson produced his commission, it proved to be neither under the great seal, nor grounded upon any ordinance of parliament, so as he could not, by virtue thereof, take any ship, exempt from the admiral's jurisdiction; and therefore, as he was advised, he forbore to meddle with any of the ships in the harbour.

Capt. Richardson proceeded very rashly in his enterprize; and if a special providence had not hindered one of his men, as he was running down hastily to fire at the battery of Boston, from which one had fired a warning piece, that cut a rope in the ship, much mischief might have been done. The captain was the next day sensible of his error, and acknowledged the goodness of God, that had prevented him from doing and receiving much hurt, by that unadvised attempt.

CHAP. LIV.

Transactions between the Massachusetts and some of the governours of the French plantations in Acady, from the year 1641 to 1646.

NOVEMBER the 8th, 1641, one Mr. Rochet, a Protestant of Rochelle, arrived at Boston, with a message from Monsieur La Tour, planted upon St. John's river, in the bay of Fundy, to the westward of Cape Sable. He brought no letters with him, but only from Mr. Shurt of Pemaquid, where he left his men and boat. He propounded three things to the governour and council of the Massachusetts. 1. Liberty of free commerce, which was granted. 2. Assistance against Monsieur D'Aulney, of Penobscot, with whom he had war. 3. That he might make return of goods out of England by their merchants. In the two last, they excused any treaty with him, as having no letters, or commission from La Tour; however he was courteously entertained there, and after a few days departed. But on the 6th of October following, there came a shallop from the said La Tour, with fourteen men, one whereof was his lieutenant. They brought letters to the governour, full of French compliments, with desire of assistance against Monsieur D'Aulney. They stayed about a week, (in which time they had liberty to take notice of the state of the Massachusetts, with the order of which the lieutenant professed to be much affected,) and then returned without any promise of what was principally desired; yet having now a second time propounded liberty of commerce with them, some of the merchants of Boston sent a pinnace soon after, to trade with La Tour in St. John's river. He welcomed them very kindly, giving them good encouragement for commerce, and withal wrote letters to their governour, very gratulatory for his lieutenant's entertainment, &c. and a relation of the state of the controversy betwixt him and D'Aulney. But in their return they met with D'Aulney at Pemaquid, who wrote also to their governour, and sent him a print-

ed copy of the arrest against La Tour, and threatened them, that if any of their vessels came to La Tour, he would make prize of them. The next summer, June 12, 1643, Monsieur La Tour himself came to Boston, in a ship of 140 tons, with 140 persons that lately came from Rochelle, whereof the master and his company were protestants. There came along with them two friars, (one of whom was well learned, and a ready disputant, and very fluent in the Latin tongue,) and two women, sent to wait upon La Tour's lady. They came in with a fair wind, without any notice taken of them; for meeting a Boston boat at sea, they took a pilot out of her, and left one of their own men in his place. As they passed into the harbour, one of La Tour's gentlemen espied Capt. Gibbons his wife and her family passing by water to her farm; and giving notice to the Monsieur, that they had been courteously entertained at their house in Boston, he presently manned out a boat to go and speak with her. She seeing such a company of strangers making towards her, hasted to get from them, and landed at an island near by, called the governour's garden. La Tour landed presently after her, and there found the governour himself with his family, whom after salutation he presently made acquainted with the cause of his coming, viz. that his ship being sent him out of France, D'Aulney, his old enemy, had so blocked up the river to his fort, with two ships and a galliot, that his ship could not get in, whereupon he stole by in the night with his shallop, and was come to crave aid to convey him into his fort. The governour answered him, that he could say nothing to it till he had conferred with some other of the magistrates; so after supper, he went with him to Boston. In the mean time, notice being given hereof by boats that passed by, the town was up in arms, and sent three shallops with armed men to guard the governour home, and not without cause; for if it had been an enemy, he might not only have surprized the person of the governour, with his family, but seized also the guns, the castle, and either possessed themselves of the fortifi-

cation, or carried all away, there being not a man at that time to defend the place. This supposed danger put them upon another course, for better security of the place soon after. But to let that pass, the governour having the next day called together such of the magistrates and deputies as were at hand, La Tour shewed them his commission, and propounded to them his request, with the cause of his coming. His commission was fairly engrossed in parchment, under the hand and seal of the vice admiral of France, and grand prior, &c. to bring supply to La Tour, whom he styled his majesty's lieutenant general of Acady. He showed also a letter from the agent of the company in France, to whom he hath reference, informing him of the injurious practices of D'Aulney against him, and advising him to look to himself, &c. and subscribed to him as lieutenant general, &c. Upon this it appeared, (being dated in April, 1643,) that notwithstanding the arrest which D'Aulney had sent to the governour the last year, whereby La Tour was proclaimed a rebel, &c. yet he stood in good terms with the state of France, and also with the company, &c. Whereupon, (though he could not grant him aid, without the advice of the other commissioners of the United Colonies,) yet they thought it neither fit nor just, to hinder any that would be willing to be hired to aid him; and accordingly they answered him, that they would allow him a free mercate; that he might hire any ships that lay in their harbour, &c. which he took very thankfully, and rested well satisfied in. He had also leave granted him to land his men to refresh themselves; and upon his request, liberty was granted to exercise his soldiers, on a training day, at Boston, when the company of the town were in like manner employed in their military exercises, wherein they behaved themselves civilly, and shewed their activity in feats of arms, which was unto mutual satisfaction; although some persons, unaccustomed to such affairs, were not well pleased therewith, and did foretell that which never came to pass. Many being dissatisfied with these concessions, the governour saw cause to call a se-

cond meeting, where all the reasons, pro and con, were laid down and debated. After all which, the governour and council could not apprehend it any more unlawful for them, to allow him liberty to provide himself succour from amongst their people, than it was for Joshua to aid the Gibeonites against the rest of the Canaanites, or for Jehoshaphat to aid Jehoram against Moab; in which expedition Elisha was present, and did not reprove the king of Judah, but for his presence sake, saved their lives by a miracle; yet the ill success at the last, seems not fully justified by these reasons.

The governour also, by letters, informed the rest of the commissioners of what had passed, giving them the reasons, why they did so presently give him his answer, without further trouble to the country, or delay to the French Monsieur, whose distress was very urgent.

In like manner did the governour, with the advice of some of the magistrates and others, write to D'Aulney, by way of answer to his letters of November last, to this effect; viz. whereas he found by the copy of the arrest sent from himself, that La Tour was under displeasure and censure in France, and therefore intended to have no further to do with him, than by way of commerce, which is allowed, &c. and if he had made prize of any of their vessels in that way, as he had threatened, they should have righted themselves, as well as they could, without injury to himself, or just offence to his majesty of France, (whom they did honour, as a great and mighty Prince,) and should endeavour so to behave themselves, towards his majesty and all his subjects, &c. as became them. But La Tour coming to them, and acquainting them, how it is with him, and mentioning the vice admiral's commission, with the letters, &c. though they thought not fit to give him aid, as being unwilling to intermeddle in any of the wars of their neighbours; yet considering his urgent necessity and distress, they could not so far dispense with the laws of christianity and humanity, as to deny him liberty to hire, for his money, any ships in their harbour; and whereas, some of their

people were willing to go along with him, (though without any commission,) they had charged them to endeavour, by all means, to bring matters to a reconciliation, &c. and that they should be assured, if they should do, or attempt, any thing against the rules of justice and good neighbourhood, they must be accountable thereof, unto them, at their return.

Some other gentlemen did, at that time, affirm, that being accidentally in their passage to New England, made to put into the harbour, where was La Tour's fort, they were there civilly treated, and accommodated with his own pinnace, to transport them, when their ship was forced to leave them. And whereas, he was charged with the killing two Englishmen at Machias, and detaining 500 pounds worth of goods, that belonged to some of New England, about ten years ago; it was then made out, undeniably, that the Englishmen at Machias were all drunk, (which is not hard to believe, where men, that have not power to govern themselves, have strong liquors and wine to command at their pleasure,) and that they began to fire their murdering pieces against the Frenchmen, whom they had peaceably traded with, but two or three days before. And for the goods, La Tour proffered to refer the matter to judgment yet, and that if it should be found he had done them any wrong, he would make them satisfaction.

In the end, nothing of moment being objected against their hiring of ships of force, to convey him and his lady, with their ship and goods, home to his fort, they set sail July the 14, 1643, with four ships and a pinnace, well manned with seventy or eighty volunteers, who all returned safe within two months after, without loss either of vessels or men; although they chased D'Aulney to his own fort, where he ran his two ships and pinnace aground, with intent to fortify himself with all expedition; and the messenger, that carried the letters to D'Aulney, was led blindfold into the house, and so returned, six or seven hours after. But the commander in chief of the vessels, hired at Boston, would not be persuaded by La

Tour to make any assault upon D'Aulney ; yet thirty of the New England men went, on their own accord, with La Tour's men, and drave some of D'Aulney's men from a mill, where they had entrenched themselves, with the loss of three of his men, and only three of La Tour's men wounded.

Some of the country took great offence at these proceedings, and drew up a kind of protest against their actings in the Bay, and that they would be innocent of all the mischief that might ensue, &c. Some men have wit enough to find fault with what is done, though not half enough to know how to mend it, or to do better. The governour, indeed, did blame himself for being over sudden in his resolution ; for although a course may be warrantable and safe, yet it becomes wise men, in matters of moment, not to proceed without deliberation and advice. But on the other hand, where present distress doth urge, delays may be as dangerous as denials ; and a kindness, extorted out of a friend or neighbour with importunity, may be as ill resented afterward as an injury. *Bis dat, qui citò dat.*

In the summer following, La Tour, understanding that D'Aulney was coming out of France with great strength to subdue him, made another address to the governour of the Massachusetts, to afford him aid, if need should be. Mr. Endicot being governour that year, La Tour repaired to him at Salem, where he lived ; who, understanding the French language, was moved with compassion toward him, and appointed a meeting of the magistrates and ministers to consider of the request.

It seems this La Tour's father had purchased all the privileges and propriety of Nova Scotia from Sir William Alexander, and had been quietly possessed of it, himself and his father, about thirty years ; and that Penobscot was theirs also, till within these five years, when D'Aulney by force dispossessed him thereof. His grant was confirmed under the great seal of N. Scotland, and he had obtained also another grant of a Scotch baronet, under the same seal.

Most of the magistrates, and many others, were clear in the case, that he ought to be relieved, not only out of charity as a distressed neighbour, but in point of prudence, to prevent a dangerous enemy to be settled too near us. But after much disputation, those that most inclined to favour La Tour, being unwilling to conclude any thing without a full consent; a third way was propounded, which all assented unto, which was this, that a letter should be sent to D'Aulney to this effect, viz. that by occasion of some commissions of his, which had come to their hands, to take their people, and not knowing any just occasion they had given him, they would know the reason thereof; and withal, to demand satisfaction for the wrongs which he had done them and their confederates, in taking Penobscot, and their men and goods at the Isle of Sables, and threatening to make prize of their vessels, if they came beyond Penobscot; &c. declaring withal, that although their men, which went the last year with La Tour, did it without any commission, council, or act of permission of the country, yet if he made it appear to them, that they had done him any wrong, (which yet they knew not of,) they should be ready to do him justice, and requiring his express answer by the bearer, and expecting he should call in all such commissions, &c. They sent also in their letter, a copy of the order, published by the governour and council, whereby they forbade all their people to use any act of hostility, (otherwise than in their own defence,) towards French or Dutch, &c. till the next general court, mentioning also, in the same letter, a course of trade their merchants had entered into with La Tour, and their resolution to maintain them in it.

This being all, which La Tour could obtain at this time, he returned home the 9th September, 1644; mutual signs of respect being given betwixt him and the gentlemen of Boston at his parting.

It is here to be noted, that the same summer, Mr. Vines, agent for Sir Ferdinando Gorges, at Saco; Mr. Wannerton, that had some interest in the government of

Pascataqua ; and Mr. Shurt of Pemaquid, went to La Tour to call for some debts, &c. In their way they put in at Penobscot, and were there detained prisoners a few days, but were afterward (for Mr. Shurt's sake, to whom D'Aulney was in debt,) dismissed, and going to La Tour, Mr. Wannerton, and some other Englishmen of the eastern parts, were entertained by him, and sent with about twenty of his men, to try if they could take Penobscot, (for they heard the fort was weakly manned, and in want of victuals.) They went first to a farm house of D'Aulney's, about six miles off, and there Wannerton and two men more went and knocked at the door, with their swords and pistols ready ; one opens the door and another presently shot Wannerton dead, and a third shoots his second in the shoulder, but withal he discharged his pistol upon him and killed him. The rest of Wannerton's company came in and took the house, and the two men (for there were no more) prisoners, and then burnt the house and killed the cattle, that were there, and so embarked themselves, and came to Boston to La Tour. This Wannerton was a stout man, and had been a soldier many years ; he had lived very wickedly in whoredom, drunkenness, and quarrelling, so as he had kept the Pascataqua men under awe many years, till they came under the government of the Massachusetts ; but since that time, he had been much restrained, and the people freed from his terrour. He had (as was said) of late come under some terrours of conscience, and motions of the spirit, by means of the preaching of the word, but had shaken all off, and returned to his former dissolute course, and so continued, till God cut him off, by this sudden execution, which, if it were so, on him was fulfilled the threatening, mentioned Prov. xxix, 1. "he that, being often reprov'd, hardeneth his neck, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy." But the assailants in this hostile action, being led on by an Englishman, that lived within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, it was like to provoke D'Aulney the more against them, of which he found occasion afterward to put them in mind.

September 17, the same year, the lady La Tour arrived at Boston from London, in a ship commanded by one Capt. Bayley. They had been six months from London, having spent their time in trading about Canada, &c. They met with D'Aulney about Cape Sables, and told him they were bound for the Bay, having stowed the lady and her people under hatches; so he not knowing it was Capt. Bayley, (whom he earnestly sought for, either to have taken or sunk him,) wrote by the master to the deputy governour, to this effect, That his master, the king of France, understanding the aid La Tour had there, the last year, was on the commission he shewed from the vice admiral of France, gave him in charge not to molest them for it, but to hold all good correspondency with them, and all the English; which he professed he was desirous of, so far as it might stand with his duty to his majesty; and withal, that he intended to send to them, as soon as he had settled his affairs, to let them know what further commission he had, and his sincerity in the business of La Tour, &c.

And soon after, while the governour and the rest of the magistrates were at Boston, to consider about the premises, and other coincident affairs, a vessel arrived at Salem with ten men, sent from D'Aulney, amongst whom was one Monsieur Marie, (supposed to be a friar, but habited like a gentleman.) He wrote to the governour, (whom he expected to have found at Salem, where he dwelt,) at Boston, by a gentleman of his company, to know where he might attend him; and upon the governour's answer, he came the next day to Boston, and there, with letters of credence and commission from D'Aulney; he shewed them the king of France's commission, under the great seal of France, with the privy seal annexed, wherein the proceedings against La Tour were recited, and he condemned as a rebel and traitor, &c. with command for the apprehension of him and his lady, (who had fled out of France against special order, &c.) He complained also of the wrong done by their men, the last year, in assisting of La Tour, &c. yet proffered

terms of peace and amity. They answered to the first, that divers of the ships and most of the men were strangers to them, and had no commission from them, nor permission to use any hostility; and they were sorry when they heard what was done; which gave him satisfaction. To the other proposal they answered, that they could not conclude any league with him, without the advice of the commissioners of the United Colonies; but if he would set down his proposals in writing, they would consider further of them; and withal, acquainted him what they had lately written to Mr. D'Aulney; and the injuries they had complained of to him; so he withdrew himself to his lodging, and there having drawn out his proposals, and answers to their complaint, in French, he returned to them, adding two proposals more; one, that they would aid him against La Tour, and the other, that they would not assist him; and gave reasonable answer to their demands. They urged much for a reconciliation with La Tour, and that he would permit his lady to go to her husband. His answer was, that if La Tour would voluntarily come in and submit, he would assure him his life and liberty; but if he were taken, he were sure to lose his head in France; and for his lady, she was known to be the cause of all this contempt and rebellion, and therefore they could not let her go to him, but if they should send her in any of their vessels, he must take them, and if they carried any goods to La Tour, he would take them also, but give them satisfaction for them. In the end, they came to this agreement, which was drawn up in Latin in these words, and signed by the governour and six other of the magistrates and Monsieur Marie, whereof one copy they kept, and the other he carried with them. He came to Boston the Friday, and making great haste departed on the Tuesday following. They furnished him with horses, and sent him well accompanied to Salem, having entertained him with all courteous respect the time while he stayed. He seemed to be surprised with his unexpected entertainment, and gave a liberal testimony of his acceptance thereof, and assurance

of Monsieur D'Aulney's engagement to them for it.—
The agreement was as followeth :

The Agreement between John Endicot, Esq. governour of the Massachusetts, in New England, and the rest of the magistrates there, and Mr. Marie, commissioner of Monsieur D'Aulney, knight, governour and lieutenant general for his majesty, the king of France, in Acady, a province of New France, made and ratified at Boston, in the Massachusetts aforesaid, October 8, 1644.

The governour and all the rest of the magistrates do promise to Mr. Marie, that they, and all the English within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, shall observe and keep firm peace with Monsieur D'Aulney, &c. and all the French under his command in Acady. And likewise, the said Mr. Marie doth promise, in the behalf of Monsieur D'Aulney, that he and all his people shall also keep firm peace with the governour and magistrates aforesaid, and with all the inhabitants of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts aforesaid, and that it shall be lawful, for all men, both French and English, to trade each with other ; so that if any occasion of offence should happen, neither part shall attempt any thing against the other, in any hostile manner, until the wrong be first declared and complained of, and due satisfaction not given. Provided always, the governour and magistrates aforesaid, be not bound to restrain their merchants from trading, with their ships, with any persons, whether French or others, wheresoever they dwell. Provided also, that the full ratification and conclusion of this agreement, be referred to the next meeting of the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, for the continuation or abrogation, and in the mean time, to remain firm and inviolate.

By this agreement, they were freed from the fear their people were in, that Monsieur D'Aulney would take revenge of their small vessels and out plantations, for the harm he sustained the last year by their means.

As La Tour returned home, with a vessel of the Mas-

sachusetts in his company, laden with provision, he narrowly escaped being taken by D'Aulney : for when he went out of the harbour, the wind was very fair, which, if he had made use of, he had fallen directly into the snare ; but touching at divers places by the way, where he stayed some time, he passed by Penobscot, soon after D'Aulney was gone into the harbour ; whereas if he had gone home directly, he must needs have been taken. But the Boston vessel, that was in company with him, was met by D'Aulney in her return, who staid her, and taking the master aboard his ship, manned her with Frenchmen, telling the master his intention, and assuring him of all good usage and recompense, for the stay of his vessel, (all which he really performed.) He brought her with him to the mouth of St. John's river, and then sent her boat, with one gentleman of his own, to La Tour, to shew him his commission, and withal, desired the master to write to La Tour, to desire him to dismiss the messenger safely, for otherwise D'Aulney would keep him for hostage ; (yet he assured the master he would not do it.) So La Tour dismissed the messenger in peace, which he professed he would not have done, but for their master's sake. D'Aulney carried the ketch with him to Port Royal, where he used the master courteously, and gave him credit for fish he bought of him, and recompense for the stay of his vessel, and so dismissed him.

Presently after this return, a vessel was sent to trade with D'Aulney, and by it the deputy governour wrote to D'Aulney, shewing the cause of sending her, with profession of their desire of holding good correspondency with him, &c. and withal persuading him, by divers arguments, to entertain peace with La Tour ; to which the French gentlemen lent a deaf ear, though he treated civilly with the company, and took off their commodities, at the lowest rate he could bring them to.

The lady La Tour, while she lay at Boston, commenced an action against Bailey, the captain of the ship, for not carrying her directly to her own place, and for some injuries done her aboard his ship, greatly to her damage.

The action was commenced also against the merchant, (who was both brother and factor to Alderman Berkley, of London, who freighted the ship,) for not performing the charter party; having spent so much time upon the coast in trading; that they were near six months in coming, and at the last, were not carried to her fort, as they ought, and might have been. Upon a full hearing, in a special court, after four days, the jury gave her 2000 pounds damage; for had they come in any reasonable time, it might have been more to her advantage, in their trade, and safety against D'Aulney; whereas now it was like to occasion their utter ruin, as in probability it came to pass afterward; for she knew not how to get home, without two or three ships of force, for D'Aulney coming up with them at Cape Sables, they durst not discover who they were, but stood away for Boston.

The captain and merchant of the ship being arrested, were forced to deliver their cargo ashore, to free their persons, by which means execution was levied upon them to the value of 1100 pounds. More could not be had without unfurnishing the ship, which must have been by force, the master and mariners refusing otherwise to deliver more. The master petitioned the general court for his freight and wages, for which the goods stood bound by charter party. The general court was much divided about it, but the major part voted that none was due there, nor the goods bound for them. The major part of the deputies were of another mind, but a negative vote, in the court of the magistrates, put a stop to any process; whereupon the master brought his action at the next court of assistants, but the jury found for the defendant; it being put to them upon this issue, whether the goods were security for the freight, &c. so as they might not be liable to the execution; and yet in the charter party, the merchants had bound themselves and executors, &c. and goods, as the owners had bound their ship, &c. to the merchants.

This business caused much trouble and charge to the country, and made some difference between the mer-

chants themselves, some of whom were deeply engaged for La Tour, specially those of Boston. Offers were made on both sides for an end between them; but they not coming to agreement, the lady took the goods and hired three ships, which lay in the harbour, (belonging to strangers,) which cost her near 800 pounds, and set sail for her fort. But the merchants, against whom she had execution for their bodies, by way of satisfaction for the rest of the judgment, got into their ship and fell down below the castle, (where they were out of command,) and taking aboard about thirty passengers, set sail for London, where they informed Alderman Berkley of the proceedings against him in New England. Capt. Bailey carried over a certificate of their proceedings in the court, under the hands of some persons of credit, (who being somewhat prejudiced in the case, though they reported truly for the most part, yet not the whole truth,) it proved some disadvantage to the country, so as the Alderman was thereby encouraged, first, to arrest a ship belonging to the country, and then, releasing that by persuasion, he arrested Mr. St. W. that was recorder of the court, and Mr. Joseph Weld, that was one of the jury, when the case was tried, so as they were forced to find sureties in a bond of 4000 pounds, to answer him in the court of admiralty. But it pleased God to stir up some friends in the case, (especially Sir Henry Vane, who either overlooked the dishonour, was put upon him in New England, out of a generous and noble mind, or else upon serious thoughts, might see no reason to take revenge,) so as being forced to give over his suit there, (though he spared for no cost,) he procured a *ne exeat regno* out of the chancery against them; but the case being heard there, they were discharged also. Then he petitioned the lords of the parliament, (pretending great injuries, which he was not able to prove,) for letters of reprisal; but having tried all means in vain, he was at last brought to sit down with the loss of all his charges.

In the end of April following, news was brought to Boston, that a vessel, sent by some merchants of New

England to carry provisions to La Tour, was fallen into the hands of D'Aulney, who had made prize of her, and turned the men upon an island, and kept them there ten days, and then gave them an old shallop, (of about two tons burthen, and some provisions to bring them home, but denied them their cloaths, &c. which he had at first promised them,) not giving them either gun or compass; whereby it was justly conceived that he intended they should perish either at sea, or by the Indians, (who were at hand, and chased them the next day, as they supposed, &c.) Upon this news, the governour and council dispatched away a vessel to D'Aulney, with letters, wherein they expostulated with him about this act of his, complaining of it as a breach of the articles of peace between them, and required the vessel and goods to be restored, or satisfaction to be given for them. They gave answer also, to some charges laid upon them, in his letter to the governour, carried on with such high language, as if they had hired the ships, which carried home the lady La Tour, and had broken their articles by a bare sufferance of it. They answered him accordingly, that he might see that they took notice of his proud terms, and that they were not afraid of him; and whereas, he often threatened them with the king of France his power, &c. they answered, that as they acknowledged him to be a mighty prince, so they conceived withal, he would continue to be just, and not break out against them, without hearing their answer; or if he should, they had a God in whom to trust, when all other help failed.

It was reported, that as soon as he had set their men upon an island in a deep snow, without fire, and only a sorry wigwam for their shelter, he carried his ship close up to La Tour's fort, (supposing that they would have yielded it up to him;) for the friars, and other their confederates, (whom the lady, presently after her arrival, had sent away,) had persuaded him, that he might easily take the place, La Tour being gone into the Bay, and not leaving above fifty men in it, little powder, and that decayed

also. But after they had moored their ship, and began to let fly at the fort with their ordnance, they within behaved themselves so well with their ordnance, that they tore his ship, so as he was forced to warp her ashore, behind a point of land, to save her from sinking; for the wind coming easterly, he could not bring her forth, and that they had killed (as one of his own men affirmed) twenty of his men, and wounded thirteen more. And if La Tour had bestirred himself abroad, as well as his lady did within the fort, it had never fallen into the hands of D'Aulney, as soon after it did.

In a letter, which was sent soon after from D'Aulney, he slighted those of the Massachusetts very much, charging them with breach of covenant, in entertaining La Tour still, and sending home his lady. They returned him a sharp answer, by Capt. Allen, declaring their innocency, and that they sent her not home, but she hired three London ships, that then lay in their harbour, &c. When he received this letter, he was in a great rage, and told the captain that he would return no answer, nor would he permit him to come within his fort, but lodged him in his gunner's house, without the gate; where, notwithstanding, he came daily to dine and sup with him. But at last he wrote to the governour, in very high language, requiring satisfaction for burning his mill, &c. and threatning revenge, &c. So the matter rested, till the meeting of the commissioners, in September after, at which time they agreed to send Capt. Bridges to him, with the articles of peace ratified by them, (the continuation or abrogation of which was referred to them before,) with order to demand his confirmation of them under his hand; wherein also was expressed their readiness, that all injuries, &c. on either part, might be heard and composed in due time and place; and the peace to be kept, in the mean time, so as he would subscribe the same. D'Aulney entertained their messengers with all state and courtesy, that he possibly could, but refused to subscribe the articles, till the differences could be composed; and accordingly wrote back, that he perceived their drift was to gain time, &c.

whereas if their messengers had been furnished with power to have treated with him, and concluded about the differences, he doubted not but all had been agreed, for they should find it was more his honour, which he stood upon, than his benefit. Therefore, he would sit still till the spring, expecting their answer herein, and would attempt nothing against them till he heard from them again.

The general court, taking this answer into consideration, agreed to send the deputy governour, (Mr. Dudley,) Maj. Donnison, and Capt. Hawthorne, with full power to treat and determine; and wrote a letter to him to that end, assenting to his desire for the place, viz. Penobscot, (which they call Pentagot,) and referring the time also to him, so it were in September.

Some thought it would be dishonourable for them to go to him, and therefore would have had the place to have been at Pemaquid; but the most were of a differing judgment, not only for that he was lieutenant general to a great prince, but because, being a man of a generous disposition, valuing his reputation above his profit, it was considered that it would be much to their advantage to treat with him in his own house. But that was but a French compliment, he was so good an husband as to prevent that charge to himself, as was discerned soon after. However, this being agreed upon for the present, a private committee was chosen to draw up their instructions, which were not to be imparted to the court, in regard of secresy, (for they had found, that hitherto, through some false play or other, D'Aulney had had intelligence of all their proceedings,) with their commission, and to provide all other necessities for their voyage.

Monsieur D'Aulney, having received their letter, returned answer, that he saw now that they seriously desired peace, which he (for his part) did also, and that he accounted himself highly honoured, that they would send such of their principal men home to him, &c.; that he desired this favour of them, that he might spare them the labour, for which purpose he would send two or

three of his to them at Boston, about the end of August next, in the year 1646, to hear and determine &c. in which answer they fully rested, expecting to hear from him according to appointment.

And on the 20th of September, Mr. Marie and Mr. Lewis, with Monsieur D'Aulney's secretary, arrived at Boston in a small pinnace; and Maj. Gibbons sent two of his chief officers to meet them at the water side, who conducted them to their lodging, *sine strepitu*, &c. it being the Lord's day. Publick worship being ended, the governour repaired home, sent Maj. Gibbons, with other gentlemen, with a guard of musketeers, to attend them to the governour's house, who, meeting them without his doors, carried them into his house, where he entertained them with such civility of wine, &c. as the time would allow; and after a while accompanied them to their lodging, which was at Maj. Gibbons his house, where they were entertained that night.

The next morning, they repaired to the governour and delivered him their commission, which was in form of a letter, directed to the governour and magistrates. It was open, only had a seal let into the paper with a label. Their diet was provided at the ordinary, where the magistrates used to dine in court time, and the governour accompanied them always at meals. Their manner was to repair to the governour's house every morning at eight of the clock, who accompanied them to the place of meeting; and at night, either himself or some of the commissioners, accompanied them to their lodging. It was Tuesday, before the commissioners could come together; when they were met, they propounded great injuries and damages by Capt. Hawkins and their men in assistance of La Tour, and would have engaged their government therein. They denied that they had any hand, either by commission or permission, in that action; they only gave way to La Tour to hire assistance to conduct his ship home, according to the request made to them, in the commission of the vice admiral of France. And for that which was done by their men, beyond their permission,

they shewed Monsieur D'Aulney's* to the governour, by Capt. Bailey, wherein he writes that the king of France had laid all the blame upon the vice admiral, and commanded him not to break with them upon that occasion. They also alleged the peace, formerly concluded, without any reservation of those things. They replied, that howsoever the king of France had remitted his own interest, yet he had not, nor intended to deprive Monsieur D'Aulney, of his private satisfaction; here they did stick two days. Their commissioners alleged damages, to the value of 8000 pounds, but did not stand upon the value, and would have accepted a very small satisfaction, if they would have acknowledged any guilt in their government. In the end, they came to this conclusion; they of the Bay accepted their commissioner's answer, in satisfaction of those things they had charged upon Monsieur D'Aulney; and his commissioners accepted their answer, for clearing their government of what he had charged upon them. And because they could not free Capt. Hawkins and the other volunteers, of what they had done, they were to send a small present to Monsieur D'Aulney in satisfaction of that, and so all injuries and demands to be remitted, and so a final peace to be concluded.

Accordingly they sent Monsieur D'Aulney a fair new sedan, (worth 40 or 50 pounds, where it was made, but of no use to them,) sent by the Viceroy of Mexico to a lady that was his sister, and taken in the West Indies by Capt. Cromwell, and by him given to the governour of the Massachusetts. This the commissioners very well accepted; and so the agreement being signed in several instruments, by the commissioners of both parties, on the 28th day of the same month, they took leave and departed to the pinnace, the governour and the commissioners accompanying them to their boat, attended with a guard of musketeers. And so their dismissal was as honourable as their reception, with such respect as New England was capable to manifest to the king of France his lieutenant general of Acady.

* [Letter.] Ed.

On the Lord's day they carried themselves soberly, having the liberty of a private walk in the governour's garden, and the use of such Latin and French authors, as they could there be furnished with.

The two first days after their arrival, they kept up their flag on the main top, as they said was the custom for the king's ships, whether English, French, or Dutch; but being minded, that it was offensive to some Londoners then in the harbour, as well as the people of the country, M. Marie gave order to have it taken down.

But the forlorn of these French Monsieurs' history, being thus far marched before, it is now time to bring up the rear. La Tour's lady, we saw before safely conducted into her own fort, in despite of all D'Aulney's endeavours. In the mean time, La Tour himself (who was as well defective in courage as conduct) was coasting to and again, to look after a bark load of provision; and in the mean time left his fort and all his whole estate to the care of his lady, in the very gulph of danger, and precipice of utter ruin.

For in the end of April, 1645, news was brought to Boston, that D'Aulney, with all his strength, both of men and vessels, was before his fort. The governour and assistants of the Massachusetts were at a stand, to know what might lawfully be done for the saving it out of the hands of D'Aulney, who, like a greedy lion, was now ready to swallow down his prey. They were the more solicitous in this business, because divers of the merchants of New England were deeply engaged in the behalf of La Tour; and if his fort were once taken, they were never like to be reimbursed. Some think it had been better, they had never engaged at all in his behalf, than after so great hopes given him, for dependence on them, thus to have left him in the snare. The next news brought from St John's river was, that La Tour's fort was scaled, and taken by assault; that D'Aulney had lost twelve men in the assault, and had many wounded; and that he had put to death all the men, which were taken in the fort, both French and English; and that La Tour's

lady being taken, died with grief within three weeks after. The jewels, plate, household stuff, ordnance, and other movables, were valued at 10,000 pounds. The more was his folly that left so great substance at so great hazard, when he might easily have secured it in the hands of his correspondents, with whom he traded in the Massachusetts; whereby he might have discharged his engagement, of more than 2,500 pounds, to Maj. Gibbons, (who now by this loss was quite undone,) and might have somewhat also, wherewith to have maintained himself and his men, in case his fort should have been taken, as it was very likely it might, having to deal with treacherous friars, within his own precincts, as well as a malicious neighbour, encouraged against him by the power of France. But goods gotten after that rate, seldom descend to the third heir, as heathens have observed. In the spring of the year, he went to Newfoundland, in hope to receive some considerable assistance from Sir David Kirk, another great truckmaster in those coasts, who failing to perform, (if not what himself promised, to be sure he did, as to what the other needed, and expected,) so as he returned to New England again in the latter end of the year 1645, in a vessel of Sir David's; and soon after, was sent out to the Eastward by some merchants of Boston with trading commodities, to the value of 400 pounds. When he came to Cape Sables, (which was in the heart of winter,) he conspired with the master, (who was a stranger,) and five of his own Frenchmen, to force the Englishmen ashore, and so go away with the vessel. It was said that La Tour himself shot one of the Englishmen in the face with a pistol. But to be sure they were all turned adrift in a barbarous manner; and if they had not, by special providence, found more favour at the hands of Cape Sable Indians, than of those French christians, they might have all perished; for having wandered fifteen days up and down, they at the last found some Indians who gave them a shallop with victuals, and an Indian pilot, by which means they came safe to Boston about three months after. Thus they that

trust to an unfaithful friend, do but wade in unknown waters, and lean on a broken reed, which both woundeth as well as deceiveth those that rely thereon.

CHAP. LV.

The general affairs of New England, from the year 1646 to 1651.

MR. WINTHROP was this year, the ninth time, chosen governour of the colony of the Massachusetts, and Mr. Dudley deputy governour, on the 13th day of May, which was the day of election there in the year 1646. Mr. Pelham and Mr. Endicot were chosen commissioners for the same colony, by the vote of the freemen. The magistrates and deputies had hitherto chosen them, since the first confederation; but the freemen looking at them as general officers, would now choose them themselves, and the rather, because of some of the deputies had formerly been chosen to that office, which was not, as was said, so acceptable to some of the confederates, no more than to some of themselves; for it being an affair of so great moment, the most able gentlemen in the whole country were the fittest for it.

This court lasted but three weeks; and notice was taken, that all things were therein carried on with much peace and good correspondence to the end of the session, when they departed home in much love. It was by special providence so ordered, that there should be so good accord and unanimity in the general court, when the minds of so many dissenters were so resolutely bent to make an assault upon the very foundation of their government; for if the tackling had been loosed, so as they could not have strengthened their mast, the lame would at that time have easily taken the prey. For Mr. William Vassal, one of the patentees, that came over in the year 1630, (when he was also chosen an assiatant,) but not complying with the rest of his colleagues, nor yet able to make a party amongst them, returned for England

soon after ; but not satisfying himself in his return, came back again to New England in the year 1635, and then settled himself at Scituate, in the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, a man of a pleasant and facetious wit, and in that respect complacent in company ; but for his actings and designs of a busy and factious spirit, and indeed a meer salamander, by his disposition, that could take content in no element, but that of the fire. And in his discourse did usually, in all companies, bear the part of Antilegon, as he was called by a friend of his, and was always found opposite to the government of the place, where he lived, both ecclesiastical and civil. It was the less wonder that he appeared such, in the colony of the Massachusetts, both while he was an inhabitant there, and where else he came. He had practised with such as were not freemen, to take some course, first, by petitioning the courts of the Massachusetts and of Plymouth, and if that succeeded not, to apply themselves to the parliament of England, pretending that here they were subjected to an arbitrary power and extra judicial proceedings, &c.

Here was the source of that petition, presented to the court of the Massachusetts, under the hands of several inhabitants of Boston, in the name of themselves and many others in the country. That court they pressed to have had a present answer. It was delivered into the deputies, and subscribed by Doctor Child, Mr. Thomas Fowle, and Mr. Samuel Maverick, and four more.

But the court being then near at an end, and the matter being very weighty, they referred the further consideration thereof to the next sessions.

But in the mean time they were encountered with other difficulties, in reference to some of Gorton's company, with whom they had been much troubled in the former lustre ; for on the 13th of September, Randall Holden arrived at Boston, in a ship from London, bringing with him an order from the commissioners for foreign plantations, drawn up upon the complaint, and in favour of the forementioned familists, which were too much

countenanced by some of those commissioners. A copy of which order here follows.

By the governour in chief, the lord high admiral, and commissioners appointed by the parliament, for the English plantations in America.

Whereas we have thought fit to give an order for S. G., R. H. and J. G. and others, late inhabitants of a tract of land, called the Narraganset Bay, in New England, to return with freedom to the said tract of land, and there to inhabit without interruption: These are therefore to pray and require you, and all other whom this may concern, to permit and suffer the said S. G. &c. with their company, goods, and necessaries, carried with them out of England, to land at any port in New England, where the ship, wherein they embark themselves, shall arrive, and from thence to pass without any of your lets or molestations, through any part of the country of America, within your jurisdiction, to the said Bay, or any part thereof, they carrying themselves without offence, and paying, according to the custom of the country, for all things they shall make use of in their way, for victuals, carriage, and other accommodation. Hereof you may not fail, and this shall be your warrant.

NOTTINGHAM,

FRA. DACRE,

COR. HOLLAND, *cum multis aliis.*

Dated at Wesminster, May 15, 1646.

To the governour and assistants of the English plantation in the Massachusetts, in New England, and to all other governours and other inhabitants of New England, and all others whom this may concern.

With the order, came also a letter of like tenour from the commissioners. This order being sent to the governour to desire leave to land, &c. the governour answered, that he could not give them leave of himself, nor dispense with any order of the general court; but the council being to meet within two or three days, he would

impart it to them, and in the mean time, he would not seek after them.

When the council was met, though they were of different minds about the case, the more part agreed to suffer them to pass quietly away, according to the protection given them, and at the general court, to consider further about their possessing the land they claimed. But when the general court came together, they judged it needful to send some discreet person into England, with commission and instructions, to satisfy the commissioners for plantations, about these matters; and to that end, made choice of Mr. Edward Winslow, one of the magistrates of Plymouth, as a fit man to be employed in the present affairs, both in regard of his abilities of presence, speech, and courage, as also being well known to divers of the council. And accordingly he accepted of the service, and prepared for the journey, in the end of the year 1646, being furnished with a commission, instructions, and other necessities, and also with a remonstrance and petition, to the foresaid lords and gentlemen, commissioners for foreign plantations.

To the right honourable ROBERT, earl of Warwick, governour in chief, lord admiral, and other the lords and gentlemen, commissioners for foreign plantations.

The humble remonstrance and petition of the governour and company of the Massachusetts, in way of answer to the petition and declaration of S. Gorton, &c.

Whereas, by virtue of his majesty's charter, granted to the patentees, in the fourth year of his highness' reign, we were incorporated into a body politick, with divers liberties and privileges, extending to that part of New England where we now inhabit: We do acknowledge, (as we have always done, and as in duty we are bound,) that although we are removed out of our native country, yet we still have dependence upon that state, and owe allegiance and subjection thereunto, according to our charter; and accordingly we have mourned and rejoiced therewith, and have had friends and enemies in common

With it, in all the changes which have befallen it. Our care and endeavour hath been, to frame our government and administrations to the fundamental rules thereof, so far as the different condition of this place and people, and the best light we have from the word of God, will allow. And whereas, by order of your honours, bearing date May 15, 1646, we find that your honours have still that good opinion of us, as not to credit what hath been informed against us, before we be heard, we render humble thanks to your honours for the same; yet forasmuch as our answer to the information of the said Gorton, &c. is expected, and something also required of us, which (in all humble submission) we conceive may be prejudicial to the liberties granted us by the said charter, and to our well being, in these remote parts of the world, (under the comfort whereof, by the blessing of the Lord, his majesty's favour, and the special care and bounty of the high court of parliament, we have lived in peace and prosperity these seventeen years,) our humble petition in the first place is, that our present and future conformity to your orders and directions, may be accepted with a *salvo jure*, that when times may be changed, (for all things here below are subject unto vanity,) and other princes or parliaments may arise, the generations succeeding may not have the cause to lament, and say, England sent our fathers forth with happy liberties, which they enjoyed many years, notwithstanding all the enmity and opposition of the prelacy and other potent adversaries: how came we then to lose them, under the favour and protection of that state, in such a season, when England itself recovered its own? *In freto vivimus, in portu morimur.* But we confide in your honours' justice, wisdom, and goodness, that our posterity shall have cause to rejoice under the fruit and shelter thereof, as ourselves and many others do. And therefore, we are bold to represent to your honours our apprehensions; whereupon we have thus presumed to petition you in this behalf. It appears to us, by the said order, that we are conceived, 1. to have transgressed our limits,

by sending soldiers to fetch in Gorton, &c. out of Shamocket, in the Narraganset Bay. 2. That we have either exceeded or abused our authority, in banishing them out of our jurisdiction, when they were in our power. For the first we humbly crave (for our better satisfaction) that your honours will be pleased to peruse what we have delivered to the care of Mr. Edward Winslow, our agent or commissioner, (whom we have sent on purpose to attend your honours,) concerning our proceedings in that affair, and the grounds thereof, which are truly and faithfully reported; and the letters of the said Gorton and his company, and other letters concerning them, faithfully copied out, (not verbatim only, but literatim, according to their own bad English,) by the originals we have by us, and had sent them but for casualty of the seas. Thereby it will appear what the men are, and how unworthy your favour. Thereby also will appear the wrongs and provocations we received from them, and our long patience towards them, till they became our professed enemies, wrought us disturbance, and attempted our ruin; in which case, (as we conceive,) our charter gives us full power to deal with them as enemies, by force of arms, they being then in such place, where we could have no right from them by civil justice; which the commissioners for the United Colonies finding, and the necessity of calling them to account, left us the business to do.

For the other particulars in your honours' order, viz. the banishment of Gorton, &c. as we are assured upon good grounds, our sentence upon them, was less than their deserving, so (as we conceive) we had sufficient authority, by our charter, to inflict the same, having full and absolute power and authority, to punish, pardon, rule, govern, &c. granted us therein.

Now by occasion of the said order, those of Gorton's company begin to lift up their heads, and speak their pleasures of us, threatening the poor Indians also, who (to avoid their tyranny) had submitted themselves and their lands, under our protection and government; and divers other sachems, following their example, have

done the like, and some of them, brought (by the labour of one of our ministers, Mr. John Eliot, who hath obtained to preach to them in their own language,) to good forwardness in embracing the gospel of God in Christ Jesus. All which hopeful beginnings are like to be despised, if Gorton, &c. shall be countenanced and upheld against them and us, which also will endanger our peace here at home; for some among ourselves (men of unquiet spirits, affecting rule and innovation,) have taken boldness to prefer scandalous and seditious petitions, for such liberties as neither our charter, nor reason or religion will allow. And being called before us in open court, to give account of their miscarriage therein, they have threatened us with your honours' authority, and (before they knew we would proceed to any sentence against them or not) have refused to answer, but appealed to your honours. The copy of their petition, and our declaration thereupon, our said commissioner hath ready to present to you, when your leisure shall permit to hear them. Their appeals we have not admitted, being assured they cannot stand with the liberty and power granted us by our charter, nor will be allowed by your honours, who well know it would be destructive to all government, both in the honour and also in the power of it, if it should be in the power of delinquents to evade the sentence of justice, and force us by appeal to follow them into England, where the evidences and circumstances of fact cannot be so clearly held forth, as in their proper place; besides, the insupportable charges we must be at in the prosecution of it.

These considerations are not new to your honours, and the high court of parliament; the records whereof bear witness of the wisdom and faithfulness of our ancestors in that great council, who in these times of darkness, when they acknowledged the supremacy in the bishop of Rome in all causes ecclesiastical, yet would not allow appeals to Rome, &c. to remove causes out of the courts in England.

Besides, (though we shall readily admit, that the wis-

dom and experience of that great council and of your honours, as a part thereof, are more able to prescribe rules of government, and to judge the causes, than such poor rusticks, as a wilderness can breed up, yet) considering the vast difference between England and these parts, (which usually abate the virtue of the strongest influences,) your counsels and judgments could neither be so well grounded, nor so seasonably applied, as might either be so useful to us or so safe for yourselves, in your discharge in the great day of account, for any miscarriages which might befall us, while we depended upon your counsel and help, which could not seasonably be administered to us; whereas, if any such should befall us, when we have the government in our own hands, the state of England shall not answer for it.

In consideration of the premises, our humble petition to your honours (in the next place) is, that you would be pleased to continue your favourable aspect upon these poor, infant plantations, that we may still rejoice and bless our God under your shadow, and be there still nourished, (*tanquam calore et rore cœlesti,*) and while God owns us for a people of his, he will own our poor prayers for you, and your goodness towards us for an abundant recompense. And this in special, if you shall please to pass by any failings you have observed in our course, to confirm our liberties, granted to us by charter, by leaving delinquents to our just proceedings, and discountenancing our enemies, and disturbers of our peace, or such as molest our people there, upon pretence of injustice. Thus craving pardon, if we have presumed too far upon your honours' patience, and expecting a gracious testimony of your wonted favour by this our agent, which shall further oblige us and our posterity, in all humble and faithful service, to the high court of parliament and to your honours, we continue our earnest prayers for your prosperity forever.

By order of the general court,

INCREASE NOWELL, Secretary.

Mr. Winslow, being now fitted for his journey into England, by a commission and the forementioned petition, with other suitable instructions, set sail from Boston about the middle of December, 1646. Upon his arrival in England, and delivery of his letters to the earl of Warwick and others, who were desired to assist in their affairs, he had a day appointed for audience before the committee, when Gorton and others of his company appeared also to justify their petition and information, which they had formerly exhibited against the court, &c. for making war upon them and keeping them prisoners, &c. But after their agent had shewed the two letters they wrote to them from Shaomet, and the testimony of the court and some of the ministers, concerning their blasphemous heresies, and other miscarriages, it pleased the Lord to bring about the hearts of the committee, so as they discerned of Gorton, &c. what they were, and of the justice of their proceedings against them, only they were not satisfied in this, that they were within their jurisdiction. To which the agent pleaded two things, 1. They were within the jurisdiction of Plymouth or Connecticut, and so the order of the commissioners of the United Colonies had left them to those of the Massachusetts, and the Indians (upon whose land they dwelt,) had subjected themselves and their land to their government. Whereupon the committee made this order following, which was directed in form of a letter to the Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, (one to each.)

After our hearty commendations, &c. by our letter of May 15, 1646, were communicated unto you, our reception of a complaint from S. G., R. Holden, &c. touching some proceedings, tried against them by your government; we also imparted to you our resolutions, (grounded upon certain reasons set forth in said letter,) for their residing upon Shaomet, and the other parts of that tract of land, which is mentioned in a letter of civil incorporation, heretofore granted unto them by us, praying and requiring of you to permit the same accordingly, without extending your jurisdiction to any part

* Variouslly spelt in *Hubbard*. In *Haz. Coll.* Showamet. Ed.

thereof, or disquieting them in their civil peace, or otherwise interrupting them in their possession, until we should receive your answer to the same in point of title, and thereupon give further order; we have since received a petition or remonstrance from you, by your commissioner, Mr. Winslow, and though we have not yet entered into a particular consideration of the matter, yet we do, in the general, take notice of your request, as well as the parliament's authority, as your own just privileges; and find cause to be further confirmed in our former opinion and knowledge of your prudence and faithfulness to God and his cause. And perceiving by your petition that some persons do take advantage from our said letters to decline and question your jurisdiction, and pretend to a general liberty to appeal hither, upon their being called in question before you, for matter proper to your cognizance, we thought it necessary, (for the preventing further inconveniences in this kind,) hereby to declare, that we intended not thereby to encourage any appeals from your justice, nor restrain the bounds of your jurisdiction to a narrower compass, than is held forth by your letters patents, but to leave you with all that freedom and latitude, that may in any respect be duly claimed by you, knowing that the limiting of you in that kind may be very prejudicial, (if not destructive,) to the government and publick peace of the colonies. For your further satisfaction, wherein you may remember that our said resolution took rise from an admittance that the Narraganset Bay (the thing in question) was wholly without the bounds of your patent, the examination whereof will in the next place come before us. In the mean time we have received advertisement, that the place is within the patent of New Plymouth, and that the grounds of your proceedings against the complainants, was a joint authority from the four governments of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, which, if it falls in upon proof, will much alter the state of the question. And whereas our said direction exhibited, not only to yourselves, but also to all the other gov-

ernments and plantations whom it might concern, we declare, that we intended thereby no prejudice to any of their next neighbours, nor the countenancing of any practice to violate them; and that we shall be ready for the future to give our encouragement and assistance in all your endeavours for settling your peace and government, and advancement of the gospel of Jesus Christ, to whose blessing we commend your persons and affairs.

Your very loving friends,

WARWICK, governour and admiral,

MANCHESTER,

WM. SAY and SEAL, &c.

From the committee of lords and commons,

May 25, 1647.

Soon after they received another letter from the same committee, which here followeth :

IN our late letter of May 25, we imparted how far we had proceeded upon the petition of S. G. and R. H. &c. We did by our said letter declare our tenderness of your just privileges, and of preserving intire the authority and jurisdiction of the several governments in New England, whereof we shall still express our continued care. We have since that taken further consideration of the petition, and spent some time in hearing both parties concerning the bounds of those patents, under which yours and the other governments do claim, to the end we might receive satisfaction, whether Showamet and the rest of the tract of land, pretended to by the petitioners, be actually included within any of your limits, in which point (being matter of fact) we could not at this distance give a resolution, and therefore leave that matter to be examined and determined upon the place, if there shall be occasion, for that the boundaries will be there best known and distinguished; and if it shall appear that the said tract of land is within the limits of any of the New England patents, we shall leave the same, and the inhabitants thereof, to the jurisdiction of that government, under which they fall. Nevertheless, for that the petitioners

have transplanted their families thither, and there settled their residences at a great charge, we commend it to the government, within whose jurisdiction they shall appear to be, (as our only desire at present in this matter,) not only not to remove them from their plantations, but also to encourage them, with protection and assistance in all fit ways, provided that they demean themselves peaceably, and not endanger any of the English colonies by a prejudicial correspondence with the Indians or otherwise; wherein if they shall be found faulty, we leave them to be proceeded with according to justice. To this purpose we have also written our letters of this tenour to the governours of New Plymouth and Connecticut, hoping that a friendly compliance will engage those persons to an inoffensive order and conformity, and so become an act of greater conquest, honour, and contentment to you all, than the scattering and reducing of them by an hand of power. And so not doubting of your concurrence with this desire, as there shall be occasion, we commend you to the grace of Christ, resting

Your very affectionate friends,

WARWICK, governour and admiral,
MANCHESTER,
PEMBROKE, and
MONTGOMERY,
GEO. FENWICK,
COR. HOLLAND, &c.

The committee having thus declared themselves to have an honourable regard of them, and care to promote the welfare of the United Colonies and other English plantations to the eastward, (for they had confirmed Mr. Rigbey's patent of Ligoniam, and by their favourable interpretation of it had brought it to the sea side, whereas the words of the grant laid it twenty miles short, and had put Sir Ferdinando Gorges out of all, as far as Saco;) their agent proceeded to have their charter (which they had lately granted to those of Rhode Island and Providence) to be called in, as things within the patent of Plymouth or Connecticut.

Gorton, having tried to the utmost what he could do with the committee, and finding his expectation wholly disappointed, came away for New England with what he had, thinking it was now bootless to wait for more ; he arrived at Boston in the spring of the year 1648. The court, being informed thereof, made an order, that he should be apprehended, to prevent the infection of his pestilential doctrine ; but shewing a letter from the earl of Warwick, desiring only that he might have liberty to pass home, the court recalled that order, and gave him a week's liberty to provide for his departure. It being only a request and no command, the not complying therewith might have been a disadvantage to their other affairs, yet under the hand of their agent, and depending before that committee, whereof the said Earl was president.

Gorton and his company of Shaomet, hearing how matters were like to go against them in England, began to consider how they might make their peace with the Massachusetts, and for that end sent two of their company to petition the general court, then sitting at Boston ; but these messengers, understanding at Dedham that the court was adjourned, came no further, but one of them wrote a letter to the governour after this tenour following :

To the right worshipful Mr. John Winthrop, governour of the Massachusetts, humbly present to your worship's consideration :

That whereas I, with another, was chosen by the general court, held at Providence the 18th of this month, and sent with an honourable request to this honourable court concerning Shaomet business, but when we came to Dedham, hearing that the general court was adjourned, I, your suppliant, (being an inhabitant of Shaomet,) seriously weighing my present condition there, I made bold to advise with Mr. Powel concerning the same, who advised me to repair to your worship, which (on consideration) I would not, till I had some knowledge of your worship's favourable acceptance ; my humble re-

quest therefore is, that your worship would be pleased to send me your mind in a few lines concerning the premises; so craving your worship's favourable construction,

I remain yours, most humbly,

R. BARTON.

Dedham, May 22, 1648.

By the style of this letter it appears how this company were crest-fallen, who but a little before had a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies; but thanks be unto God, they had not power to continue very long; for being now reduced to a little more sobriety in their language and behaviour, they were permitted quietly to enjoy their possessions at Shaomet, which ever after, in honour of the governour in chief among the commissioners for plantations, they called Warwick, and by that name it hath been known ever since.

This was the issue of the address, made by these Gortonites to the commissioners, who after the great clamour and noise they had made, could make nothing appear of that which they had affirmed.

Those that had troubled the court and country of the Massachusetts with a petition, mentioned before, having their dependence in like manner upon the said commissioners, met with much what the same success of their endeavours; for their petition being disliked there, they hoped to force it by the authority of the foresaid commissioners, but they found no more countenance there than in New England.

The substance of that petition was ranked by the petitioners under three general heads. "1. The country's not owning of the fundamental laws of England as the basis of their government, according to patent. 2. Denying of civil privileges and immunities, enjoyed by the freemen of the jurisdiction, to those who were not in that capacity, though free born Englishmen, just and honest in their dealing, peaceable and quiet in their behaviour, forward with heart, hand, and purse to advance the publick good, laws of their nation, &c. and yet they were not ca-

pable to bear offices, either civil or military, without taking an oath of fidelity. 3. That they were debarred from the privileges of christianity, as baptism for their children, and the Lord's Supper for themselves, if they were not members of some of the particular churches in the country, though otherwise sober, righteous, and godly, eminent for knowledge, not scandalous in life and conversation, members of the churches of England. Therefore desired that, their persons being qualified as is expressed, the court would give them liberty to be taken into their congregations; intimating also, as if they conceived many judgments had fallen upon the country for neglecting thereof."

This petition was very ill resented, both by the court and country, as looking something of a seditious nature, and tending to make disturbance in the country.

Whereupon a committee was appointed to draw up a declaration in answer thereunto, which was published November 4, 1646, wherein was a great deal of pains taken to make it evident to the world, that they had no cause so to remonstrate. And in the said declaration, the fundamental laws of Magna Charta were written on one part of the column, and the liberties of the people of New England on the other, by which it might appear what little discrepancy there was, if any at all, as to the substance of them. In the same declaration also, they returned the petitioners a full answer out of their own words, delivered in the preface of their petition: "We cannot but with all thankfulness acknowledge your indefatigable pains, continual care, constant vigilancy, which, by the blessing of the Almighty, hath procured to this wilderness the much desired fruits of peace and plenty, while our native land and the christian world is sharply afflicted with the devouring sword, and sad consequences of intestine wars;" which expressions plainly contradict what follows in the petition, and therefore it could not but be looked upon as altogether without cause or ground, and a kind of factious remonstrance, directly

tending to make commotion in the minds of people, and thereby make disturbance in the place. When they were called to an account for their petition, Dr. Child, the chief speaker, demanded what should be laid to their charge, saying it was no offence to prefer a petition, &c. It was answered, that they were not questioned for petitioning, but for such miscarriages as appeared in their petition and remonstrance. The doctor desired that they might know the charge: the court answered, they should have it in due time, but it was not then ready, and some of them (as was certified to the court) being upon their departure, they were told they must find sureties for their forth coming. The doctor, &c. demanded what offence they had committed, for which they should find sureties, and pressing on that hand, one clause in the said petition was presently read to them, viz. "our brethren of England's just indignation against us, so as they fly from us as a pest," &c. whereby was said, that they laid a great scandal upon the country, &c. This was so clear that they could not evade it, but quarrelled with the court in high terms, the doctor telling them they did beneath themselves in petitioning to them, &c. and in conclusion appealed to the commissioners in England. The governour told them they could admit no appeal, nor was it allowed by their charter. In the end, they were dismissed for the present, and at the next sessions of the court there was a charge drawn up against them, for divers false and scandalous passages in a certain paper, entitled "a remonstrance and petition," &c. tending to sedition. One particular branch of their charge to clear it up: that their speeches tended to sedition, was to this purpose, that there are many thousands secretly discontented at the government, &c. whereby those who indeed were so, might be emboldened to discover themselves, and to attempt some innovation, in confidence of so many thousands to join with them, and so to kindle a great flame, the foretelling whereof might be a chief means to enkindle it. But whatever was the charge, they were at last offered, that if they would ingenuously

acknowledge their miscarriage, &c. it should be freely remitted; but they remaining obstinate, they were severally fined, according to the degrees of their offences, some more and some less. Two or three of the magistrates dissented; one of them desired to be entered *contradictent*, which needed not, for he was too well known in the court to oppose and contradict whatever was propounded by the governour and Mr. Dudley. And so the court dissolved.

Some of these petitioners being bound for England, their papers were searched by the authority of the governour and council; amongst which were found the copies of some petitions and queries to be presented to the commissioners for plantations. One petition was from some non-freemen, pretended to be in the name and upon the sighs and tears of many thousands, &c. In the preamble, they shewed how they were driven out of their native country by the tyranny of the bishops, &c. One of their petitions was for liberty of conscience, and for a general governour. They had sent their agents up and down the country, to get hands to this petition, but of the many thousands they spake of, they could find but twenty five hands to the chief petition; and those were, for the most part, either young men who came over servants and never had overmuch shew of religion in them, or fishermen of Marblehead, feared to be profane persons, divers of whom were brought the last year from Newfoundland, for the fishing season, and so to return again. Others were drawn in by their relations, and those depended upon for means how to live. One was a barber of Boston, who, being demanded by the governour what made him set his hand, made answer, that the gentlemen were his customers, &c. These were the men that must be held forth to the parliament, as driven out of England by the bishops, &c. and whose tears and sighs must move compassion. Such as indeed were more exercised with care how to live in the commonwealth, than with any matter of conscience, how to serve God in the church. Dr. Child being upon this apprehended, and brought

before the governour and council, fell into a great passion, and gave big words; but when he was told, that they had considered him as a person of quality, and therefore had used him with such respect as was meet to be showed to a gentleman and a scholar, but if he would behave himself no better, he should be clapt in irons, upon which he grew more calm; and having thus hampered himself and provoked the authority of the country to handle him more roughly, with some of the rest, till they were humble enough to acknowledge their offences, upon their submission they were discharged.

One of the petitioners going that year for England, met with a sad storm at the Land's End, which (as was credibly reported) made him as sick in his conscience, with remorse for what he had done in the business of the petition, as he was in his carcase for the working of the sea, whereupon he delivered the papers about it to a well-affected passenger, to be thrown over into the sea, which made himself and some others look at them as the Jonah that occasioned the storm that soon after ceased. But another in the ship, of a more resolved and tough humour, that was not a little concerned in the same business, as soon as he came ashore, published his papers concerning that affair, in a pamphlet, which he styled, "Jonah cast on the dry land." These men of scoffing wits abuse the serious acts of Providence to please their idle fancies. The righteous and the wise and their works are in the hand of God; and happy will that man be found to be and approved of God, that works righteousness in his sight, that never shall see cause to condemn himself for that thing, which formerly he allowed in himself or others.

Mr. Burton, one of the petitioners, being in the town meeting at Boston, when the court's declaration about the petition was there read, was much moved, and spake in high language, and would needs have a copy of it, which so soon as he had, he hasted with it, (as was undoubtedly believed,) to Dr. Child; but in the way, mak-

ing more haste than good speed, he fell down, and lay there in the cold near half an hour before it was known who he was, and company gotten to carry him home in a chair; after which he continued in great pain, and lame divers months.

It was observed that this man had a little before gathered up some providences about such as were against them; as that Mr. Winslow's horse died in the way as he came to Boston, on account of his being called to be agent for the country, and something of another nature that happened in the family of Mr. Winslow's brother. But now his great trouble was, lest this providence which befel himself, should be imputed, and* as a bad omen against his own house, and presage the fall thereof. The event did give no small countenance to such an interpretation; for soon after it was understood by the passengers which came from England, as well as by Mr. Winslow's letters, how the hopes and endeavours of Dr. Child, and others of the petitioners, had been blasted by the special providence of God, which still wrought against them; for Mr. Vassall, assisted, as was said, by a relation of Dr. Child, set out a pamphlet, called "the Jonah cast on dry land," as was hinted before, wherein he published the petition exhibited to the general court, and other proceedings of the said court against them; which was answered by Mr. Winslow in another, which he called "the Salamander," (pointing therein at the said Mr. Vassall, a man never at rest, but when he was in the fire of contention;) wherein he cleared the justice of the Massachusetts court in their proceedings about that affair. Others that went over with intent to procure them trouble ran into it themselves, and found it made good upon them in their experience what Solomon long since declared, with other penmen of holy writ, "He that diggeth a pit, shall fall into it; and whoso breaketh an hedge, a serpent shall bite him; whoso removeth stones, shall be hurt therewith; and he that cleaveth wood, shall be endangered thereby. There is a day wherein God will make Jerusalem a burthensome stone, and the gover-

* For "imputed, and" (as in the Ms.) read *interpreted*. Ed.

nours of Judah like an hearth of fire among the wood, and like a torch of fire in a sheaf," &c. Mr. Vassall finding no encouragement to stay in England, went to the Barbadoes; the torrid zone being most agreeable to those of his disposition.

Dr. Child also preferred a petition to the commissioners of plantations against New England, and put in Mr. Thomas Fowle his name among others; but he hearing of it protested against it, for (as was said) God had brought him very low, both in his estate and reputation, since he joined in the first petition. But it missed the mark, how directly soever it was levelled against the country; and not being able the effect his design that way, he attempted another sort of revenge, by reproaching the place and the fautors thereof. For falling in talk with Mr. Willoughby upon the exchange, (who not long before belonged to Charlestown of New England,) he flew out in scurrilous language against the people of New England, saying they were a company of rogues and knaves. Mr. Willoughby answered, that he who spake so was a knave, whereupon the doctor gave him a box on the ear. Mr. Willoughby was ready to have closed with him, &c. but being upon the royal exchange he was stayed, but presently arrested him. When the doctor saw the danger he was in, he employed some friends to make his peace; by whom he was persuaded to give five pounds to the poor of New England, and to give Mr. Willoughby open satisfaction in the full exchange, and to give it under his hand, never to speak evil of New England men after, nor to occasion any trouble to the country, or to any of the people; all which he gladly performed.

In affairs of this nature passed the three first years of this lustre, in all which Mr. Winthrop, by annual election, held the governour's place, as Mr. Dudley did the deputy's. Although in the year 1617, there had been great labouring by the friends of the petitioners to have one chosen governour who had favoured their cause, and to have added some new magistrates of their side; but Mr. Winthrop

carried it by near three hundred votes above any other ; nor was any new assistant chosen but Capt. Robert Bridges, who was not fit for their turn. In the two following years, Mr. Dudley was declared, by the vote of the freemen, most worthy to succeed in the place of governour, the deputy governour's place the same time falling to Mr. Endicot's share ; Mr. Winthrop, the former governour, being called hence March 26, 1649, about the sixty third year of his age. Whatever were the sepulchre wherein his body was entombed, (not royal, like that of Jehoiada,) yet was he honoured with the like epitaph, engraven in the minds of the people, as a worthy gentleman, who had done good in Israel, having spent not only his whole estate, (which at the first was considerable,) but his bodily strength and life, in the service of the country, not sparing, but always as the burning torch spending his health and wealth for the good of others. His virtues were very many and very commendable ; his errors but few and very small, compared with those observed in his detractors. One of the greatest note complained of in him, was his *αφειδια σωματος*, i. e. not sparing the body ; for the remedy of which his friends wished he had more literally taken notice of Paul's precept to Timothy, "drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thine often infirmities," which too many of that holy apostle's disciples, or at least pretenders so to be, are very ready to observe, neglecting all the rest. But this good gentleman having, in those hard times of first planting the wilderness, endeavoured to leave others an unimitable pattern of temperance and frugality, he so much overcooled his natural heat, that he thereby as it were, invited death to take seizure of his weak body before he had scarce made any entrance into old age.

CHAP. LVI.

Various occurrents in New England, from 1646 to 1651.

IN October 1645, the general court of the Massachusetts had made an order for 10 shillings, to be paid upon every butt of Spanish wine landed there. In the spring following, there arrived divers English ships, which brought eight hundred butts, but the merchants having lost much by leakage, and coming to a bad market as they said, were very unwilling to pay the impost, and refused to give in an invoice of such wines as they had landed; by reason of which they were forfeited by the forementioned order. But upon their petition, the court remitted the forfeit and half the impost, (in regard the order was made so late as they could not have notice of it in those parts from which the wine came;) but this notwithstanding, they would not submit to the order, so as the auditor, (who had a charge of receiving the said impost,) was forced to break open the cellar doors where their wine lay, and took out of their best wines for the impost, which by the order he might do; but that they took also as a great injury, because their best wines being gone, the sale of the rest was thereby much hindered, and the merchants threatened to get recompense some other way.

But too much indulgence in that kind opened a door of encouragement to wine merchants, who have since filled the country with that commodity, to the overflowing of luxury and other evils; whereas, had there been a greater impost laid thereon, it might have turned the stream of traffick into another channel, that might have been much more beneficial to the place. Too much oil extinguishes the light it should maintain. When this commodity began to abound in New England, it might have been truly said, as of old in the times of Constantine, *Hodie venenum effusum est in ecclesiam*. Once New England complained for want of traffick, but now it may be said, *filia devoravit matrem*.

Occasions of offence still continued betwixt the Dutch and those of New Haven, which began to rise to a great height of provocation on both sides, so as they were incessantly complaining of injuries on either side, which they were ready to revenge with the sword.

The inhabitants of New Haven, having purchased some land of the Indians thirty miles up into the country, toward the northwest, upon a river called Patuxet, built a trading house there. The Dutch governour hearing thereof makes a protest against it, and sent it to Mr. Eaton, claiming the place to belong to New Netherlands, and lying within ten miles of the fort of Aurania. Mr. Eaton sent an answer, allowing no right in the Dutch, but alleging their purchase, and offering to refer the case, &c. The Dutch governour complained thereof to the governour of the Massachusetts, and also of a speech of Mr. Whiting, (a magistrate of Connecticut,) that the English were fools for suffering the Dutch in the centre of the country. The Massachusetts governour informed Mr. Eaton thereof, (the commissioners being then to meet at New Haven,) and tendered to their consideration, if it would not be expedient to call Mr. Whiting to give account of those speeches, seeing the Dutch would expect satisfaction; but the sense of present injuries, which, as they apprehended, they were continually followed withal, made them backward to hearken to that intimation.

March 19, 1646, one Capt. Dobson, in a ship of 80 tons, double manned, and fitted for a man of war, was set forth from Boston to trade to the eastward. Their testimonial was for the gulph of Canada, but being taken with foul weather, whereby they lost their boat, they put into harbour at Cape Sables, and there shooting off five or six pieces of ordnance, the Indians came aboard them, and traded some skins. Monsieur D'Aulney was as list of hearing as the Indians, and sent away twenty men, (being not above thirty miles from Port Royal,) who lurking in the woods for their advantage, Providence now offered them a very fair one, for the ship having bought a shallop of the Indians, and being under sail therein, in the mouth of the harbour, the wind came

about southerly with such violence as forced them to an anchor; but at last, having lost all their anchors, they were forced ashore, yet without danger of shipwreck; whereupon the merchant master and most of the company went ashore, leaving but six men aboard, and carried no weapons with them, which the French perceiving, they came upon them and bound them, and carried the master to the ship side, and compelled them to command the men aboard to deliver her up to the French; who being possessed of the ship carried her to Port Royal, leaving some of their company to conduct the rest by land. When they came there, they were all imprisoned and examined, apart upon oath; and having confessed they had traded, &c. the ship and cargo (being worth in all a thousand pounds) was kept as confiscate, and the men, being put into two old shallops, were sent home, where they arrived May 6, 1647. The merchants complained to the court for redress, and the court thought it not safe nor expedient for them to begin a war with the French; nor could they charge any manifest wrong upon D'Aulney, seeing they had told them, that if any of theirs should trade within his liberties, they should do it at their own peril; and though they judged it an injury to restrain the Indians, (a free people, and others) from trade, yet it being a common practice of all civil nations, his seizure of their ship would be accounted lawful, and their letters of reprisal unjust; and besides, there appeared an overruling providence in it, otherwise he could not have seized a ship so well fitted for defence, nor would wise men have lost her so pitifully, if they had not been strangely infatuated.

October 20, 1648, came Mr. Harrison, pastor of the church in Virginia, (the foundation of which was laid by the ministers sent thither from New England about the year 1642,) at that time increased to the number of 118 persons, as was reported, and many more were said to be inclining towards them; but Sir William Berkley, the governour there, raised up persecution against them, and had banished their elder, Mr. Durand; and the said Mr. Harrison was enjoined to depart the country by the

third ship at the furthest, which caused him to come at this time to New England, to advise about the matter, whether they were not called to remove, and what place they could find convenient to remove unto. As to the first, seeing many were found well affected towards them, which gave hopes of a more plentiful harvest at hand, they were advised not to be hasty to remove, so long as they could stay upon any reasonable terms. For the place to remove unto, mention was made of a place lately propounded to them by one Capt. Sayle, who had not long before been in England, where he had procured an ordinance of parliament for the planting of the Bahama islands, (now called Eleutheria,) situate in the mouth of the gulph of Florida, and wanting means to carry it on, he prevailed with divers parliament men and others of London to undertake it, who drew up a covenant with articles, for all to engage in that would enter into the design. The first article was for liberty of conscience, wherein they provided that the civil magistrate should take no cognizance of matters of religion, (there being not a word of professing religion or maintaining any worship of God at all.) The captain also had his commission for governour but for three years only, and that they should be subordinate to such orders and directions as from time to time they should receive from the company in England, &c. Upon these terms they furnished him with all provisions and necessaries for the design, and some few persons embarked with him and sailed to the Somer Islands, where they took in Mr. Copeland, elder of the church, of near eighty years of age, and so many others as made the number seventy persons in the ship; but in the way to Eleutheria, one Capt. Butler made use of his liberty not to worship God in any distinct mode by himself, but to disturb them that did with his musick, thinking that playing on his viol was as acceptable to God as the praying of the rest; with which disturbance he made a faction that caused them to remove to another island, where their ship was lost with all their goods and provisions, so as they were forced to lie in the open air, and feed upon such fruits and wild creatures

as the islands afforded; but finding their strength to decay, and life not likely to hold out therewith, Capt. Sayle made a shallop out of the wreck with which he went to Virginia, and would have persuaded the church there to have removed to Eleutheria, but they being orthodox and zealous for the truth, as their friends could not advise, so neither were themselves forward to accept of the motion. Mr. Harrison tarried a year or two in New England, and then went to England, and at last settled in Ireland, having taken the degree of a doctor; but what became of the church of Virginia or the planters of Eleutheria, there was no certain report, but it is to be feared they were so nipped in the bud, they never flourished much afterwards.

CHAP. LVII.

Memorable accidents in New England from the year 1646 to 1651.

THE people of New England at this time began to flourish much in building of ships and trafficking abroad, and had prospered very well in those affairs, and possibly began too soon to seek great things for themselves; however, that they might not be exalted overmuch in things of that nature, many afflictive dispensations were ordered to them in this lustre, which proved a day of great rebuke to New England; for the first news they heard from Europe in the year 1646, was the doleful report of two of their ships that were wrecked the winter before upon the coast of Spain, one of which was built in the country the former year by Capt. Hawkins, a shipwright of London, who had lived divers years in the country before, and had, with others, been encouraged to fall upon such dealing as he had formerly been acquainted with. At the last, he had built a stately ship at Boston, of 400 tons and upward, and had set her out with great ornament of carving and painting, and with much strength of ordnance. The first time she was rigged out for the sea, was on the 23d of November, 1645, when they set sail for Malaga, with another ship in her company, whereof

Mr. Karman was master. Capt. Hawkins his ship had many passengers, who chose rather to sail in her, though so far about, (because of her strength,) rather than to adventure in lesser vessels that went directly for England. Divers of them that were in her also, had been masters of ships themselves. But many times, according to the old proverb, the more cooks the worse broth, and the more masters the worse mariners; for when they came upon the coast of Spain, one evening, the weather fair and a full gale, some of the company deemed they saw land, or at least thought they heard the rut of the shore; but the more aged seamen, whose reckoning was not up, were loath to lose any of the fresh gale, and therefore made all the sail they could that night, hoping that if the wind stood all the next day, they might discern the land before the next; but they were presently upon the very shore before they were aware, and both ships, three hours before day that night, struck aground, and soon after broke a pieces. The Spaniards in the morning thought they were mazed, not being able to see the lights in the castle at Cadiz; but it was hidden from them, for they generally took them to be the lights in some ships, which they seemed to have discerned the day before, and not knowing but they might be enemies, prepared to fight against the morning.

Nineteen of the company were drowned; amongst whom was one Mr. Coytmore, an expert seaman, and Mr. Karman, the master of the other vessel. Time and chance happeneth to all men. The most likely means are often disappointed. Amongst them that were lost, was one Pratt and his wife, that had lived divers years in New England in much discontent, and went now to provide better for himself in his old age, fearing he might come to want afterward; but now he wanted nothing but a grave, being buried in the rude waters amongst others that needed not to have gone so long a voyage to have hastened their death, which lies in wait to meet the sons of men in every turning of their lives. Their ships grounded two or three miles off the shore, but divine Providence so ordering, they were heaved by the seas

near the dry land before their ships fell quite a pieces. In the morning the common people of Cadiz Island came upon them, and pillaged the passengers of some goods which more merciful waves had suffered them to save; but those of the city did entertain the poor passengers, stript of all, with much kindness; and an English ship in the harbour clothed many of them, and took in as many passengers as his ship could stow, for which a full reward was wished might be given unto them. The governour of the island gave the captain 500 pounds for the wreck of his ship, which was some encouragement for him to begin his hopes anew. But God was pleased to cross him again in the same kind and place the next year; for going for London he found much favour with his creditors and other friends, so as they employed him again for Malaga the next spring, but then being just come out of the strait's mouth, they were taken with such a violent tempest as drave his ship and three or four more upon the same place where he was wrecked the former year. No man knoweth either love or hatred by all that is before them in this life, when all things come alike to all, and the same events oft times happen to the righteous which do to the wicked, that we may learn not to trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth the sons of men richly all things to enjoy.

Another ship, built at Cambridge, in New England, and sailing for the Canaries in the year 1645, was set upon by an Irish man of war, which had seventy men and twenty pieces of ordnance; the New England ship had but fourteen pieces and about thirty men. They were grappled and boarded, and forced to fight side by side near a whole day; but a shot taking in the steerage of the Irishman, they could not bring her to any more; by which accident they escaped their hands, notwithstanding they had received one shot between wind and water, which had much endangered them, but that God preserved them, so as they got off clear, and lost but two men in the fight, yet was damnified in her merchandize between two and three hundred pounds.

Another deplorable loss befel New England the same

year, wherein New Haven was principally concerned, and the southern parts of the country ; for the inhabitants of that town, being Londoners, were very desirous to fall into a way of traffick, in which they were better skilled than in matters of husbandry ; and to that end had built a ship of 100 tons, which they freighted for London, intending thereby to lay some foundation of a future trade ; but either by the ill form of her building, or by the shifting of her lading, (which was wheat, which is apt to shift its place in storms,) the vessel miscarried, and in her seventy persons, some of whom were of the principal part of the inhabitants, with all the wealth they could gather together. The loss of persons and goods was sadly bewailed by all that colony, it being attended with so many solemn circumstances that they were all at a loss to know how to understand the mind of God therein, but were forced after all to acquiesce in the sovereignty and wisdom of the Almighty, who worketh all things according to the counsel of his own will, and rendereth to none account of his ways. God can make contentment with poverty greater gain to his people than riches and wealth without his presence and blessing.

One Capt. Cromwell, in the year 1646, (about ten years before, he had been a common seaman in the Massachusetts,) having been out with one Capt. Jackson, upon a privateering design, (or in king James his phrase, committing of a *splendidum furtum*,) with a commission from the earl of Warwick, and having a commission of deputation from that captain, had taken four or five Spanish vessels, and in some of them great riches, and intending for New England to empty himself there when he was full, where he had been supplied when he was empty, was by strange providence driven into Plymouth, where they tarried about fourteen days, and had opportunity with the psalmist, (if with the same spirit,) to disperse and give liberally to the poor ; for that sort of men are observed to spend as freely and lightly as they get. It fell out while they were there, that a drunken fellow (who had been in continual quarrels all the voyage,) drew his rapier upon the captain, when he was reproved by him

two or three times, but at the last the captain struck him on the forehead with the hilt of his sword, which made a small wound, but he refusing to have it searched and dressed that day, died of it, or of his drinking, the next after; whereupon Capt. Cromwell was tried by a council of war, (such as could be gathered together at Plymouth,) and was acquitted, though the coroner's jury found that he died of the wound; for they saw that by his commission he had power of martial law. Thus God oft times doth justly order, that he that takes the sword, shall perish by the sword.

This Capt. Cromwell coming to Boston with his three vessels and his Spanish wealth, might have been entertained in the best house of Boston, but was of so noble a disposition, that having in his mean estate been entertained by a poor man in a thatched house, when others were not so free to have done it; he said, he would not now leave him, when he might do him good, and therefore always took up his quarters in the same place, and where he at last ended his days, after some following voyages of like nature. It was said of this Cromwell, that he was like Cæsar; *Cæsus ex utero materno*, and that he never saw either father or mother, or they him; and it is like the Spaniards in the West Indies wished they had never seen him neither.

In the end of September, 1646, one William Waldron, a member of the church of Dover, (received into the church in the corrupt beginning of it,) a man given to drunkenness and contention, for which he was after cast out, and upon some formal repentance taken in again, coming alone from Saco, where he undertook the office of a recorder, was drowned as he passed over a small river called Kennebunk, but his body not found till about a month after. Those that through intemperance are wont to drown themselves in wine, are too often through imprudence drowned at last in water.

In the same year one Mary Martin fell into a sad miscarriage, whereby she brought herself to a violent and untimely death. Her father had been a merchant of old Plymouth, and her grandfather had been mayor of that

town. The father being fallen in his estate came into Casco Bay, in New England, and after some time having occasion to return back to England, left behind him two daughters, comely maidens, and of modest behaviour for aught appeared; but not taking that course for their bestowing in his absence, as the care and wisdom of a father should have done, the eldest was left in the house of one Mr. Mitten, a married man, who was soon so captivated with her person and behaviour, that he attempted her chastity, which she, not having such strength of virtue to resist as she should, yielded unto, though with much reluctancy of spirit, and as it was reported, begged of God to be delivered from the temptation, and if ever she were overtaken again, would leave herself to his justice to be made a publick example, as indeed it came to pass, for not taking heed to herself, nor minding her promise, she was overtaken the third time with the same sin. But afterwards going into service at Boston and finding herself to have conceived, she was not able to bear the shame of the discovery, (being in so much favour with her mistress also, that she would not allow of the least suspicion herself or suggestion of the fear of it from others,) so as she wholly concealed it till the time of her delivery, when she was alone by herself in a dark room, and used violence to destroy the child she had brought forth, a first and a second time before she effected it, and then wrapt it up in her chest for fifteen days, till her master and mistress went on ship board, being bound for England; on which occasion she was put to remove to another house, where she was charged by some that had suspected her before, and now found she had been delivered of a child. She at first denied the fact of murdering it, and said it was stillborn, but upon search it was found in her chest, and being made to touch the face of it before the jury, the blood came fresh thereinto, whereupon she confessed the whole truth. She carried it very penitently in prison, and at the time of her suffering, which gave hopes to the standers by of the truth of her repentance, justifying God from the first time of her falling into the sin till the last time of her suffering; and it was very observable,

that as she confessed she had twice attempted to murder her child before she could effect it, so through the unskilfulness of the executioner, they were forced to turn her off the ladder twice before she could die. Thus the foolishness of the sons and daughters of men makes them choose sin rather than shame, till at last they are covered with shame for their sin. The way of sin is a dangerous path, and the further any pass on therein, the more unable they are to return therefrom, till they descend down to the chambers of death in the pursuit thereof.

In the depth of winter, in the year 1647, in a very tempestuous night, the fort of Saybrook fell on fire, none knows how, whereby all the buildings within the pallisado were burnt down, with the goods, so as Capt. Mason with his wife and child could hardly escape. The loss was esteemed at a thousand pounds and better. Where the iron is blunt we must use the more strength, and where the matter is so combustible as their dwellings are in New England, we must use the more care to preserve them.

In June 1648, one Margaret Jones, of Charlestown, was indicted for a witch, and executed for it. She was proved to have such a malignant touch that whomsoever she touched (man, woman, or child,) with any affection of displeasure, were taken presently with deafness, vomiting, or other violent pains or sickness. Soon after she was executed, a ship riding over against Charlestown, of 300 tons, having in her hold an hundred and twenty tons of ballast, and eighty horses aboard her for the Barbadoes, was on a sudden observed to roll, as if she would have turzed over. The husband of that witch, lately executed, had desired passage in that ship to Barbadoes, which not obtaining, that accident was observed to follow. Notice being given of this to the magistrates then sitting in court at Boston, a warrant was sent to apprehend him, and as the officer was passing therewith over the ferry, one asked if he could not tame the vessel, seeing he could sometimes tame men; he answered, I have that here, which it may be will tame her and make her quiet,

shewing his warrant, and at the same instant the ship began to stop her motion and swim upright, which had continued rolling after a strange manner about twelve hours, and after Jones was in prison she never moved in that kind any more.

The 11th of January, 1648, an idle fellow that used to go home drunken from Boston to Winnisimet, was often told he would be drowned at last; and that night, passing over the water in a tempestuous time, when he was far in drink, perished in the water by the way. Another that had been aboard ship late on the Saturday night to make merry, and detained over long by the seamen's invitation, the boat turning over upon the ice, he was drowned by the shore, though three seamen waded out. He that was drowned was noted to be of good conversation, and commendable in religion, but only drawn away by idle company. God will be sanctified of all them that draw near unto him.

Two young persons were drowned about that time in a sad manner, one a boy of about seven years old, ran down upon the ice towards a boat he saw there with a staff in his hand, but the ice breaking under him the staff kept him up till his sister, of about 14 years of age, ran down to save her brother, though there were four men at hand, that called to her not to go, being themselves hastening to save him; but she not considering, ran hastily towards the same place, and so drowned both herself and him, being past recovery ere the men could come at him, who might have reached ground with their feet. The parents had no more sons, which made them set their hearts too much upon him, and by their indulgence, as was feared, came to lose him on the sudden. Four more were drowned that winter by adventuring upon the ice. Outward comforts are but crutches, which, when we lean too much upon, God suffers them many times to fail, that we may stay upon himself. It is but just the cisterns should either be broken or dried up, when we forsake the Fountain to depend upon them.

In the year 1647, an epidemical sickness passed through the whole country of New England, both

among Indians, English, French, and Dutch. It began with a cold, and in many was accompanied with a light fever. Such as bled, or used cooling drinks, generally died; such as made use of cordials, and more strengthening, comfortable things, for the most part recovered.

It seems to have spread through the whole coast, at least all the English plantations in America; for in the island of Christophers and Barbadoes there died five or six thousand in each of them. Whether it might be called a plague or pestilential fever, physicians must determine. It was accompanied in those islands with a great drought, which burnt up all their potatoes, and other fruits, which brought the provisions of New England into great request with them, who before that time had looked upon New England as one of the poorest, most despicable, barren parts of America.

In October, 1648, some shallops of Ipswich, having been fishing all the summer at Monhiggin, in their way home, were intended to put in at Damarill's Cove on a Saturday night, and three of them got safe into the harbour's mouth before sun down. They in the fourth shallop were not willing to put forth their oars till it was very late in the afternoon, when they were becalmed, and so it was dark night before they could reach the harbour, the entrance of which they missed, and by that means were overraked by the surf of the sea and all drowned; four Englishmen and one Indian, and the goods all perished. Their friends called to them to make haste; but the sluggard is wiser in his own eyes, than seven men that can render a reason.

CHAP. LVIII.

Ecclesiastical affairs in New England from the year 1646 to 1651.

THE churches in New England had now for some considerable time enjoyed rest and peace, and having the liberty without adversary or evil occurrent to model

the frame of their churches as near the apostolical and primitive pattern, as well might be, began to think it now high time to draw up some platform of their discipline and church government, that might be as a foundation for many generations that might be to come; especially at this time they judged it very necessary, when the way, wherein they had hitherto walked, began to be called in question, whether it were of the right stamp, and agreeable to the pattern in the Mount. For this end, a bill was presented to the general court in the year 1646, for calling a synod to consider of that matter. The magistrates passed the bill, but some of the deputies questioned the power of the court to require their churches to send their messengers to such a convention; as not being satisfied that any such power was given by Christ to the civil magistrates over the churches in such cases, as also because the main end of the meeting propounded, was for an agreement upon one uniform practice of all the churches, to be commended to the general court, &c. which seemed to give power either to the synod or the court to compel the churches to practise what shall be so established. To this it was answered, that if the magistrate was called of God to maintain the churches within his precincts in purity, peace, and truth, (which is assented unto by all sober men that profess christianity, else how can he be *custos utriusque tabule*;) then the civil magistrate must have power, upon just occasion, to require the churches to send their messengers to advise in such ecclesiastical matters, whether they concern doctrine or discipline, profession of faith or practice, in point of manners; and further they were answered that the synod was not to proceed by way of authoritative power, but by way of council and advice from the word of God, and that the court was at liberty either to establish or disannul such agreement of the synod as they should see cause, which would put no more into the hands of the court than it had already, by the word of God and the laws of the country. Thereupon the force of all objections on the other hand was taken away. But in tender respect to such as were not yet fully satisfied in the point,

it was ordered, that the ensuing synod should be convened by way of motion only to the churches, and not in words of command.

But whatever gentle words the order was sweetened withal, some of the churches could not swallow it, especially because some words therein seemed to intimate, that what the assembly should agree upon must be presented to the court, that they might give such allowance to it as was meet; from whence it was inferred that some intended to have ecclesiastical laws made to bind the church, if they should consent to such a synod. The principal men who raised the objections were some that lately came from England, where such a vast liberty was pleaded for by all that rabble of men, that went under the name of Independents, whether Anabaptists, Antinomians, Familists, and Seekers (for the Quaker was not then formed into any particular or distinct shape out of his *materia prima*,) far beyond the moderate limits pleaded for by the congregational divines in the assembly at Westminster, such as Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, and Mr. Burroughs, &c. (who yet, it may be intending to double the Cape of Good Hope, then in view, as was thought, tacked about further than they needed to have done.) A great part of the parliament also then in being inclined much that way, and had by their commissioners, sent word to all the English plantations in the West Indies and Somer Islands, that all men should enjoy their liberty of conscience, and had by their letters also intimated the same to those of New England. Some few of the church of Boston adhered to these principles, which made them stickle so much against the calling of the synod at that time, against which they raised a threefold objection. 1. That by a liberty already established amongst the laws of New England, the elders or ministers of the churches have allowance or liberty to assemble upon all occasions without the compliance of the civil authority. 2. It was observed that this motion came originally from some of the elders or ministers, and not from the court. 3. In the order was expressed, that what the major part of the assembly should agree upon,

should be presented to the court for their confirmation. To the first it was answered, that the said liberty was granted only for an help in case of extremity, if in time to come, either the civil authority should grow opposite to the churches or neglect the care of them, and not with any intent to practise the same, while the civil rulers were as nursing fathers to the churches. To the second it was answered, it was not for the churches to inquire what or who gave the occasion, but if they thought fit to desire the churches to afford them help of council in any matters which concerned religion and conscience, it was the churches' duty to yield it to them, for so far as it concerns their command or request, it is an ordinance of man, which all are to submit unto for the Lord's sake, without troubling themselves about the occasion or success. *Ex malis moribus nascuntur bonæ leges*: Laws are not the worse for being occasioned by evil men or evil manners. For the third, where the order speaks of the major part, it speaks in its own language, and according to the practice of the court, where the act of the major part is always accounted the act of the court; but it never intended thereby to restrain or direct the synod in the manner of their proceeding; nor to hinder them, but that they might first acquaint the churches with their conclusions, and have their assent to them, before they did present them to the court, for that is their care; the court's care is only to provide for their own cognizance, and for the inference which was drawn from that clause, [that the court might give them such allowance as should be meet.] It is both against the rules of reason and charity to infer from thence, any such sanction of the court as was supposed, for they say only they will give them such allowance as is meet; it cannot thence be inferred, that they will put any such sanction or stamp of authority upon them as should be unmeet.

This matter was two Lord's days in agitation with the church of Boston, before they could be brought to any comfortable conclusion; but on a lecture day intervening, Mr. Norton, teacher of the church at Ipswich, was procured to supply the place at Boston, where was a

great audience, and the subject then handled was suitable to the occasion, viz. Moses and Aaron kissing each other in the mount of God ; where he laid down the nature and power of a synod as only consultative, declarative, and decisive, not coercive, &c. and shewing also the power of the civil magistrate in calling such assemblies, and the duty of churches in yielding obedience to the same ; he held forth also, the great offence and scandal, which would be given in refusing ; and in the whole of his discourse appeared so much strength of reason and argument, as was easily able to convince the gainsayer. And on the next Lord's day, after much debate in Boston church, it was agreed by the vote of the major part, that the elders and three of the brethren should be sent as messengers to the synod. It was near winter before they could assemble, and few of the elders of the other colonies, (though they also were invited,) could be present ; on which account the synod, after they had sat fourteen days, brake up, and adjourned to the 8th of June, in the year 1647.

The inordinate love of liberty, or fear of restraint, especially in matters of religion, occasioned at this time divers to call in question the power of the civil magistrate in matters pertaining to the first table, and therefore was that question thoroughly debated in the first session of the synod, then called together, who delivered their judgment about that question in the proposition following:

A proposition about the magistrate's power in matters of religion.

“The civil magistrate, in matters of religion or of the first table hath power, civilly to command or forbid things respecting the outward man, which are clearly commanded or forbidden in the word, and to inflict suitable punishments, according to the nature of the transgressions against the same.”

Several arguments, with testimonies, for the confirmation and proof of this truth, were annexed thereunto, and were printed at London anno 1654, together with a discourse of that nature by Mr. Thomas Allen. It was

bound up with a small treatise about the nature and power of synods. But that which was attended principally in the next meeting of the synod, August 16, 1648, was a platform of discipline, to be commended to the churches of New England, for a rule of their practice in the government of the church, which the assembly, meeting together in the said year, agreed upon, which they endeavoured to gather out of the word of God. But for a confession of faith, they wholly agreed with that, set forth by the assembly of divines at Westminster.

The platform of discipline was to be presented to the churches and general government for their consideration and acceptance in the Lord. This was done in October, anno 1648, for the summer of the year 1647 proving sickly, they were forced to adjourn unto the following year.

Some objections were made against some part thereof by some of the deputies of the court in the name of the churches and freemen they belonged unto, which being answered by some of the elders, to whom it was left against the next sessions of the court, they then thankfully accepted thereof, and declared their approbation of the said platform of discipline, as being for the substance thereof, what they had hitherto practised in their churches, and did believe to be according to the word of God.

In the said platform were laid down the principles of the congregation discipline, according to which the churches of New England have been ever since ordered. These principles are now well known in the world, and need not therefore here be inserted; but for the better information and satisfaction of the reader, and that none might judge of the said churches otherwise than they really are, in their constitution and order, the sum of them here followeth:

1. Ecclesiastical policy, church government, or church discipline, is nothing else but that form and order that is to be observed in the church of Christ upon earth, both for the constitution of it and all the administrations that are therein to be performed; the parts of which are all of them exactly described in the word of God, and is

not left in the power of any to alter, add, or diminish any thing therein ; the necessary circumstances of which, as time and place, &c. are left to men, to be ordered unto edification, and not otherwise.

2. There is a catholick church visible, viz. the company of those that profess the christian faith, whether in church order or not ; but there is no political catholick church, the state of the members of the visible church, since the coming of christ, being only congregational.

3. A congregational church, by the institution of Christ, is a part of the visible church, consisting of a company of saints by calling, united into one body, by an holy covenant, for the publick worship of God, and the mutual edification one of another in the fellowship of the Lord Jesus, the matter of which, as to its qualification, ought to be such, as have attained the knowledge of the principles of religion, free from gross scandals, and with the profession of their faith and repentance, walk in blameless obedience to the word of God. As to its quantity, it ought not to be of greater number than may ordinarily meet together conveniently in one place, nor fewer, than may conveniently carry on church work. The form of such a church is an agreement, consent, or visible covenant, whereby they give up themselves unto the Lord, to the observing the ordinances of Christ together in the same society.

4. The fraternity or brotherhood of such a church, is the first subject of all ordinary church power, which is either a power of office or of privilege. But the power of privilege is in the brethren, formally and immediately ; the other is in them no otherwise, than in that they design the persons unto office, who only are to act and exercise that power.

5. The ordinary officers of the church are such, as concern their spiritual and moral, temporal and natural good ; of the first sort, are pastors, teachers, ruling elders, 1 Tim. v. 17, in which latter sort, most of the churches in New England, as many of the congregational churches elsewhere, are not so well satisfied as formerly, accounting ruling elders should be able to teach.

6. It is in the power of the churches, to call their own officers and remove them from their office again, if there fall out just cause, yet so as the advice of neighbour churches, where it may conveniently be done, be first had, and they who are to officiate, ought to be tried and proved before they be elected. 1 Tim. v. 22.

7. Elders are to be ordained by imposition of hands, which is to be performed by the elders of the same church, if it be furnished with any, or those of neighbour churches, and may be done by some of the brethren deputed thereunto; which latter also is not disapproved by Dr. Hornbeck, the learned professor of divinity at Leyden, from Numb. viii, 10.

8. The power of government in a congregational church, ought to proceed after the manner of a mixt administration, for in an organick church, no act can be consummate without the consent both of the elders and the brethren; so as the power of government, or rule in the elders, prejudice not the power of privilege in the brethren, nor the power of privilege in them, prejudice the power of rule seated in the elders, seeing both may sweetly agree together.

9. For the maintenance of the ministers of the church, all that are taught are to communicate to him that teacheth in all good things; and in case of neglect, the magistrate ought to see that the ministry be duly provided for.

10. For the admission of members, those that have the weakest measure of faith, it ought to be accepted in them, that desire admission, either by a personal relation in publick, or by the elders acquainting the church, with what satisfaction they have received from the persons in private. The things wherein satisfaction is required, are faith and repentance, which ought to be found in all church members.

11. Where members of churches are called to remove from one church to another, it is convenient for order's sake, that it be done by letters of recommendation, or of dismission.

12. The censures of the church, which are for the

preventing, removing, or healing of offences, are excommunication or admonition, wherein the church ought to proceed according to the rule of Matthew xviii. 15, 16, 17, wherein the offence is to be brought to the church by the mouth of the elders.

13. Particular churches, although they are distinct, and so have not one power over another, yet because they are united unto Christ, not only as a mystical but as a political head, they ought to have communion one with another, by way of mutual care, consultation, admonition, and participation in the same ordinances.

14. Synods orderly assembled, and rightly proceeding according to the pattern of Acts xv. are the ordinance of Christ, and if not absolutely necessary to the being, yet necessary to the well being of churches, for the establishment of truth and peace therein. And many churches may so assemble together by their messengers and elders; and their directions and determinations, so far as consonant to the word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission, not only for their agreement therewith, (without which they bind not at all,) but also for the power whereby they are made, as an ordinance of God, appointed thereunto in his word.

15. Church government and civil government may very well stand together, it being the duty of the magistrate to take care of matters of religion, and to improve his civil authority, for observing the duties commanded in the first, as well as in the second table; seeing the end of their office is not only the quiet and peaceable life of the subject in matters of righteousness and honesty, but also in matters of godliness. 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

In these propositions are summed up in brief the principles of the congregational churches of New England as to church government, which is the only point wherein they differ from the rest of the reformed churches, whether English, Belgick, or Gallick. As for their confession of faith and doctrine in all other points of religion, they of New England vary not from the doctrine of the church of England, which generally is received in all the reformed churches of Christ in Europe.

In drawing the aforesaid platform, the hand of Mr. Thomas Hooker, the famous minister of Hartford, was wanting, who had been not a little helpful in the former synod, 1637, being July the 7th, 1647, called to his rest and to receive his crown amongst those who have turned many to righteousness, and to shine as the stars forever and ever. Of whose eminent worth the less may be said here, considering what is ascribed to him by a reverend brother of his own order, in this following epitaph, wherein there is enough, if some do not think too much said, for the setting forth his praise.

EPITAPHIUM IN OBITUM R MI FRATRIS

MRI. THO : HOOKERI.

America, although she doth not boast
Of all the gold and silver from this coast,
Lent to her sister Europe's need, or pride,
(For that's repaid her, and much more beside,
By one rich jewel, which th' heavens did thence afford,
As pious Herbert gave his honest word,)
Yet thinks she may into the catalogue come,
With Europe, Afriek, Asia, for one tomb.*

EZ. ROGERS.

For piety, prudence, wisdom, zeal, and learning, and what else might make him serviceable in the time and place he lived in, he might be compared with those of greatest note. He needs no other praise than the fruits of his own labours in both Englands, which shall preserve an honourable and happy remembrance of him forever.

August 25, 1649, put a period to the days of that fervent and powerful preacher of the gospel, Mr. Thomas Shepard, the worthy pastor of the church of Christ at Cambridge. To him may be in his measure applied the words of David, "The zeal of thine house hath consumed me," for he died in the 44th year of his age. In whom was found the zeal, fervour, piety, and learning, of an eminent, worthy preacher of the gospel.

* VARIATIONS. [From Mather's Magnalia.] Ed.

Line 4. and much gain beside,

5. In one rich pearl, which heaven did thence afford.

7. Yet thinks, She in the catalogue may come.

CHAP. LIX.

*General affairs of the Massachusetts, in New England,
from 1651 to 1656.*

IN the beginning of this lustre, viz. May the 7th, 1651, Mr. Endicot was again chosen governour, and Mr. Dudley deputy governour, which order in the election of the chief rulers of that colony was observed in the years 1652 and 1653.

In the general court of the year 1651, Boston growing populous, and many occasions thereby intervening, that required the administration of justice oftener than the stated courts of the county could well attend unto, the town was allowed the power of keeping a kind of corporation court by commissioners chosen by the inhabitants. And whereas the people, inhabiting upon the south side of Pascataqua river had resigned up their government to the Massachusetts, those on the other side in the Province of Maine were the same year, 1651, urged with the like necessity as the other were; for having run themselves aground in their government, and not well able to recover the stream again, they were willing to cast themselves upon the general court of the Massachusetts, who, upon several considerations, past an order and declaration about their right and title thereunto, and ordered Mr. Bradstreet, Maj. Denison, and Capt. Hathorne to treat with the gentlemen of the said province about the surrender thereof, as in their best judgments and discretions they should think meet. On which account all the towns eastward of the Pascataqua were, within the compass of the next two years, taken into the government of the Massachusetts in like manner.

In the year 1652, Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Symonds, Capt. Wiggin, and Mr. Pendleton, were sent as commissioners to summon the inhabitants of Kittery to come in and own their subjection to the Massachusetts, as of right and proper interest belonging unto them. And being assembled together November 16, that year, they submitted thereunto, their submission being subscribed by

above forty of the inhabitants at the same time. The like was done at Agamenticus the 22d of the same month, the place being afterward called York. In like manner in the year following, scil. 1653, commissioners were sent from the Massachusetts to take the town of Wells into their government, as was done in the places last mentioned the year before. And the like also was done at Saco, July 5th of the same year, and their submission subscribed by sixteen of their inhabitants, who were the principal if not the greatest part of their number. Those of Cape Porpoise did the like about the same time, twelve of which place submitted thereunto.

To all of these eastern plantations were granted, for their encouragement, larger privileges than to the common inhabitants of the Massachusetts, scil. all the privileges of the freemen, upon the taking the oath that belongeth thereunto; and for the clearing of the right and title of the Massachusetts to the said province, some skilful mathematicians were ordered that year to run the north line of the Massachusetts patent, according to the late interpretation of the bounds thereof; and the line was accordingly run October 13, 1653.

And some gentlemen about Pascataqua did, in the year 1669, raise a considerable contribution for the advantage of the college, by way of gratuity for the kindness they received by the patronage of the Massachusetts government, scil. 60 pounds per annum for seven years.

In the same year was liberty granted for several plantations within the limits of the Massachusetts colony, as at Northampton and Hadley, upon Connecticut river, and at a pleasant place upon Merrimack river, called Chelmsford. Liberty also was granted for a township, at an Indian plantation in the way towards Hadley, called by the inhabitants Lancaster. Several families had seated themselves there ever since the year 1647, but now by the addition of a convenient number of inhabitants they became a township.

May 3, 1654, Mr. Bellingham was by the freemen invited to accept of the governour's place, and Mr. Endicott called by them to be deputy. This year was the first

time that the laws of the Massachusetts, for the better direction of the people, were ordered to be printed.

And at this court of election, Mr. Wheelwright, having given the court and country satisfaction as to those things were objected against him in the year 1636, was approved as a minister of the town of Hampton, where he had by permission preached some years before.

At this court likewise Mr. John Eliot, minister of Roxbury, that had heretofore by them been encouraged to go on with preaching the gospel to the Indians, obtained several parcels of land for the Indians, that gave any sincere hopes for their embracing of the christian religion, as at Hasanamaset,* a place up into the woods beyond Medfield and Mendon, and at Puncapoag, beyond Dorchester, as well as Natick, near Dedham, mentioned before.

At this time Mr. Henry Dunster, president of Harvard College, having entertained thoughts with himself for the resignation of his place, upon the account of some difference between him and some of the overseers, as being suspected for too much inclination to antipædobaptism, he had his liberty granted so to do, and the overseers took hold of the opportunity to invite Mr. Chauncey, of Scituate, to accept of the president's place, a man of great learning and worth, with incomparable diligence and labour in his study, which he held to the last, yet of the contrary extreme as to baptism, from his predecessor; it being his judgment not only to admit infants to baptism, but to wash or dip them all over; an opinion not tolerable at all seasons in a cold region, which made the notion less dangerous as to the spreading thereof, being altogether impracticable in so cold a country for the greatest part of the year. Thus are men apt to run into extremes with Peter, who would either not be washed at all, or else over his whole body.

In the last year of this lustre, the government of the Massachusetts returned to Mr. Endicot, who missed not thereof to the end of his life, after this year; the deputy's place in like manner remaining with Mr. Bellingham, till his turn came to be advanced to the high-

* Grafton. Ed.

est place, after the decease of the forementioned gentleman.

Two more plantations or townships were this year granted, the one at Shashin, upon a river falling into Merrimack, called Billerica; the other higher above Concord, called Groton.

Thus did the inhabitants of New England, that it might not be forgotten whence they had their original, imprint some remembrance of their former habitations in England upon their new dwellings in America.

CHAP. LX.

A quarrel between the inhabitants of New Haven and the Dutch at Manhatoes, the Massachusetts not willing to engage therein; from 1651 to 1656.

EVER since the uniting of the four colonies of New England, in the year 1643, they always had, as an obligation, so a christian inclination, mutually to assist and strengthen the hands each of other; yet they all this while enjoyed peace and tranquillity in a way of amicable intercourse with their neighbours on all sides. But in the year 1653, there arose an unhappy difference between the colony of New Haven and the Dutch at Manhatoes, who had intercepted the trading of the other at Delaware with the Indians. And indeed the principal part of the inhabitants of New Haven had some thoughts of removing thither, if they should meet with encouragement suitable to so great a change. But the Dutch governour, to prevent any such enterprize, took all opportunities to obstruct the proceeding therein, which occasioned much altercation amongst the commissioners of the colonies, so as they were constrained to adjourn their meetings from one place to another, before they could come to a settled conclusion; but at the last, those of New Haven were persuaded by reason and judgment, or else overruled by the vote of the rest of the commissioners, to surcease their quarrel, and rather put up a lesser injury of that nature, than engage themselves, their friends and allies in a difficult war, the issue of which they could

none of them at the present see, but might all in a little time have found to their sorrow. It was declared by the general court of the Massachusetts, while the matter was under debate, that a bare major part of the commissioners of the colonies had not power to determine the justice of offensive war, (which at this time might have been of dangerous consequence,) if it should have been granted, for then each colony might have been engaged in a mischievous war, without their knowledge or consent, if the commissioners of any three colonies determined thereof.

The truth is, those of New Haven and the Dutch were at variance continually, both under the former governor, Mr. William Kieft, (who returned homeward anno 1647,) and so continued under Mr. Stuyvesant, that succeeded in his place, maintaining jealousies each against other, sometimes (as was thought) upon groundless surmises. For in the beginning of the year 1653, a rumour was spread through the colonies that the Dutch had conspired with the Indians against the English, insomuch that April 19th that year there was an extraordinary meeting of the commissioners called at Boston, by Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Hibbins, Mr. Nowell, and Mr. Glover, to consider of several rumours of reports gathered from the Indians and others, that the Dutch had plotted with the Indians, and stirred them up to cut off the English. Those who raised, or at least made this report, were seven Indians, taken in a canoe by Uncas his men, who were four of them Pequots, two were strangers, the seventh was said to be employed to poison Uncas, whom therefore they presently killed in a rage, for fear he should escape. It was said he was hired by Ninicraft, one of the Narraganset sachems, who was all the winter before at Manhatoes, and that spring sent home in a Dutch sloop. The commissioners sent sergeant Richard Way and sergeant John Barrell, of Boston, to Narraganset to inquire into the truth of those reports. The sachems there denied the thing, but the commissioners were so moved with the reports, that they urged the necessity of a war with the Dutch, and called

in the council of the Massachusetts, advising also with the ministers about the matter, but they all dissuaded from the war, although they found the presumptions to be very strong; and it could not be denied, that there was some such design in hand to destroy the English.

The commissioners, after a debate with them, were of different apprehensions, and could not all of them be induced to enter upon a war, remembering what Solomon saith, "with good advice make war." The ministers also consulted with, left it with them to consider how unexpedient and unsafe it would be for such a people as those of New England, to err either in point of lawfulness or expediency, or both, in a matter of this nature; and whether a people, professing to walk in the spirit of the gospel of peace, and having to do with a people pretending to the same profession, should not give the Dutch governour an opportunity to answer for himself, either by purgation, acceptance, or disacceptance of some satisfactory propositions for security as the matter shall require, by whose answer their call to war or peace might be further cleared, and the incolumity of the colonies in the mean time provided for; but April 28 following, they received letters from the Dutch governour, utterly denying the charge, and offering to send or come himself to clear the matter, though letters from others affirmed it, and that the execution of the Indians was hastened, and said to be on the election day when the towns were naked of inhabitants; hereupon they presently sent Capt. Leveret, Capt. Davis, and Mr. Newman, from New Haven, as their agents, with a letter to inquire more particularly into the business of the conspiracy charged, and to require satisfaction for some former injuries. They carried also copies of letters from Capt. Underhill, with the original of nine sagamores' confessions, with their names, declaring the plot. They were ordered also to desire the Dutch governour and his council that they might meet at Stamford, if they chose that, rather than at Manhatoes. Capt. Leveret and Capt. Davis returned to Boston May 21 after, and declared what propositions they made, and what answers they received for clearing

themselves; that this matter might be rightly examined, the author found, the business proved, and the offender might, by his superiours, be duly committed and punished.

The Dutch governour propounded, 1. The continuation of neighbourly friendship, without either side taking notice of the unhappy differences between their nations in Europe, with continuation of trade, mutual justice against those that should seek to defraud their creditors, because of the differences arisen between the two nations; 2. For the future, to prevent all false reports rising from the Indians. The agents complained that their answers were dilatory, and not direct, though plausible, and at last concluded of accepting their proposals for the future, if satisfaction were made for what is past, and returned answer, that as they would do no wrong, so would they not suffer their countrymen in those parts to be oppressed, they doing nothing to bring it upon themselves. Also before their return, they took several testimonies from sundry persons, declaring just suspicion of the plot, but being taken some of them at the second and third hand, were the less to be minded. Some of them intimated, that the Dutch governour, Ninicraft, and the fiscal, were up in a close room together, sometimes two days, which, if true, could only raise suspicion, but afford no certain evidence.

After this return of their agents, the commissioners had much agitation among themselves before they could agree. At the last it was referred to two gentlemen, each of them to draw up a draught of the case in difference, viz. Mr. Theophilus Eaton, governour of New Haven, on the one side, and Maj. Daniel Denison on the other side; upon the perusal of which it did not appear that the proofs alleged were a sufficient ground for such a procedure, and therefore it was judged best to forbear the use of the sword till the providence of God should by further evidence clear up the case to the consciences of them who were concerned in the determination of that matter; to which the general court of the Massachusetts assented, not judging it expedient for those who came into

America, to preach and profess the gospel of peace, to be over forward to enter into a war with their christian neighbours of the same reformed religion, though of another nation, upon slender, or not any considerable grounds. By this means, the difference was at the last fairly ended, which else might have had a fatal issue to one or more of the colonies.

The Dutch governour, on the other hand, did by his letters complain of the hasty departure of the commissioners' agents, returning also a large declaration in his own defense, adding,

Conscia mens recti famæ mendacia ridet.

And upon further consideration, at a meeting in September 1654, the commissioners of the Massachusetts did, under their hands, declare something towards the recalling the court's former interpretation of the articles of confederation, owning that six of the commissioners had power to determine the justice of a war, and did acknowledge themselves bound to execute the same, so far as the said determinations were in themselves just and according to God. This the other commissioners accepted, on condition the general court would declare as much.

But however the colony of New Haven were prevented from engaging the confederate colonies in a war against the Dutch at that time, yet were they not so fully satisfied in their minds, as to desist from other attempts of that nature; for some of the chief of that colony going that year for England, prevailed so far with those at that time in power, that they obtained a commission for certain ships and soldiers to seize the Dutch plantation to the use of the English; and the matter had proceeded so far, that they were with their vessels and soldiers upon the sea; but being long upon the voyage, by reason of many interruptions which they met withal, news of the peace, concluded between the states of Holland and the powers in England, arrived before the fleet, which occasioned the commander in chief to turn his forces another way, viz. to attack the French forts about St. John's river, which was obtained without any great re-

sistance, and those places were thereby reduced into the power of the English, and enjoyed by them, till his majesty now reigning was happily restored to the exercise of his regal power in England. It is said to be carried on without any other commission, than a verbal one, from some of Oliver Cromwell's commanders at sea, which possibly was one reason why it was so easily returned into the hands of them from whom it was taken not long before; nor had it any better success than designs of that nature were usually attended with, that were built upon such a like foundation.

When they attacked those French places, the soldiers occasionally met with a paper of maxims, with which the friars were to be governed in their administration, which may sufficiently satisfy the world with what spirit and principles those of the catholic religion are acted.

CHAP. LXI.

Ecclesiastical affairs in New England, from 1651 to 1656.

THE platform of discipline, drawn up in 1647 and 1648, was at this time under debate, and at the last it passed the test of the whole general court, both magistrates and deputies, and the practice of it was commended to all the churches of the jurisdiction.

In the year 1651, the general court taking it for granted that the civil power is *custos utriusque tabulae*, interposed their authority in a matter of an ecclesiastical concernment, scil. the choice of a minister by the church of Malden, and passed an handsome fine or mulct upon all of the church that were actors therein, for calling the said minister to his pastoral office, without the consent and approbation of neighbouring churches, and allowance of the magistrates, (if not against the same,) contrary to the approved practice of the country, provided in that case. But upon after thoughts, which usually are more mature than the sudden and first conceptions of men's minds, the people of Malden themselves came to see, and also were willing to acknowledge their miscarriage,

and thereby gave occasion for others to acknowledge the power of the civil authority in matters of religion, as well as in the affairs of righteousness and honesty, according to the judgment of all sober divines.

And indeed let the experience of all reformed churches be consulted withal, and it will appear, that disorder and confusion of the church will not be avoided by all the determinations, advice, and counsel of synods, or other messengers of churches, unless they be a little acuated by the civil authority. All men are naturally so wedded to their own apprehensions, that unless there be a coercive power to restrain, the order and rule of the gospel will not be attended.

For the preventing of the like inconveniences in the country it was soon after made into an order by the general court, that no minister should be called unto office in any of the churches, within their jurisdiction, without the approbation of some of the magistrates, as well as of the neighbouring churches; on which ground, in the year 1653, the court would not allow the north church of Boston to call Mr. Powell, a well gifted, though illiterate person, to the stated office of a publick preacher or minister; wherefore the people of the town contented themselves with his being called to the place of ruling elder, that so no occasion might be given thereby for illiterate persons, that were not able to instruct all, and convince gainsayers, to intrude themselves into the sacred function of the ministry of the gospel.

And whereas the plantations of New England had never as yet been acquainted with the way of paying tythes, (which none of the reformed churches ever yet condemned as unlawful, although it was not looked upon as the most convenient for the towns and plantations of New England,) for the support of the ministry in the several towns, it was now left to the power of every county court throughout the whole jurisdiction, to make sufficient provision for the maintenance of the ministry, in the respective towns of the colony, and to rectify any defect, upon complaint of any such, for want of means whereby comfortably to subsist.

CHAP. LXII.

Special occurrences during this lustre, from 1651 to 1656.

WITHIN the compass of this lustre was the Massachusetts deprived of two eminent and worthy persons, the one in the magistracy, the other in the ministry; which loss was the more to be lamented, in that they left neither of them any one in each of their capacities, equal with themselves.

Mr. Dudley, an ancient gentleman, one of the principal founders and pillars of the Massachusetts colony, was called from his station July 31, 1653, in the 77th year of his age, eminently qualified with those choice virtues, fit for the discharge of the trust, to which he was oft called, and wherein he always approved himself a lover of justice, and friend of truth, an enemy of all disorder, and that always bore a special antipathy against all heresy and corrupt doctrine; which made him conclude his own epitaph with this character of himself, "I died no libertine;" and which gave occasion to a reverend person of the clergy, to honour him with this double encomium, as well of English as Latin poesy :

THOMAS DUDLEY,

HOLD, MAST, WE DY.

When swelling gusts of antinomian breath,
Had well nigh wreck'd this little bark to death,
When oars 'gan crack, and anchors, then we cry,
Hold firm, brave mast, thy stand, or else we die.
Our orth'dox mast did hold, we did not die;
Our mast now roll'd by th' board, (poor bark) we cry,
Courage, our pilot, lives, who stills the waves,
Or midst the surges still his bark he saves.

EPITAPHIUM.

Heluo librorum, lectorum bibliotheca
Communis, sacræ syllabus historiæ,
Ad mensam comes, hinc facundus, rostra disertus,
Non cumulus verbis, pondus æcumen erat,

Morum aeris censor, validus defensor amansque,
 Et sanæ, et eanæ, catholicæ fidei.
 Angli-novi columen, summum decus, atque senatus,
 Thomas Dudleius conditur hoc tumulo.

N. R.

He was the most resolved champion of the truth, above all the gentlemen in the country, in the years 1636 and 1637, at which time was New England's crisis; when many, under pretence of crying up the free grace of God in the work of man's salvation, had well nigh cashiered all the grace of God out of their hearts, endeavouring to vilify the grace of sanctification, that thereby they might exalt the grace of justification.

On the 23d of December, 1652, that reverend and holy man of God, Mr. John Cotton, put off this his earthly tabernacle, being entered into the 68th year of his age. His excellent learning, profound judgment, eminent gravity, christian candour, and sweet temper of spirit, whereby he could very placidly bear those that differed from him in their apprehensions, made him most desired while he was amongst them, and the more lamented, after he was removed hence. So equal a contention between learning and meekness, magnanimity and humility, is seldom seen in any one person, and therefore did his worthy successour not unfitly, in writing his life, give him that encomium, which the German Phoenix gave unto Luther, "I," (saith he, speaking of himself,) "am a logician, Pomeramus is a grammarian, Justus Jonas is an oratour, but Luther is all." He was a famous light in his generation, a glory to both Englands; one in whom was so much of what is desirable in man, as the consciences of all that knew him appealed unto, is rarely to be seen in any one conversant upon the earth. And as concerning any tenet, whercin he may be thought to be singular, it must be remembered, that although he was a star of the first magnitude, yet he was on this side of that place and state where the spirits of just men are made perfect, and when the "wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament." He that wrote his life, saith, that might he but have received with some proportion to the measure which he gave to others, he would be found no

debtor to any man upon earth on that account. The Jews unto their own question, "why Asa and Jehoshaphat removing the idols in the high places, took not also away the brazen serpent," give this answer : "the fathers left a place for Hezekiah to exercise his zeal."

In the year 1655, was another general faint cough that passed through the whole country of New England, occasioned by some strange distemper or infection of the air ; it was so epidemical, that few persons escaped a touch thereof. It began about the end of June, and was so epidemical, that few were able to visit their friends, or perform the last testimony of respect to any of their relations at any distance. By which, on July the 2d, in the year 1655, was put a period to the life and labours of that reverend, learned, holy, and worthy minister of the gospel, Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, pastor of the church at Ipswich, to whom it might be honour enough to say, that he was the son of Mr. John Rogers, the famous preacher of Dedham, of whom it might be affirmed, that he was the only Boanerges of his age, as the reverend and learned bishop Brownrigg was not unwilling to own. But this his son, treading in his father's steps, was, though not his eldest son, yet heir of a double portion of his spirit, and worthy to have transmitted more honour to his posterity than he received from those before him, by reason of his eminent learning, singular piety, holy zeal, with other ministerial abilities. But being always burdened with many bodily infirmities, he was never able to polish any of his elucubrations to render them fit for the publick, so as thereby the church of God was deprived of his elaborate studies, further than his auditory reached, who were his epistle, as the apostle speaketh, seen and read of all that knew them. And indeed the ministry of himself, together with that of his worthy colleague, had such authority in the hearts of the hearers, that none of them, though a great auditory, were in the time of their ministry, or since, ever leavened with any corrupt doctrine, or heretical principle, which is much as to these times wherein we live, which God grant may still continue.

CHAP. LXIII.

The general affairs of New England, from 1656 to 1661.

DURING this whole lustre, the governour's place fell to Mr. Endicot's lot at every election, as that of the deputy governour to Mr. Bellingham; the which fell out in the year 1656, May 14th; in 1657, May the 6th; in 1658, May the 19th; in 1659, May the 11th; in 1660, it happened on May the 30th; in all which space of time did no matter of great moment occur in New England.

In the year 1656, some care was taken to settle the difference about the two patents, relating to the land on the lower side of Pascataqua river, at Swamscot, between Dover and Exeter, where Capt. Wiggin was concerned.

Several troops of horse were appointed up and down, in every shire of the country, for greater security of remote towns, in case they should be assaulted by any enemy. There fell out occasions enough to make use of them sooner than was expected.

In the year 1657, the trade with the Indians for furs was farmed out to some particular persons, versed in that way of dealing, and not long after released. Well had it been for New England, if that trade had never been taken up, or had been better ordered, and some more effectual care taken about it, being observed to be scarce ever blest to any person that meddled much therein. At this time also, Harvard College was endowed with two thousand acres of land, which in after ages, it is hoped, may turn to better account than at present it is like to do.

Within this compass of years, the colonies of New England were deprived of more worthy men, than in many before, of the like number. June 5, 1657, Plymouth lost their worthy governour, Mr. William Bradford, who had continued in that place ever since the first planting thereof, in a manner with very little intermission; the very prop and stay of that colony during all the whole series of changes that passed over them. He

was a person of great gravity and prudence, and of sober principles, and for one of that persuasion very pliable, gentle and condescending, which occasioned the greater lamentation at his funeral obsequies, as if in him the people of that small colony had buried all their help and hope. But he who made it at the first utterance a divine proverb, (in the mount of the Lord it shall be seen,) hath in all following ages made it good to the experience of his people; in that those, in whom the choice of the people in that jurisdiction hath since centered, have been furnished with that measure of assistance as hath carried them through the difficulties, as they have met withal in their government; both Mr. Thomas Prince, that immediately was called to that place, after Mr. Bradford's decease, and Mr. Josiah Winslow, that honourable gentleman who at this time, scil. 1678, supplied that place and several years before.

Not long before, Capt. Standish ended his warfare, that was the military chieftain of that colony. He was allied to the noble house of Standish, in Lancashire, inheriting some of the virtues of that honourable family, as well as the name.

Mr. Ralph Partridge also died about this time, anno 1658, in a good old age; a man of eminent piety and learning, sound judgment, that for above twenty years had faithfully dispensed the word of God in that jurisdiction at Duxbury; and notwithstanding the paucity and poverty of his flock, continued in his work amongst them to the last, leaving behind him that honourable testimony of his patience, meekness, and contentation of mind.

In the following year, Mr. Henry Dunster,* the first president of Harvard College, ended his pilgrimage at Scituate, in Plymouth jurisdiction. His body was solemnly interred at Cambridge, where he had spent the choice part of his studies and of his life, and might there have continued, if he had been endowed with that wisdom which many others have wanted besides himself, to have kept his singular opinion to himself, when there was little occasion for venting thereof.

* Dunstarr. Ms.

New Haven also, within this time, lost two of their governours, Mr. Eaton and Mr. Newman; of the first of whom mention is made. Mr. Thomas Mayhew jun. was also in the year 1657 lost, with the whole ship's company of Mr. Garret, who were buried in the waves of the sea, in their voyage to England, whereby a great stop was put to the conversion of the Indians on Martin's Vineyard, of which said Mayhew had been the chief instrument under God. But the principal and most momentous change, that happened within this lustre, was the joyful acclamations of the happy restoration of his majesty to the royal throne, which had been detained from him by the late usurpations; it being now hoped that the winter of publick sorrows being over, the peaceful voice of the turtle should be heard in the flourishing spring approaching, through all the lands of his English dominions. An address was sent unto him from thence, December 10, 1660, which is as follows:

To the high and mighty Prince, Charles the second, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Most gracious and dread sovereign,

May it please your majesty, in the day wherein you happily say, you know you are king over your British Israel, to cast a favourable eye upon your poor Mephibosheth, now, and by reason of lameness in respect of distance, not until now, appearing in your presence; we mean upon New England, kneeling with the rest of your subjects before your majesty as her restored king. We forget not our inaptness as to these approaches; we at present own such impotence, as renders us unable to excuse our impotency of speaking unto our lord the king; yet contemplating such a king, who hath also seen adversity, that he knoweth the hearts of exiles, who himself hath been an exile, the aspect of majesty extraordinarily influenced, animateth exanimated outcasts, yet outcasts as we hope for the truth, to make this address unto their prince, hoping to find grace in your sight. We present this script, the transcript of our loyal hearts

into your royal hands, wherein we crave leave to supplicate your majesty for your gracious protection of us in the continuance, both of our civil as of our religious liberties, (according to the grantees' known end of suing for the patent,) conferred upon this plantation by your royal father. This, viz. our liberty to walk in the faith of the gospel with all good conscience, according to the order of the gospel, (unto which the former in these ends of the earth is but subservient,) was the cause of our transporting ourselves with our wives, our little ones, and our substance, from that pleasant land over the Atlantick ocean into the vast wilderness, choosing rather the pure scripture worship with a good conscience in this remote wilderness amongst the heathen, than the pleasures of England, with submission to the impositions of the then so disposed, and so far prevailing hierarchy, which we could not do without an evil conscience. For this cause we are this day in a land which lately was not sown, wherein we have conflicted with the sufferings thereof, much longer than Jacob was in Syria. Our witness is in heaven, that we left not our native country upon any dissatisfaction as to the constitution of the civil state. Our lot, after the example of the good old nonconformists, hath been, only to act a passive part throughout these late vicissitudes and successive overturning of states. Our separation from our brethren in this desert, hath been and is a sufficient bringing to mind the afflictions of Joseph; but providential exemption of us hereby from the late wars and temptations of either party, we account as a favour from God; the former clothes us with sackcloth, the latter with innocency. What reception, courtesy, and equanimity those greater, and others, adherers to the royal interest, who in their adverse changes visited these parts, were entertained with amongst us, according to the meanness of our condition, we appeal to their own reports.

Touching complaints put in against us, our humble request only is, that for the interim, while we are as dumb, by reason of our absence, your majesty would permit nothing to make an impression on your royal

heart against us, until we have both opportunity and leave to answer for ourselves. Few will be nocent, said that impleader, if it be enough to deny ; few will be innocent, said the then emperour, if it be enough to accuse. Concerning the quakers, open and capital blasphemers, open seducers from the glorious Trinity, the Lord Jesus Christ, our Lord Jesus Christ, the blessed gospel, and from the holy scriptures as the rule of life, open enemies to the government itself, as established in the hands of any but men of their own principles, malignant and assiduous promoters of doctrines, directly tending to subvert both our church and state, after all other means for a long time used in vain ; we were at last constrained, for our own safety, to pass a sentence of banishment against them, upon pain of death. Such was their dangerous, and impetuous, and desperate turbulence, both to religion and state, civil and ecclesiastical, as that, how unwillingly soever, (could it have been avoided,) the magistrate at last, in conscience both to God and man, judged himself called for the defence of all, to keep the passage with the point of the sword held towards them. This could do no harm to him that would be warned thereby ; their wittingly rushing themselves thereupon was their own act ; we with all humility conceive a crime, bringing their blood on their own head. The quakers died not because of their other crimes, how capital soever, but upon their superadded presumptuous and incorrigible contempt of authority, breaking in upon us, notwithstanding their sentence of banishment made known to them. Had they not been restrained, so far as appeared, there was too much cause to fear that we ourselves must quickly have died, or worse ; and such was their insolency, that they would not be restrained but by death ; nay, had they at last but promised to depart the jurisdiction, and not to return without leave from authority, we should have been glad of such an opportunity to have said, they should not die. Let not the king hear men's words ; your servants are true men, fearing of God and the king, not given to change, zealous of government order, orthodox and peaceable in Israel. We are not seditious as to the interest of Cæsar, nor scismaticks

as to the matters of religion. We distinguish between churches and their impurity, between a living man, though not without sickness or infirmity, and no man; irregularities, either in ourselves or others, we desire to be amended. We could not live without the publick worship of God, nor permitted the publick worship without such a yoke of subscription, and conformities we could not consent unto without sin. That we might therefore enjoy divine worship without human mixtures, without offence to God, man, our own consciences, we with leave, but not without tears, departed from our country, kindred, and fathers' houses, into this Pathmos; in relation whereunto we do not say our garments are become old, by reason of the very long journey, but that ourselves, who came away in our strength, are by reason of long absence many of us become grey headed, and some of us stooping for age. The omission of the prementioned injunctions, together with the walking of our churches as to the point of order, the congregational way is it wherein we desire our orthodox brethren would bear with us.

Sir, We lie not before your sacred majesty. The Lord God of gods, the Lord God of gods knoweth, and Israel he shall know; if it were in rebellion or schism that we wittingly left our dwellings in our own country for dwellings in this strange land, save us not this day!

Royal Sir, If according to this our humble petition and good hope, the God of the spirits of all flesh, the Father of mercy, who comforteth the abjects, shall make the permission of the bereavement of that all, (for which we have and do suffer the loss of all precious, so precious in our sight,) as that your royal heart shall be inclined to shew unto us the kindness of the Lord in your highness' protection of us in these liberties, for which we hither came, which hitherto we have here enjoyed, upon Hezekiah's speaking comfortably to us as sons, this orphan shall not continue fatherless, but grow up as a revived infant, under a nursing father; these churches shall be comforted, a door of hope opened by so signal a pledge of the lengthening of their tranquillity; these poor, naked Gentiles, not a few of whom through grace are come

and coming in, shall still see their wonted teachers, with encouragement of a more plentiful increase of the kingdom of Christ amongst them, and the blessing of the poor, afflicted, (and yet we hope,) a people trusting in God, shall come upon the head and heart of that great king, who was sometimes an exile, as we are, with the religious stipulation of our prayers; we prostrate at your royal feet, beg pardon for this our boldness, craving, finally, that our names may be enrolled amongst

Your majesty's most humble subjects and suppliants.

JOHN ENDICOT, Governour,

In the name and by the order of the general court of the Massachusetts.

What acceptance this address found with his majesty, may be gathered from the letters, which he ordered to be sent to the country, on the 15th of February following, a true copy of which here followeth:

CHARLES R.

Trusty and wellbeloved, we greet you well. It having pleased Almighty God, after long trial, both of us and our people, to touch their hearts at last with a just sense of our right, and by their assistance to restore us peaceably and without blood, to the exercise of our regal authority, for the good and welfare of the nations committed to our charge; we have made it our care to settle our lately distracted kingdoms at home, and to extend our thoughts to increase the trade and advantage of our colonies and plantations abroad; amongst which, as we consider that of New England to be one of the chiefest, having enjoyed and grown up under an orderly establishment, so we shall not come behind any of our royal predecessors, in a just encouragement and protection of all loving subjects there, whose application unto us, since our late happy restoration hath been very acceptable, and shall not want its due remembrance upon all seasonable occasions. Neither shall we forget to make you, and all our good people in those parts, equal partakers of those promises of liberty and moderation to tender consciences, expressed in our gracious declarations, which, though some persons in this our kingdom, of des-

perate, disloyal, and unchristian principles, have lately abused, to the publick disturbance and their own destruction, yet we are confident our good subjects in New England will make a right use of it, to the glory of God, their own spiritual comfort and edification; and so we bid you farewell.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the 15th of February, 1660, in the thirteenth year of our reign.

WILLIAM MORRICE.

CHAP. LXIV.

Ecclesiastical affairs in New England, from the year 1656 to the year 1661.

THE affairs of the church in New England continued in the same state as before; and were hitherto ordered according to the platform of discipline, set forth in the year 1648; but in the beginning of this lustre some difficulties began to arise about the enlarging the subject of baptism, which unto this time had been administered unto those children only, whose immediate parents were admitted into full communion in the churches where they lived. But now the country came to be increased, and sundry families were found, that had many children born in them, whose immediate parents had never attempted to join to any of the churches, to which they belonged, and yet were very much unsatisfied that they could not obtain baptism for their children, although themselves made no way to be admitted to the Lord's supper. The case was generally apprehended to be difficultly circumstanced, as things had hitherto been carried on amongst those churches, and did occasion many debates between the ministers of the country, many of which were willing to have baptism enlarged to those in that capacity, but knew not well how to bring the matter about, with the peace of their churches, where many of their people were very scrupulous about any innovation. Questions of this nature were first started in the colony of Connecticut; the magistrates of which jurisdiction did, about the year 1656, send down several of them about this sub-

ject to the magistrates of the Massachusetts, and they mutually called together sundry of the ablest ministers of each colony, and recommended to their search and consideration some inquiries (about twenty, or one and twenty in all,) concerning that business, stated and framed by themselves; and they met at Boston in New England, June 4th, 1657. The result, of their disputation and debate about those matters, being agreed upon by all, or the greatest part of them, was presented to the magistrates of each jurisdiction, that so according to the first intendments thereof, it might be improved for the service of the churches, that belonged to their respective jurisdictions. These pious and careful nursing fathers of the churches, foreseeing many differences like to arise to the disquieting of them, took this prudent course for the clearing up the truth in controversy, unto universal satisfaction, lest otherwise differences in judgment should beget or occasion uncomfortable animosities, if not paroxysms of contention, that might more easily in this way be prevented than healed, if once they should break out, which the event made appear too evident afterwards. Some papers, that contained the product of those consultations and debates being sent into England, were by him, to whom they were committed, afterwards made publick, though not till the year 1659, finding that none had taken care for the printing of them in New England, as was by him and others at first expected. The sum and substance of that disputation, which was entituled

A disputation concerning church members and their children, in
answer to twenty one questions,

is as followeth :

Question 1. Whether any children of confederate parents be under their parents' covenant, and members with them ?

But why the question was so limitedly expressed, 'whether any,' and not 'whether all children of confederate parents,' will not be hard to conceive, when the next questions are made; however, the answer given was in the same particular term.

Answer. Some children of confederate parents are, by means of their parents' covenanting, in covenant also, and so members of the church by divine institution. This answer was confirmed by sundry arguments, viz. 1. Because they are in that covenant, for substance, which was made with Abraham, Gen. xvii. 7, compared with Deut. xxix, 12, 13, etc. 2. Because such children are by Christ affirmed to have a place and portion in the kingdom of heaven, &c. Matth. xix. 14. Mark x. 14. Luke xviii. 16. 3. Else no children could be baptized, baptism being a church ordinance, and a seal of the covenant of grace, &c. with many others.

Quest. 2. Whether all children, of whatever year or conditions, were so, as 1. Absent children never brought to the church. 2. Born before their parents' covenanting. 3. Incurable, or seven, ten, or twelve years old. 4. Such as desire not to be admitted with their parents of such an age?

Ans. Only such children, as are in their minority, covenant with their parents; for adult children are to covenant in their own persons. The whole household of Lydia, the jailer and others were baptized; and a child at the ages mentioned, is *infans in foro ecclesiæ*.

Quest. 3. Till what age shall they enter into covenant with their parents, whether sixteen, twenty one, &c.?

Ans. As long as in respect of age or capacity they cannot, according to ordinary account, be supposed able to act for themselves, so long they shall enter in by means of their parents' covenant; because, whilst they are children, and in their minority, they are not otherwise capable of covenanting. Ishmael was admitted to the seal by his father's covenant, at thirteen years of age. Gen. xvii. 25.

Quest. 4. What discipline a child is subject to, from seven to sixteen years old?

Reply 1. Church discipline is taken either more largely, for the act of a church member, dispensed to a church member as such by way of rebuke, &c. Luke xvii. 3, 4. Matth. xviii. 15, or more strictly for the act of the whole church, dispensed to a member thereof, as in case of pub-

lick rebuke, &c. Matth. xviii. 17. 2 Cor. ii. 3. 1 Tim. i. 20. In the first sense, children in their minority are subject to church discipline immediately, but not in the second.

2. It is the duty of the elders and church to call upon parents to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Ephe. vi. 4.

3. Besides their subjection to ecclesiastical discipline, they are also subject to civil discipline, whether domestic, scholastical, or magistratical.

Quest. 5. Whether a father may twice covenant for his children in minority in several churches.

Rep. 1. When a parent is called to remove from one church to another, he is also called to enter into covenant in that church to which he removes.

2. When the parent, thus removing, entereth into covenant, his children then in minority covenant in him; the child, and the power of government over him, must go together.

Quest. 6. Whether the end of a deputy covenant be not to supply personal incapacity, or whether children, ripe for personal covenanting in respect of age, should covenant by a deputy, as others that are unable thereunto?

Ans. 1. Children in minority, whose immediate parents are in church covenant, do covenant in their parents, as in answer to question 1.

2. Children adult ought to covenant in their own persons, as may be gathered from Deut. xxvi. 17, 18, 19, and xxix. 10, and Josh. xxiv. 18, 27. Nehem. ix. ult. and x. 28.

Quest. 7. Whether as large qualifications be not required of a member's child to the participation of the Lord's Supper and other privileges, as were requirable of his parents at their first entrance?

Rep. The holding forth of faith and repentance with an ability to examine themselves by way of confession to the judgment of charity, were all requirable in the parent for admission into the church to full communion, and the same is requisite to the regular admission of the pa-

rents' child, being grown adult, unto his full communion with the church. The sum of the answer amounts to thus much : 1. That they are to have faith and repentance. 2. That this faith and repentance must appear to others.

Quest. 8. Whether by covenant seed is meant the seed of immediate parents only, or of remote also ?

Ans. The gospel, by covenant seed, intends only the seed of immediate parents in church covenant, as appears from 1 Cor. vii. 14. It can no where else expediently be bounded. *Depinge ubi scitam.*

Quest. 9. Whether adopted children and bound servants be covenant seed ?

Ans. Adopted children and infant servants, regularly and absolutely subjected to the government and dispose of such heads of families as are in church covenant, though they cannot be said to be their natural seed, yet in regard the scriptures, (according to the judgment of many godly learned,) extend to them the same covenant privileges with their natural seed ; we judge not any churches who are like minded with them for their practice herein. All which, notwithstanding, yet we desire at present to leave this question without all prejudice on our parts to after free disquisition.

Quest. 10. Whether the child, admitted by his father's covenant, be also a deputy for his seed, without or before personal covenanting ; or without or before like personal qualifications in kind, as his father was to enjoy when he became a deputy ?

Rep. It is the duty of infants who confederate in their parents, (as in answer to question 1,) when grown up to years of discretion, though not yet fit for the Lord's supper, to own the covenant they made with their parents, by entering therein in their own persons ; and it is the duty of the church to call upon them for the performance thereof ; and if being called upon they shall refuse the performance of this great duty, or otherwise continue scandalous, they are liable to be censured for the same by the church. And in case they understand the grounds of religion, are not scandalous, and solemn-

ly own the covenant in their own persons, wherein they give up both themselves and their children unto the Lord, and desire baptism for them, we (with due reverence to any godly, learned, that may dissent,) see not sufficient cause to deny baptism unto their children.

This proposition was consented unto by a synod, called to meet at Boston, not long after, viz. 1662. They add, that the same may be said concerning the children of such persons who being dead, or necessarily absent, either did or do give the church cause, in judgment of charity, to look at them as thus qualified, or, had they been called thereunto, would have thus acted.

Quest. 11. Whether children, begotten by an excommunicate person, he so remaining, are to be baptized?

Ans. We cannot, for the present, answer the arguments for the negative, for the promise made to the seed belongs only to the seed of immediate parents in covenant now under the gospel; and such as are excommunicate, are to be looked upon as heathen and publicans.

Quest. 12. Whether a child born of a person justly censurable, yet not actually excommunicate, be to be baptized?

Ans. We answer affirmatively, for divine institution, which is the foundation of the covenant membership of the child, imputes only the covenant, and not any other act of the parents to the child.

Quest. 13. Whether a member's child's unfitness for seals disableth not his seed for membership or baptism?

Ans. This question is answered in the 10th, agreeing in scope therewith.

Quest. 14. Whether a member's child be censurable for any thing but scandalous actions, and not also for ignorance and inexperience?

Ans. A member's child, (like as it is with all other members,) is censurable only for scandalous sins, consequently for ignorance and inexperience, when scandalous. Matth. xviii. 15, 18. 1 Cor. v. 11.

Quest. 15. Whether a member's child must only ex-

amine himself, and may not be examined by others of his fitness for seals?

Ans. It is a duty of a member's child to examine himself, and yet he is also subject to the examination of others, because the elders are to give an account, Heb. xiii. 18, and therefore must take an account; and it appertaineth to them to see that the holy things be not defiled by the access of any unclean or unworthy person.

Quest. 16. Whether any officers must examine in private, or else in publick before the church?

Ans. Concerning their examination in private before the elders, the former reasons conclude affirmatively. It is spiritual wisdom by preparing the stones before hand, to prevent after noise in the building, 1 Kings, vii. 6.

Quest. 17. Whether the same grown member's child must not be examined of his charitable experience before baptism, as well as before the Lord's supper?

Ans. We think the elders do well to take an account of children concerning the principles of religion, according to their capacity, before they be baptized. But if children be yet in minority, their right unto baptism being founded upon the covenant made in their parents, this examination is to be looked as conducing to the better application, but not to the being of their baptism.

Quest. 18. Whether baptized children, sent away for settlement, and not intending to return, are continually to be accounted members?

Ans. Baptized children, though locally removed from the church unto which they do belong, are to be accounted members, until dismissal, death, or censure, dissolve the relation.

Quest. 19. Whether historical faith and a blameless life fit a member's child for all ordinances and privileges, and he must be examined only about them?

Ans. Not only historical faith and a blameless life, but also such an holding forth of faith and repentance as unto judgment of charity, sheweth an ability to examine themselves and discern the Lord's body, is requisite to fit a member's child for all ordinances and privileges,

and his blameless life notwithstanding, a member's child is to be examined concerning the other qualifications.

Quest. 20. Whether if a church member barely say, it repents me, though seventy times seven times following, he relapse into the same gross evils, as lying, slander, oppression, &c. he be to be forgiven, and not censured?

Ans. Notwithstanding a brother offends seventy times seven times, i. e. many times, a definite number being put for an indefinite, yet whilst God enables him to repent, it is our duty to forgive. But to say in words, I repent, and to gainsay it in deeds, is, according to scripture, not to repent; yet an ingenuous and solemn profession of repentance, nothing appearing to the contrary, is to be accepted as true repentance in the judgment of charity. 1 Cor. xiii. 7.

Quest. 21. Whether a member under offence, and not censured, or not with the highest censure, can authoritatively be denied the Lord's supper, or other church privileges?

Ans. None but the church can authoritatively deny to the member his access unto the Lord's supper, because the power thereof is only delegated to that subject. Mat. xviii. 17. Neither can the church deny unto a member his access to the Lord's supper, until she hath regularly judged him to be an offender; and the first act whereby he is judicially declared so to be, is admonition, whereby he is made judicially unclean; Levit. xxii. 3, 4, 5, 6. and is thereby authoritatively denied to come unto the Lord's supper. All which notwithstanding, there are cases wherein a brother apparently discerned to be in a condition rendering him an unworthy communicant, should he proceed to the Lord's supper, may and ought regularly to be advised to forbear, and it is his duty to hearken thereunto; yet none should forbear to come worthily, which is their duty, because to their private apprehension, another is supposed, (at least,) to come unworthily, which is his sin.

The answer to these questions was drawn up at Boston, June 19, 1657, and presented according as is men-

tioned before ; and was generally accepted by all those that rested satisfied in the determination of the following synod about the question concerning the subject of baptism, although the practice thereof was but gradually introduced into the churches of New England. And it is well known that some of the ablest ministers of the country, that were most forward and ready to promote these resolves, never durst adventure upon the practice thereof, for fear of making a breach in their respective churches. And some that were at that time otherwise persuaded, have, since then, altered their minds upon mature consideration, and have also strongly engaged on the other hand and written judiciously in the defence thereof ; and cleared it up to all, that it is no other, that* what was consonant not only to scripture, reason and antiquity, but to the apprehension and judgment of the first fathers of the churches of New England, as may be seen in Mr. Increase Mather his learned treatise on that subject, published not long since.

And as this disputation had its first rise in the colony of Connecticut, so was there much difference and contention raised at Hartford, where was the principal church of the jurisdiction, between Mr. Samuel Stone, their teacher, and the rest of the church, occasioned at the first on some such account ; insomuch that sundry members of that church, having rent themselves off from that church, removed themselves to another place higher up that river ; where they seated themselves and gathered into a distinct church in way of schism, as the rest of the church accounted. So that it came at the last to an open breach, which could not be healed or made up amongst themselves, which put them upon a necessity of calling a convention of the messengers of sundry churches in the Massachusetts, who met together at Boston in the year 1659 ; and upon a full hearing of all the matters in controversy therein, they made a reconciliation between them, and those that irregularly departed away in that manner being convinced of their mistake, freely acknowledged it, which made the closure of that breach the more cordial and real ; many paroxisms of contention

in those churches having had the like comfortable issue, by the blessed influences of the Prince of Peace upon the use of the same means.

CHAP. LXV.

The plantations of New England troubled with the Quakers—Laws made against them by the general court of the Massachusetts within the space of this lustre, from 1655 to 1660.

ABOUT this time, the people called quakers had sent their emissaries to preach the gospel, (doubtless not the everlasting gospel which the apostle was sent to preach,) amongst the colonies of New England. Those of the Massachusetts considering what the apostle Paul speaking,* of holding him accursed that preacheth any other gospel, made very sharp laws against them, if it might have been to have prevented their troubling of the place with their strange and perverse doctrines. But the event succeeded not according to expectation; for divers of that sort repaired thither, as if they intended to have braved authority, which occasioned the apprehending of several of them, who were prosecuted according to the laws lately enacted; which, after such and such steps and degrees mentioned therein, doth proscribe them, upon pain of death. June the 1st, in the year 1660, Mary Dyer, rebelliously returning after that sentence passed upon her, was sentenced to suffer death at the place of execution, yet had liberty to pass for England at the next session of the court; the which she (as was hoped and desired,) attended not, as Joseph Nicholson and Jane his wife did, that by returning after the like sentence passed upon them had brought themselves into the same premunire, which some that wished them well persuaded unto, or to remove elsewhere; by which means the execution of that fatal sentence was prevented on them. But Mary Dyer wilfully returning, the authority of the place knew not how to deliver her from the severity of the law, which was the portion of two others of that sort of people, much about that time, viz. William Robinson and

* speaketh. Ed.

Marmaduke Stevenson, and soon after there was¹ set out a declaration of the general court, justifying their proceedings.

A declaration of the general court of the Massachusetts, holden at Boston, October 18, 1659, and printed by their order. Edward Rawson, Secretary.

Although the justice of our proceedings against William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Mary Dyer, supported by the authority of this court, the laws of the country, and the law of God, may rather persuade us to expect encouragement and commendation from all prudent and pious men, than convince us of any necessity to apologize for the same; yet forasmuch as men of weaker parts, out of pity and commiseration, (a commendable and christian virtue, yet easily abused, and susceptible of sinister and dangerous impressions,) for want of full information, may be less satisfied, and men of perverser principles may take occasion hereby to calumniate us and render us as bloody persecutors—to satisfy the one and stop the mouths of the other, we thought it requisite to declare:—That about three years since, divers persons, professing themselves quakers, (of whose pernicious opinions and practices we had received intelligence from good hands, both from Barbados and England,) arrived at Boston, whose persons were only secured to be sent away by the first opportunity, without censure or punishment, although their professed tenets, turbulent and contemptuous behaviour to authority, would have justified a severer animadversion, yet the prudence of this court was exercised only in making provision to secure the peace and order here established against their attempts, whose design (we were well assured of by our own experience, as well as by the example of their predecessors in Munster,) was to undermine and ruin the same. And accordingly a law was made and published, prohibiting all masters of ships to bring any quakers into this jurisdiction, and themselves from coming in, on penalty of the house of correction till they could be sent away. Notwithstanding which, by a back door, they found entrance, and the penalty inflicted upon themselves

proving insufficient to restrain their impudent and insolent obtrusions, was increased by the loss of the ears of those that offended the second time; which also being too weak a defence against their impetuous fanatick fury, necessitated us to endeavour our security; and upon serious consideration, after the former experiment, by their incessant assaults, a law was made, that such persons should be banished on pain of death, according to the example of England in their provision against jesuits, which sentence being regularly pronounced at the last court of assistants against the parties above named, and they either returning or continuing presumptuously in this jurisdiction, after the time limited, were apprehended, and owning themselves to be the persons banished, were sentenced by the court to death, according to the law aforesaid, which hath been executed upon two of them. Mary Dyer, upon the petition of her son, and the mercy and clemency of this court, had liberty to depart within two days, which she hath accepted of. The consideration of our gradual proceedings will vindicate us from the clamorous accusations of severity; our own just and necessary defence calling upon us (other means failing,) to offer the point which these persons have violently and wilfully rushed upon, and thereby become *felones de se*, which might it have been prevented, and the sovereign law, *salus populi*, been preserved. Our former proceedings, as well as the sparing of Mary Dyer upon an inconsiderable intercession, will manifestly evince we desire their lives, absent, rather than their death, present.

The executing of the said sentence was and is accounted by sundry that heard thereof very harsh. All that can be said in the defence thereof amounts to thus much: That the inhabitants of the place having purchased the country for themselves, they accounted it an unreasonable injury for any to come presumptuously, without license or allowance, to live amongst them, and to sow the seeds of their dangerous and perverse principles amongst the inhabitants, tending to the subversion of all that was good, whether sacred or civil; and there-

fore thought themselves bound to hold out the sharp against any that should attempt, without leave, to thrust themselves amongst them ; which renders them that obstinately and wilfully would so do *felones de se*, like them that will break into a man's dwelling house, whether he will or no.

That law seems to have been made only as a provision to have diverted any such from settling amongst them ; which, when it was discerned it would not prove a meet expedient for the end, would have been waved without doubt by the power of the court that made it, had not the king's most excellent majesty, according to his princely clemency, written to the country to forbear all corporal punishment of the quakers not long after, in the year 1661, from which time the execution of the former laws was forthwith suspended.

One Mrs. Hibbins, in the year 1656, was arraigned for a witch after her husband's death. The **** found her guilty, but the magistrates consented not, so the matter came to the general court, where she was condemned by the deputies, (the first example in that kind,) and executed. *Vox populi* went sore against her, and was the chiefest part of the evidence against her, as some thought. It fared with her, in some sense as it did with Joan of Arc, in France, executed by the duke of Bedford in Henry the fifth's time ; the which some counted a saint, and some a witch. Many times, persons of hard favour and turbulent passions are apt to be condemned by the common people for witches, upon very slight grounds. Some observed solemn remarks of providence set upon those who were very forward to condemn her, and brand others with the like infamous reproach on such grounds, about that time. Others have said that Mr. Hibbins' losing 500 pounds at once, by the carelessness of Mr. Terice the shipmaster, it so discomposed his wife's spirit that she scarce ever was well settled in her mind afterward, but grew very turbulent in her passion and discontented, on which occasions she was cast out of the church, and then charged to be a witch, giving too much occasion by her strange carriage to common people so to judge.

CHAP. LXVI.

General affairs of the Massachusetts, from the year 1661 to 1666.

IN the beginning of this lustre, the same governour and deputy governour were, by the joint consent of the Massachusetts, chosen that were before, viz. Mr. Endicott and Mr. Bellingham, and so continued to 1665, with this only alteration, that in the last year, viz. 1665, Mr. Endicott being taken away, Mr. Bellingham succeeded him in his place. The aforesaid gentleman died in a good old age, honoured by all as one that had well deserved both of church and common weal, and was honourably interred at Boston, March 23, 1665.

Not many matters of moment occurred in this lustre of years, in New England, but what concerned the transactions in reference to our gracious sovereign, king Charles the second.

And because about this time of his majesty's happy restoration, an odd kind of book was unhappily printed by one of the ministers of New England, (that had spent his time to better purpose, on sundry accounts, in the years forepast,) that gave great distaste to the general court, as savouring too much of a fifth monarchy spirit; at least sundry expressions were used therein justly offensive to the kingly government of England, (though not intentionally by the author, who hath always professed and practised better :) Publick testimony was borne against the said book by the censure of the general court; the justice of which censure, (as is said,) was acknowledged by the author himself.

But that which doth beyond all exception clear the people of New England from any tincture of a rebellious or fanatical spirit, (however they may have been, by some that knew nothing of them by hearsays, misrepresented,) is their voluntary proclaiming his majesty, after information of his happy returning to the exercise of his royal power in his three kingdoms; which was solemnly done on the 8th of August, 1661, by special order of the gen-

eral court ; to which may be added, that during the times of the late usurpation, there was never any other power owned and publicly declared and submitted unto ; which is more than can be said of any other of his majesty's plantations abroad, although it is well known that the same was expected, and the country was courted thereunto, by the person who is now laid asleep in the dark house of the grave with his weapons under his head, though he were a terrour in the land of the living, for a long time before.

In the end of this year, 1661, the general court being called together, agreed to send over Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton as their messengers, to represent the loyalty of the people of New England to his majesty, and to implore his grace and favour towards the country. They took their voyage in February, and returned back in September following, having had a favourable reception with his majesty, and a concession of several acts of royal grace and favour, betokening all due encouragement for their proceedings in those parts of 'America, to the further advancing of his majesty's interest there ; which made them return like Noah's dove with an olive branch of peace in their mouths and hands, bringing back with them a gracious letter from his majesty, the contents of which were to this purpose, viz.

That his majesty was well satisfied with their expressions of loyalty, duty, and good affection ; that he received them into his gracious protection, and would cherish them with best encouragement, confirming their patent and privileges ; and, that he would pardon all crimes past, excepting such persons as stood attainted ; adding, that the late ill times had an influence into that colony, and that the privileges of the freemen should be further enlarged ; and further, since freedom and liberty of conscience was the chief ground of that plantation, that the like liberty and freedom be allowed duly to such as desire to perform their devotions after the manner of England, yet without indulgence to quakers, enemies to all government ; scil. to all such as shall use their liberty without disturbance ; and that all writs, processes with

indictments, should be made and sent forth in his majesty's name, by all magistrates, secretaries, clerks, and all officers, that were concerned in publick writings; all which have been from that time carefully observed, and some former laws repealed, that were the ground of the former practice, and new ones substituted in their room, requiring the observation of the premises; in which way things were quietly carried on without any great difficulty or trouble the two following years. Yet, notwithstanding all those expressions of favour, in the year 1664, his majesty was pleased to depute some commissioners to take an account of the state of the colonies of New England, furnishing them with ample power for the rectifying any thing they should find amiss, or otherwise to commend it to his majesty's further care and ordering. They were but four in number; the two principal of whom were Col. Nichols and Col. Cartwright, who were both of them eminently qualified with abilities fit to manage such a concern, nor yet wanting in resolution to carry on any honourable design for the promoting his majesty's interest, in any of those plantations whither they were sent.

But their principal business being to reduce the Dutch plantation at the Manhatos to the obedience of his majesty, wherein as soon as ever they expressed their desire of the assistance of the Massachusetts, in raising of forces to the number of two hundred, to join with such as they brought along with them, it was readily complied with; but before any such force could be raised and carried to the place, it was partly by the interpositions of some agents sent from the Massachusetts and the rest of the colonies, and partly by other prudent considerations, peaceably resigned up into the hands of his majesty's commissioners, and so was the will of the Massachusetts, by those honourable gentlemen accepted for the deed.

Divine providence seemed to favour the design, in that so considerable a place of strength and so easily tenable, was so speedily reduced without the loss of one man's life; and without doubt the right and title of the English to the place was beyond all exception, which

possibly made the former possessours unwilling to dispute it with their swords' point; nor did the Dutch suffer by their yielding, being ever since treated upon all accounts as friends and allies, and not as foreigners or strangers.

This business being so well over, the commissioners had the better opportunity, and with the more speed, to attend their other affairs in the colonies of New England, which with great intenseness was pursued soon after.

They had, upon their first arrival, delivered a letter from his majesty to the general court of the Massachusetts, wherein he was pleased thus to preface: "Having taken very much to heart the welfare and advancement of those our plantations in America, and particularly that of New England, which in truth hath been a good example of industry and sobriety to all the rest, whereby God hath blessed it, &c. we have thought fit, seeing we cannot in person visit those our so distant dominions, &c. to send such commissioners thither, as may in our name visit the same," &c. adding at the last, "as we have had this resolution and purpose, since our first happy arrival in England, to send commissioners thither, &c. so we have had many reasons occur since to confirm us in that resolution, and to hasten the execution thereof." Amongst other reasons reckoned up, one was to confer about his majesty's former letter of June 28, 1662, and their answer thereunto, of Nov. 25 following, against which it seems some exception was taken: the conferring about which with those of the Massachusetts, was one part of their instructions.

His majesty's commission with the instructions, were presented to the Massachusetts under several heads, and it was done gradually and by piecemeal, which occasioned many and long debates between the said commissioners and the general court; upon which through some unhappy mistakes there was not that right understanding betwixt them which was desired, the which it may be thought better in this place to pass over with silence, than to run into the several particulars thereof, forasmuch as all the foresaid gentlemen, to whom the said commission was granted, have sometime since been called to

give an account in another world; their proceedings, therefore, shall not here be brought under any further discourse. But for the general court of the Massachusetts, something that was propounded to them seemed very grievous, viz. the bringing upon them a court of appeals in matters of judicature, that had fallen under the cognizance of the courts in the country; for the preventing of which inconvenience, it was determined by the said court to send a further address to his majesty upon the account of one of the commissioners, in whom was observed a greater animosity than is usual against the country in general, supposed to arise from a deep rooted prejudice of his mind against the church discipline used there; which might indeed call forth the moroseness of his natural temper, which manifested itself in sundry harsh expressions, which probably occasioned some to look upon him as a professed enemy. For they observed he was never willing to accept of any common courtesies from any of the inhabitants, as if he had had some special antipathy against them all in general; but the contrary is known by some that had occasion of more free converse with him, to whom he always discovered much civility in his behaviour. But where he had received any disgust from any ruder sort of the people, as he occasionally passed up and down the country, it is not unlike that he might highly resent the same, and could not refrain from an open discovery thereof upon other occasions; which certainly, without prejudice be it spoken, did his majesty no little disservice as to the matters then before them; for it laid so great a discouragement upon the minds of those who had been long treating about things of difference, that it put the general court upon a resolution forthwith to make that other address to his majesty, to prevent, if possible, the imposing such commissioners upon the country, whose power might be attended with no little inconvenience and trouble for the future, if persons of his spirit and temper should chance to be employed therein.

What is here spoken is not intended in the least to reflect upon the persons of any of the honourable commis-

sioners aforesaid, but only to hint a further reason why the motion made by them took so little place with the general court at that time. Although it is not unworthy the observation of the reader, that the providence of the Almighty did by solemn accidents upon sundry persons bear witness against them, who were full fraught with an expectation of great changes like to fall out in New England upon the sending over the commissioners, which his majesty and his council saw great reason to do, to secure his interest in those parts, and settle the bounds of their plantations against the approaches of foreigners. But those who, on that occasion, expected a change in the government of the colonies, or alteration of the religion there established, were miserably disappointed of their hopes.

One Mr. Stevens, a young merchant that went to England about this time, informed much against the country; but returning a little before the commissioners came, was suddenly and strangely smitten with an incurable malady at Boston, and being moved by some about him to send for some of the ministers to pray with or for him, he desperately refused, and charged that none of these black crows (meaning the ministers) should follow his corpse to the grave, and so died. His comrade, one Kirk, that had sent his testimony by him to England, was drowned, as he went soon after to Barbados. Also one Capt. Isam, about Pascataqua, hearing of a commission to come over thither, hasted to England to further it; and coming back in the same ships, soon after he came ashore, was seized with a loathsome disease, in which he rotted by piecemeal, and being turned from house to house, at last he miserably died thereby, somewhere about Pascataqua river.

Another young man, that was related to one of the commissioners, having given out sundry vaunting speeches against the country, pleasing himself to declare what would ere long be done to New England, himself was soon after taken away by death, before his eyes saw their arrival. Mention is made of another of the like spirit, that spent some time in New England to take some no-

tice of the strength of the place, the number of soldiers in each town, with the situation of the harbours, but being bound for Barbados, as he was ready to set sail from Nantasket, fell overboard into the water, and was never seen more.

Not to mention the miscarrying of sundry papers and writings, sent over into England full of complaints against the country of New England, many of which were either lost in the vessel by which they were sent, or else were flung overboard by some who had, out of an evil mind, promised to deliver them, but in distress of weather and of mind, cast them overboard into the sea, lest they should prove the Jonases of their ship, as in part hath been touched already. More particular instances might be given, if it were judged convenient. But to return to what was before intimated, about the commissioners. It is a necessary and general rule to give to any man an allowance as to the bias and grain of his natural temper; some men are naturally morose, saturnine, suspicious, which qualities render them less desirable companions, yet must not be thought to unfit them for employment and business of great weight and moment, which notwithstanding the disadvantages forementioned, they may be fully accomplished to discharge; which was most true of Col. Cartwright, one of the commissioners, and principally intended in the premises.

After the reducing of the Dutch, the said commissioners returned three of them to Boston, taking their way through some of the other colonies, where they attempted to settle things in the best manner they could, and as they apprehended, most conducing to his majesty's advantage.

Some time before the court of election, scil. before the 25th of March in the said year 1665, happened the death of Mr. Endicot, which occasioned some change in the persons of the governour and deputy. For Mr. Bellingham was that year called to the chief place of government, which he held, by annual election, to his death, as did Mr. Willoughby that of the deputy's place also, to which he was that year in like manner chosen by the

general consent of the freemen, who apprehending the danger of some change, resolutely fixed their choice upon such persons as they judged most likely to maintain the government in that same state, wherein it hath been heretofore, without the least alteration or change.

But before the said commissioners went to Plymouth, they desired, 1. That all the people might be called together, at the court of election, to see the kindness and favour the king had for the people here. 2. That some might be appointed to go with them to shew them the bounds of their patent, which was readily assented unto; but for the first, the governour and council did not understand the reason thereof, and doubted some inconvenience, especially when the people live so remote. It is no more safe for the body politick, than for the body natural, to have all the spirits retire inward from the extreme part to the center. Col. Cartwright, when he observed a non-attendance like to follow upon his motion, uttered some harsh and angry words, not needful here to be inserted. Men that are naturally of a cholerick and touchy disposition are very apt to take fire. Some further order was issued by the said commissioners about the Narraganset country, which, at that time, was denominated the king's province, declaring that none had power to dispose of any conquered lands, but what were within their original grants, without authority derived from them, under their hands and seals. The like was done at Warwick, and all in reference to some complaints made of injustice done on the east side of Pancatuke river.

But after the dispatch of things in Plymouth, they, i.e. the commissioners, returned in an obscure manner to Boston. Concerning their deportment therein, it was matter of observation, and of no little dissatisfaction, that thereby they prevented the civility and respect that was both intended and prepared for them in sundry places; the reason of which, as in charity may be supposed, was touched upon before. Soon after their arrival at Boston, they were met by Col. Nichols, that was lately come from Manhatos, now, (in honour of his royal highness, to whom it was granted by his majesty,) New York. Be-

ing all met together, they fell close upon the business of their commission, or the matter principally, (as was supposed,) intended with the Massachusetts. They therefore took the first opportunity to communicate their instructions to the general court, concerning such things as they had order, by their commission, to inquire into. The court complained, that they were acquainted with their instructions by piecemeal and not all at once, by which means they might have taken a view of them together, and so have been in a better capacity to have returned an answer to more satisfaction; but being necessitated to attend the order, in which the commissioners intended to proceed, they at last complied. There was a pretty large debate betwixt them, and the general court were very slow to grant what was proposed in the subjecting of the power of the country to a court of appeals, wherein things were to be issued by the power of the commissioners without any jury.

At the last, to put the matter to a final conclusion, the commissioners resolved to sit as a court of appeals, and took notice of two cases, one criminal, the other a civil action, to answer unto which they summoned the governor and company of the Massachusetts; who, upon serious consideration, chose rather to commit themselves and their affairs to his majesty's judgment, than to attend such a commission of appeals, or of oyer and terminer. Some that were the more cordial asserters of the royal interest in the Massachusetts, wished that some other cases had fallen under their cognizance, than those that were pitched upon, which it is thought best not to mention, either the particulars or the circumstances of them, lest it should any ways reflect upon the honour of their persons or their commission, especially since there is none of them now left behind to return an answer in any thing, by way of defence, or to shew the ground of their proceedings.

Offence was taken at the order of the general court, in declaring their purpose not to attend the summons of the commissioners by sound of a trumpet. But many in the general court apprehended that such a concern ought

to be done in that way, which would make their intention the more publick, for preventing any confusion that else might have happened. Immediately hereupon, scil. May 24, 1665, the commissioners declared they would treat no more with the court, that would not own their authority and power of determining matters of difference, whether civil or criminal, without a jury. And soon after, they took their leave of Boston, and repaired, Col. Nichols to the government of New York, and the other three to the eastward, beyond and about the parts of Pascataqua river, where they summoned the people together, many of whom made show of a desire to be taken into his majesty's government; the advantage of which, above any another, was laid before them by the three commissioners then present. Now it must be minded, that as to the Province of Maine, there were two sorts that pretended a right to the government thereof: one that derived their power from Sir Ferdinando Gorges' title, the other derived theirs from the general court of the Massachusetts. For about this time, or not long before, an agent, sent from Sir Ferdinando Gorges' heir, had put the people of Yorkshire, or Province of Maine, into some distractions, by pretending to exercise government there, upon the account of the patent of the Province of Maine, whereupon the general court of the Massachusetts declared their purpose still to exert their authority over that part of the country, requiring the inhabitants to continue their obedience thereunto; intimating also their intent to give an account to his majesty of the reasons why they so do, by presenting some kind of map of the bounds of their northern line.

But the commissioners passed an act to enervate the claim of both parties, having first received a petition from sundry of the inhabitants to his majesty, and supposing the desire of the petitioners was to be taken into his majesty's government and protection, they did accordingly receive them, and appointed several persons for justices of the peace in the said Province of Maine, viz. Capt. Champernoon, Mr. Joseline, Mr. Ryshworth, of York, and Mr. Robert Cutts, of Kittery, and some

others, eleven in all, giving power and authority to any three of them, or more, to meet together, as other magistrates formerly used to do, and to hear and determine all causes, civil or criminal, and order all affairs of the said province for the peace and safety thereof, according to the laws of England, as near as may be; and this to be done until his majesty appoint another government: forbidding as well Gorges' commissioners, as the corporation of the Massachusetts, to exercise any further power of government there, by virtue of their pretended rights, till his majesty's pleasure were further known. This was done in the June or July, in the year 1665.

After the settling of these things in this sort, in the Province of Maine, the commissioners proceeded further eastward, where they reduced things to as good order as they could, taking care to prevent any quarrel betwixt the Indians in those parts, (who it seems in those times gave some occasion of jealousy,) and the English, directing what course should be taken for redress, if any injury were offered on either side, before they should do any acts of hostility one against another. It had been well for those parts if these ways had been attended, which were by them prescribed, for then might much of the mischief have been prevented, which fell out in the years following; of which more is said in the following narrative, which hereunto may be annexed.

After things were thus ordered by those commissioners, they returned back towards the Massachusetts, preparing two of them to ship themselves for England, Sir Robert Carr and Col. Cartwright; but it seems one of them, viz. Sir Robert Carr, was arrested with a sickness as soon as ever he was landed in England, which in a few days put a period to his life, as well as his commission, and called him to give an account thereof before an higher tribunal. The other, viz. Col. Cartwright, had taken exact account of all the transactions that had passed here under his cognizance; but falling into the hands of the Dutch he hardly escaped with his life, losing all his papers and writings. From them, likewise, he met with pretty harsh and coarse usage, they putting a gag into

his mouth, which, (it is said,) he threatened to some in New England that pleased him not, in some of his administrations; and losing his writings no doubt was prevented of the exactness of his account of things here, upon his return, which depended now only upon the strength of his memory, whereby some trouble possibly also was saved, which might have fallen out, in reference to some of the plantations in New England. And probably the war that immediately before broke out between the English and the Dutch, and was not yet ended, turned aside some other designs, which some had thought upon for the ordering those plantations, which hath of late fallen under debate upon another occasion, of which the series of the history will call to speak more afterwards.

Things being left in this sort in the plantations about Pascataqua, those of the Province of Maine remained in the state wherein they were left by those three commissioners for two or three years; but for the plantations on the south side of Pascataqua, viz. Portsmouth, Dover, and Exeter, some of their inhabitants, soon after they, i. e. the commissioners, left the country, addressed themselves to the Massachusetts' court for an opportunity to clear some aspersions cast on that government they were settled under before. Whereupon three or four gentlemen were sent by the general court with commission to act something for the settling the peace of those places; who, assembling the people of Portsmouth and Dover together, told them, that whereas some had petitioned against the Bay government, if any such grievance were made known they would acquaint the court, and so redress might be had. But instead of that, about thirty of the inhabitants of Dover, by a petition to the general court, desired the continuance of their government over them. To the same purpose did about the like number of of Portsmouth petition about October following, whereby they cleared themselves from having any hand in such petitions, as complained of their government as an usurpation. The like was done from some of Exeter. Some other petitions had been in like manner presented to the commissioners from about the parts of Providence and

Warwick against the Massachusetts, as namely, by Samuel Gorton and his complices, wherein were many strange allegations, but very far from truth; a thing little minded by the said Gorton, to which reply was made by the court to vindicate their proceedings.

This year the general court of the Massachusetts voted to send a present, to the value of 500 pounds, for accommodation of his majesty's navy, which was graciously accepted, as was said.

CHAP. LXVII.

Ecclesiastical affairs in New England, from the year 1661 to 1666.

IN the beginning of this lustre, some questions were raised amongst the churches and people of the Massachusetts; one was about the extent of baptism, viz. whether the children of some parents might not be admitted to baptism, though they themselves were never yet admitted to full communion with the church, at the Lord's table; about which case, the country was strangely divided. The other was about the extent of communion, that ought to be between particular churches that are seated together, and live under the same civil government. For the discussing of both these questions, the general court of the Massachusetts, in their second session in the year 1661, did order and desire, that the churches within their jurisdiction would send their elders and messengers of the said churches, to meet at Boston the next spring, to determine those practical points of difference about church discipline. The elders and messengers of the said churches did assemble accordingly, in the year 1662, and delivered their determination to the court, who ordered the result of the said synod to be forthwith printed, and commended the practice thereof to all the churches in their jurisdiction.

An answer of the ministers, and other messengers of the churches, assembled at Boston, in the year 1662, to the questions propounded to them by order of the general court.

Question 1. Who are the subjects of baptism?

Answer. The answer may be given in the following propositions.

1. They that, according to scripture, are members of the visible church, are the subjects of baptism.

2. The members of the visible church, according to scripture, are confederate visible believers in particular churches, and their infant seed, i. e. children in minority, whose next parents are one or both in covenant.

3. The infant seed of confederate visible believers are members of the same church with their parents; and, when grown up, are personally under the watch, discipline, and government of that church.

4. Those adult persons are not therefore to be admitted to full communion, merely because they are and continue members, without such further qualifications as the word of God requireth thereunto.

5. Such church members, who are admitted in minority, understanding the doctrine of faith, and publicly professing their assent thereunto, not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the covenant before the church, wherein they give up themselves and their children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the church, their children are to be baptized.

6. Such church members, who either by death or some other extraordinary providence, have been inevitably hindered from publick acting as aforesaid, yet have given the church cause in judgment of charity to look at them as so qualified, and such as, had they been called thereunto, would have so acted, their children are to be baptized.

7. The members of orthodox churches, being sound in the faith, and not scandalous in life, and presenting due testimony thereof, these occasionally coming from one church to another, may have their children baptized in the church whither they come, by virtue of communion of churches; but if they remove their habitation, they ought orderly to covenant and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the church, where they settle their abode, and so their children to be baptized; it being the churches duty to receive such up-

to communion, so far as they are regularly fit for the same.

Quest. 2. Whether, according to the word of God, there ought to be a consociation of churches, and what should be the manner of it?

Ans. The answer may be briefly given in the propositions following.

1. Every church, or particular congregation of visible saints, in gospel order, being furnished with a presbytery, at least with a teaching elder, and walking together in truth and peace, hath received from the Lord Jesus full power and authority, ecclesiastical within itself, regularly to administer all the ordinances of Christ, and is not under any other ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatsoever; for to such a church Christ hath given the keys of the kingdom of heaven, that what they bind or loose on earth, shall be bound or loosed in heaven. Matt. xvi. 19, &c. Matt. xviii. 17, 18. Acts xiv. 23. Tit. i. 5. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. Acts vi. 4. 1 Cor. iv. 1, and v. 4, 12. Acts xx. 28. 1 Tim. v. 17, and iii. 5.

Hence it follows, that consociation of churches is not to hinder the exercise of this power, but by counsel from the word of God, to direct and strengthen the same upon all just occasions.

2. The churches of Christ do stand in a sisterly relation each to other, Cant. viii. 8, being united in the same faith and order, Eph. iv. 5. Col. ii. 5, to walk by the same rule, Phil. iii. 16, in the exercise of the same ordinances for the same ends, Eph. iv. 11, 12, 13. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, under one and the same political head, the Lord Jesus Christ. Eph. i. 22, 23. Eph. iv. 5. Rev. ii. 1, which union infers a communion suitable thereunto.

3. Communion of churches is the faithful improvement of the gifts of Christ, bestowed upon them for his service and glory, and their mutual good and edification, according to capacity and opportunity, i. e. to seek and accept of help one from another, by prayer, counsel, and advice, &c.

4. Consociation of churches is their mutual and solemn agreement to exercise communion in such acts as

aforesaid amongst themselves, with special reference to those churches, which by providence are planted in a convenient vicinity; though with liberty reserved without offence, to make use of others, as the nature of the case, or the advantage of opportunity, may lead thereunto.

5. The churches of Christ in New England, having so fair an opportunity for it, it is meet to be commended to them as their duty thus to consociate.

6. The manner of the churches' agreement herein, or entering into this consociation, may be by each church's open consenting unto the things here declared, in answer to this second question.

7. The manner of exercising and practising that communion, which this consent or agreement especially tendeth unto, may be by making use occasionally of elders, or able brethren of other churches, or by the more solemn meetings of both elders and messengers in lesser or greater councils, as the matter shall require.

These propositions, by way of answer to the two questions, were assented unto by the greater part by far of the assembly. Some few did manifest their dissent, and afterward in print opposed it, viz. the answer to the first question, as Mr. Chauncy, the president of the college, in his *Anti-Synodalia*, and the Rev. Mr. Davenport. The first was replied unto by Mr. Allen; the second by the Rev. Mr. Richard Mather. Some think that Mr. Davenport's book hath overthrown the propositions of the synod, according to their own principles; although they approve not his judgment in the case, who are for a larger latitude about baptism, as Dr. Owen and Dr. Goodwin, in whose account, the seed of the faithful are the subject of baptism, whether their parents are confederate in particular churches or not; but that is not as yet clearly evinced to satisfaction.

But as some were studying how baptism might be enlarged and extended to the seed of the faithful in their several generations; there were others as studious to deprive all inadult children thereof, and restrain the privilege only to adult believers. A society of that persua-

sion had taken upon them to join themselves together in a particular company by themselves, and did administer all ordinances amongst themselves in a schismatical way : yea, though some, that had taken upon them the power of such administrations, were themselves under the sentence of excommunication from other churches, which formerly they belonged unto. This company, continuing their assembling together, after they had been warned by the court to forbear, were sentenced by the court to be disfranchised if they were freemen ; and if they obstinately continued in their practice to be committed to prison upon conviction before one magistrate, or the county court, until the general court should take further order. By this severity it was expected they should have been restrained, but it proved otherwise. The bent of all men's natures makes it true, *nitimur in vetitum* ; and like waters that are pent up, they swell the more, so came it to pass with these persons who would not forbear, unless the laws had been sharpened to a greater degree of severity than the authority of the place were willing to execute on that account.

CHAP. LXVIII.

The general affairs of New England, from the year 1666 to 1671.

DURING this lustre of years, there was little alteration in the government of the Massachusetts ; Mr. Bellingham holding the first place of government, as Mr. Willoughby did the second, to the end thereof. Nor was there any matters of great moment that happened, besides granting of liberty for several townships, unless the reverting of the Province of Maine to the government of the Massachusetts as heretofore ; the occasion and manner thereof shall presently be related.

In the year 1667, liberty was granted for erecting a new plantation or township, at a place about thirty or forty miles west from Roxbury, called Mendon, and peopled by some that removed from thence. There was another like grant the same year at Brookfield, a commodious

place for entertainment of travellers betwixt the Massachusetts and Connecticut, situate about twenty five miles from Springfield, toward Boston; the liberty had been granted before in the year 1660, but it was renewed this year, six or seven families being settled there, the grantees having forfeited their first grant. The ordering of the place fell into the court's power, which was no disadvantage of the township, the management thereof being by the court committed to the care of two or three prudent persons, fitter to carry on a design of that nature than the whole village was.

These two villages last named were erected in an unhappy hour, for before ten years were expired they were utterly ruined and destroyed by the Indians, and not one stick left standing of any building erected there; as may be seen more at large in the narrative of the troubles with the Indians. Marlborough, ten miles beyond Sudbury, on the road towards Connecticut, (a plat of which was this year laid out and presented to the court,) escaped very hardly; one half thereof being in like manner destroyed by the barbarous Indians in the years 1675 and 1676. Another village was granted likewise about this time, called Westfield, seven miles westward from Springfield, which hardly escaped the fury of the Indians in that late rebellion.

In the year 1666, two hundred and fifty persons, driven off from St. Christophers, and coming to Boston, were there relieved till they could be transported back to some of the Caribbee islands, or otherwise disposed of according to their desire. In the following year certain informations being brought to the Massachusetts of some distress his majesty's fleet was in, at the Caribbee islands, for want of provision, a motion was made by some merchants of the said place for sending away present supply; which being quickened by the general court at Boston, was forthwith dispatched away, and came seasonably to their relief.

In the year 1670, a law was made in the Massachusetts for giving liberty to administrators to sell lands for payment of the debts of the deceased, with the leave of the court; an order very just and necessary to make

men honest, and careful to pay their debts before they leave the world; in that place where men often die seized of much land, and little other estates, so as creditors would be extremely damnified, without the provision of some such law.

CHAP. LXIX.

- *The Province of Maine returns to the government of the Massachusetts: the occasion and manner, how it was brought about.*

THE government of the Province of Maine, called Yorkshire, having been interrupted for near three years, and the people there like to be reduced to a confused anarchy, for want of a settled order of government; upon some application made to the general court of the Massachusetts, by some principal persons in the said Province, the court counted it their duty to God and the king to declare their resolution to exert their power and jurisdiction over the province or county of York, as formerly; and did accordingly, in the year 1668, set out a declaration to require the inhabitants there settled, to yield obedience to the laws of their jurisdiction, as they had been orderly published, and to issue out warrants for choosing officers, in order to settling affairs there, as in times past; which was done accordingly, and commissioners appointed to keep a court in the usual manner and time as before, ordering Nathaniel Masterson, the marshal, to require the constable to publish the said order. The commissioners, appointed by the general court to manage the business, were Maj. John Leverett, Mr. Edward Ting; assistants, Mr. Richard Waldron and Maj. Robert Pike.

And to prevent misinformation about that affair, it is thought meet to annex hereunto an authentick copy of the court's order to the said commissioners, with a relation of the procedure therein, forasmuch as the same hath been publickly misrecited, to the disadvantage of the Massachusetts' government, and the persons principally concerned in the managing thereof.

The court's order and declaration for the settlement and government in Yorkshire.

Whereas this colony of the Massachusetts, in observance of the trust to them committed by his majesty's royal charter, with the full and free consent and submission of the inhabitants of the county of York, for sundry years did exercise government over the people of that county; and whereas about three years now past, some interruption hath been made to the peace of that place and order there established, by the imposition of some, who, pretending to serve his majesty's interest, with unjust aspersions and reflections upon this government, here established by his royal charter, have unwarrantably drawn the inhabitants of that county to submission unto officers that have no royal warranty, thereby infringing the liberty of our charter, and depriving the people now settled of their just privileges; the effect whereof doth now appear to be not only a disservice to his majesty, but also the reducing of a people that were found under an orderly establishment to a confused anarchy: the premises being duly considered, this court doth judge meet, as in duty they stand bound to God and his majesty, to declare their resolution again to exert their power of jurisdiction over the inhabitants of the said county of York; and do hereby accordingly, in his majesty's name, require all and every of the inhabitants there settled, to yield obedience to the laws of this colony, as they have been orderly published; and to all such officers as shall be there legally established, by authority of his majesty's royal charter, and the order of our commissioners, whom this court hath nominated and impowered to settle all officers, necessary for the government of the people there, and to keep a court this present summer, the first Tuesday in July, at Yorktown, as hath been formerly accustomed. And for that end we have commanded our secretary to issue out warrants to the inhabitants there, in their respective towns, to meet to choose jurors, both grand and petit, constables, and other officers, for the service of that county, as the law requireth. The said warrants to be directed unto Nathaniel Masterson, who is by this court

appointed the marshal of that court as formerly, and by him, the said warrants are to be delivered to the several constables, to be accordingly executed. A due observance whereof, with an orderly return to be made to the court, to be held as aforesaid, is hereby required of all persons, respectively concerned, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

By the court.

EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.

A copy of the Warrant.

You are hereby required, in his majesty's name, forthwith to deliver the order of the general court, above written, to the constable of York, who is alike required forthwith to assemble the freemen and inhabitants together, and then publickly and audibly to read the order above written, and to signify to them, that they are hereby required in his majesty's name, to choose meet and fit persons for associates, grand and petit jurymen, to serve at the county court, to be held at York, as in the order aforesaid of the general court is expressed, and hereof not to fail.

To Maj. Gen. John Leverett, and Mr. Edward Ting ; Capt. Waldron, and Capt. Robert Pike.

You are hereby authorized and required to repair to York, in the county of Yorkshire, and there you, or any two of you, whereof Maj. Gen. Leverett shall be one, to keep a county court, according as the law directs ; and in case you meet with any person or persons, under the pretence of any other authority, that shall swerve from the due obedience they owe to this jurisdiction, under his majesty's royal charter, to which they have submitted and engaged themselves, that you call before you all such persons, and bring them to a due trial, and to proceed to sentence, as the merit of their offences shall require.

Furthermore, you are authorized and commissioned to establish and confirm all officers and commissioners, civil and military, as you shall judge meet, for the security and preserving of order and peace in the said courts of York. And for the better enabling you to effect the same, you are hereby authorized, from the date of these

presents, to act and do all such things, preparatory to the keeping of courts and settling of peace in the said county, as in your discretions you shall judge meet. And all officers, civil and military, within this jurisdiction, and all other inhabitants, are hereby required to be assistant unto you, as the matter shall require; and you are to render an account of what you shall do herein, to this court, at the next session in October.

This court hath caused the seal of the colony to be affixed, and signed by the governour, May the 20th, 1668.

The court having heard the return of their honoured commissioners, who were employed by this honoured court for the reducing the county of Yorkshire to the obedience of this government, do, with all thankfulness, acknowledge their good service therein, and do also allow and approve of what they have done in that affair, and do order the same to be entered into the publick records, and is as followeth:

“ Upon receipt of this court’s commission, which is recorded in the last session, we presently appointed Peter Wyer clerk of the writs; and hearing marshal Master-son, appointed by the court, was imprisoned, we appointed another marshal by warrant under our hands; but the former marshal being set at liberty again, the other did not act. The court being by law to be kept in York, the first Tuesday in July, 1668, being the seventh day of the month, we repaired to York upon Monday to 6th day. Mr. Jocelin, and several others, styled justices of the peace, coming nigh to the ordinary, where we were before the door, after salutes passed, they told us they desired to speak with us in the morning. To their desire we complied, and gave them a meeting, where we acquainted them we were ready to hear what they had to say; but not as sent to treat with them about what we had to do, by virtue of the general court’s commission. They acquainted us that they had lately received a packet from Col. Nichols, his letter to the governour and magistrates of the Massachusetts colony, which they desired us to read; and first, their commission, the which we

read, and having read them, we told them that those concerned the general court, and had been under their consideration, all but the letter from Col. Nichols, and that they had sent their declaration into the country, so that we had nothing to say, only that we did not understand that the commissioners had power to make any such temporary settlement, his majesty having before him the case; for, that the Massachusetts had in obedience sent their reasons why they did not deliver up the government of that country to Mr. Gorge, which was according to his majesty's command. Then Mr. Jocelin told us, there was not above five or six of a town for us; to which we replied, we should see by the returns made to the court's warrants and appearance; and further told them we must attend our commission, in prosecution whereof we should attend his majesty and the country's service, not our own, and if we met with opposition, we should advise what to do. Many other things passed, but with mutual respect, they said they must attend their commission. We parted and repaired to the meeting-house, and there opened the court by reading our commission publickly, and declaring to the people wherefore we came, whereto there was great silence and attention. Then by the marshal we called for the towns' returns, to be brought in for the election of associates; and returns were made from five towns, the other two being hindered (as they said) by the justices; yet in one of them above half the electors sent in their votes. Whilst the court was busy in opening, sorting, and telling the votes, the justices came up, and without doors by some instrument, made proclamation, that all should attend to hear his majesty's commands; upon which, order was given to the marshal, and accordingly he made proclamation, that if any had any command from his majesty, they coming and shewing it to the court, the court was open and ready to hear the same. Thereupon these gentlemen came in, and manifested their desire that what they had shewn to us in private might be read in court to the people; to whom we replied, that the court was in the midst of their business, in opening the returns

of the country from the several towns of election, and so soon as that was over, and after dinner, they should have their desire granted. So they left us, and we proceeded to see who were chosen associates, had the returns of the jurymen and their names entered, both the grand jury and that of trials, also of the constables, but did not swear any one, but adjourned the court and went to dinner; in which time we heard that the gentlemen were going to the meeting house to sit as an assembly, they having before issued out their warrants for the towns to send their deputies; whereupon we sent to speak with them after dinner. They returned they would, provided we would not proceed any further, till we spake with them. We sent them word we did engage it; they sent us word they would meet with us at the meeting house; and presently after their marshal and Nathaniel Phillips went up and down, and at all publick places published a paper or writing; whom meeting upon their return, it was demanded what and upon what authority they had published to the people to make a disturbance; they answered, they published what they had in the king's name. They were demanded to shew their order or authority; they answered, that was for their security: so refusing to shew it, they were committed to the marshal. Then we went to court, where we found the house full, and the gentlemen to have taken up our seats; so room being made, we went up to them and told them we expected other things than that they would have put such an affront upon the court, nor should such motions hinder us from prosecuting our commission; we could keep the court elsewhere. Some of the people began to speak, but we commanded silence, and the officer was commanded by us to clear the court, whereupon the people departed, and Mr. Jocelin spake to some nigh him to depart; so they coming from the seat, we came to private discourse, and they insisted to have their commission and the king's mandamus of 1666 to be read. We told them we would perform what we had promised, when the court was set; so we repaired to our seat, and they, being set by us, desired that their commission might be read, which was done,

and the ground of it expressed to be from the people's petitioning, who were told they could best give answer thereto, but said nothing; then that part of the mandamus of 1666, which they desired might be read, was read. After which they desired, that Col. Nichols' letter, to the governour and magistrates of the Massachusetts, might be read; but that not being of concernment to them there, save only for information of the justices, of what had passed from them to the governour and magistrates, to whom it was directed, it was refused. Some short account being publickly given, that that which had been read for the matter, having been before and under the consideration of the general court, they had the declaration of their intendments; in prosecution whereof, we were commissioned to keep court and settle the country, the which work we had begun, and, God willing, should perform, to fulfil the trust committed to us. And having declared to the people, that we were not insensible how that at the time of the interruption of the government in the year 1665, by such of the gentlemen of the king's commissioners, that were then upon the place, they had manifested their displeasure by telling the people, that the Massachusetts were traitors, rebels, and disobedient to his majesty, the reward whereof within one year they said should be retributed; yet we told them, that through the good hand of God and the king's favour, the Massachusetts were an authority to assert their right of government there, by virtue of the royal charter derived to them from his majesty's royal predecessors; and that we did not doubt but that the Massachusetts colony's actings for the forwarding his majesty's service would outspoke others' words, where there was nothing but words for themselves and against us; which done, the gentlemen left us, and we proceeded to the work of the court, to impanel the grand jury, gave them their oaths. One of them, viz. Mr. Roger Plaisted, expressed publickly that he was sent by the town he lived in, and accordingly he had applied himself to the major general, more privately, to know how we reassumed the government and how they were to submit; which he now men-

tioned in publick, that he might render himself faithful to them that sent him : to which he was answered in publick, as he had been in private, that we reassumed the government by virtue of the charter, and that they were to have the privilege with ourselves in the other counties. We had also from Scarborough a paper presented, which herewith we present to the court ; then having sworn the constables present, impannelled the jury for trials, sworn them, and committed what actions were entered and prosecuted to them ; in this time the gentlemen sent to desire, that at our leisure time they might speak with us. They were sent for, and presented us with a paper ; after we had received it, we attended to settle the business of the military officers and trainbands, and commissioned for York, Job Alcock, lieutenant, Arthur Bragdon, ensign ; for Wells, John Littlefield, lieutenant, Francis Littlefield, jun. ensign ; for Scarborough, Andrew Angur, lieutenant ; for Falmouth, George Ingerfield, lieutenant ; for Kittery, Charles Frost, captain, Roger Plaisted, lieutenant, John Gattery, ensign ; for Saco, Bryan Pendleton, major, and he to settle Blackpoint. Mr. Knight, of Wells, the morning before we came away, being Thursday 9th of July, came and took his oath in court to serve as an associate. The court made an order for a court to be held, 15th of September, there at York ; and for that end continued the commission to Capt. Waldron and Capt. Pike and others, for the better strengthening the authority upon the place, as by their commission may appear. The associates that are now in place, are Maj. Pendleton, Mr. Francis Cotterell, Mr. Knight, of Wells, Mr. Rayns, of York, Mr. Roger Plaisted, of Kittery ; which is humbly submitted to the honoured general court, as the return of your humble servants, this 23d of October, 1668.

JOHN LEVERETT,

EDWARD TING,

RICHARD WALDRON.

In this order and manner did the Province of Maine return to the government of the Massachusetts, without any other force, threatening, or violence, whatever hath been to the contrary judged, reported, and published,

by any other person or persons, to the prejudice and disadvantage of the truth, and the credit of them that were called to act therein.

CHAP. LXX.

Ecclesiastical affairs in the Massachusetts, from the year 1666 to 1671.

EVER since the late synod, held in Boston in the year 1662, for the debating the two questions, viz. about the subject of baptism and consociation of churches, hath arisen some trouble in the country; for in the agitation and determination of those questions, several things were delivered for undeniable positions, which sundry of the ministers and many of the members of the churches throughout the country, were ready to reflect upon, as innovations without scripture warrant, and that would have a direct tendency to undermine the liberty of the churches, as well as to abate, if not corrupt, the purity of them; which occasioned much opposition against the receiving the foresaid determinations in many of the churches of the Massachusetts, as well as in some of the neighbour colonies. And peradventure the controversy was at times managed with too much animosity, until by degrees in many of the churches within the respective colonies of New England, viz. as to the owning of those for members of the particular churches they belong to, who were baptized in their infancy, and when they came to adult years, are willing to submit to the discipline of the church, and are found orthodox in their judgments, and without scandal in their lives.

They who are willing, in that whereto they have already attained, to walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing, i. e. peaceably and orderly, according to what they have received, may expect, that though they are at the present, in some things otherwise minded, that God shall even reveal this unto them in his own time and way.

The controversy mentioned was not a little strengthened and revived by an occasion about that time, or not

long before falling out : For after the church of Boston was destitute of a teaching elder, by the sudden and unexpected death of Mr. John Norton, they having made sundry fruitless endeavours to supply themselves, at last, by a general consent of the principal part of the church, they addressed themselves to the reverend and worthy Mr. John Davenport, the pastor of New Haven, a person beyond exception and compare for all ministerial abilities, and upon that account highly esteemed and accepted in either Englands. The reverend person, as was understood by them, that were most solicitous to gain him to Boston, was strongly bent in his spirit to remove from the place where he was settled before, in regard of alteration like to ensue in their civil government, that whole colony being accidentally wrapped within the bounds of the patent, not long before obtained for Connecticut colony. Not many motives need be used to draw them that have a natural propension to come. On the other hand, some of the members of Boston church, and those not inconsiderable, either to their number or other circumstances, were averse to the inviting the said reverend person, so as that they desired liberty of withdrawing, or of being a church by themselves, in case their brethren were resolved to proceed on in their choice; not out of dislike of his worth and abilities, but in regard of his declared judgment in opposition to the determination of the late synod in 1662, which was apprehended by some like to become a ball of contention among the churches of the Massachusetts; but every consideration of this nature was swallowed up by the incomparable worth of the person, by such as had already made their choice. In fine, much trouble was occasioned thereby, one part of the church of Boston being as resolved and fixed in their negative, as the rest were in the affirmative, so as not to be included in the choice. This difference was soon after pretty well composed, when the dissenters found a way, by the interposition and advice of the messengers of sundry neighbour churches, to gather into a distinct church-society by themselves. But many of them, who were not so well satisfied in the doing thereof, were soon after ready to think that *factum valet*.

It was feared that those two churches would, like the river Davus, running betwixt the same banks of great Danubius, yet to keep their distinct channels, and hold no other communion than that of civil commerce one with another; yet, as it was then hoped, time and patience hath since that time, viz. anno 1680, brought things about to almost a perfect coalescence.

But that famous and first church of Boston was not long happy in the enjoyment of Mr. Davenport, their reverend pastor, who was removed from them by an apoplectical distemper on March 16, 1670, after they had flourished under his ministry three or four years, and sat under the shadow of his doctrine, as it were, with great delight, and found the fruit thereof sweet to their taste. It is not unworthy our notice, that though he had near attained the eightieth year of his age, yet was he of that vivacity, that the strength of his memory, profoundness of his judgment, floridness of his elocution, were little, if at all abated in him. His loss would have been more deeply laid to heart, if it had not been in a great measure made up by the seasonable supply of another reverend preacher, Mr. John Oxenbridge, who, not without the direction of a special providence, was brought to the place not long before the removal of the other; by whose pious and prudent endeavours, the former breach was in a likely way of healing; at least, things tended much that way all the time of his shining in the golden candlestick of that church: a double portion of whose spirit rest upon them who may succeed, he also being removed by sudden death, anno 1675.

Hitherto it had pleased the Father of lights to bless the New England churches with the continuance of many worthy and eminent divines, not only of such who at first removed with their brethren, at the first planting of the country, but of many others who were raised up there; but about this time, they were bereft of a great number of them, within the compass of a few years.

The setting of so many bright stars, (and some of them of the first magnitude,) in New England's firmament, seemed to presage a sad night of darkness and trouble

not unlike ere long to ensue, which, in a great measure, hath since come to pass.

The first labourer of note, who was, within this compass of years, taken out of the harvest, was Mr. John Wilson, the apostolical pastor of the first church of Boston. Amongst New England's worthies, he well deserved to be ranked amongst the first three; scil. for his zeal, faith, holiness, humility, and christian charity, which is the grace that crowns all other virtues, and wherein he most excelled, and without which all other gifts will render a man, of how great abilities soever, but as a sounding brass, and as a tinkling cymbal; and when faith and hope shall cease, as to the exercise of them, then shall charity, which remaineth, shine with its greatest lustre and glory.

It hath been observed by some, that a great part of New England's prosperity came along with Mr. Hooker and Mr. Cotton; it may as truly be said, that it remained there, in a great part, by Mr. Wilson's means, who, by his faith and prayers, kept off the storm from New England all his own time, as some have said of Luther, concerning Germany, and of which this good man had some secret and strong persuasions, as he did intimate to some of his most confident friends, scil. that no publick judgment or calamity should come upon the country in his time; what hath fallen out since, is well known to the world.

He departed this life, August 7th, 1667, in the 79th year of his age, having been thirty seven years pastor of the said church of Boston.

The next that, about this time, followed this aged prophet to the house of the grave, was one of the youngest of the sons of the prophets, (for death keeps no order in his assignments,) Mr. Samuel Shepard, second son of that famous preacher, well known by his zealous preaching and other learned labours, Mr. Thomas Shepard. This son of his was called from Christ's plough, by an untimely sickness, as soon almost as he had put his hand thereunto, early in the spring of his life, as well as of the year, about 1668, in the very flower of his youth, blos-

soming with hopes of greater fruitfulness in the vineyard, if he might have continued longer therein.

On the 9th of July, in the same year, likewise was that faithful and painful preacher of the gospel, Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, dismissed to his rest. He was born at Halifax, in Yorkshire, of pious and worthy parents, but transplanted in his tender years into the nursery at Harvard College, where, a few years, he made such proficiency, as outstripping his equals, he was advanced to a fellowship in the same college, wherein he so behaved himself by the fame of his worth and learning, that several churches in the country bespake an interest in him, against such time as he was like to launch forth into publick employment in the ministry. The church of Hartford, upon the river of Connecticut, were not without hope of redintegrating their loss of that famous pastor, Mr. Hooker, by the supply of this hopeful proficient; but the church of Cambridge, in whose arms he had received his education, being altogether destitute, by the death of their eminent pastor, the other churches were easily persuaded to quit their claim, and he came to be ordained pastor of the church at Cambridge, anno 1650. It was looked upon as no small favour of God, not only to that church, to have their breach so fully made up by one of the same spirit and principles with their former pastor, but also to the country, in supplying that place with a person so well qualified with the gifts of learning, piety, zeal, and prudence, for the better seasoning those who, in their younger years, are dedicated to the service of the ministry, with the like spirit of gravity, zeal, and holiness, wherein his example and doctrine were eminently blessed, to the great advantage of sundry worthy preachers of the gospel, bred up in that school of the prophets in his time. He was an over hard student, such an *heluo librorum*, that he could spare no time for recreation, but only for necessary repast, by which it was thought he much prejudiced his health, by the putrefaction of the humours in a plethorick body, which brought upon him a putrid fever, that debilitated his vital spirits in a little time, and brought him to the very gates of

death, before standers by were apprehensive of any danger in his disease, or whither it was tending.

Not to dilate further upon his eminent worth, a neighbour minister hath given it him, in full measure, running over, as he well deserved, in this following epitaph :

Here lies the darling of his time,
 Mitchell, expired in his prime,
 Who, four years short of forty seven,
 Was found full ripe, and pluck'd for heaven ;
 Was full of prudent zeal, and love,
 Faith, patience, wisdom from above ;
 New England's stay, next age's story,
 The churches' gem, the college glory.
 Angels may speak him, ah ! not I,
 (Whose worth's above hyperbole,)
 But for our loss, were't in my power,
 I'd weep an everlasting shower. J. S.

He died about the three or four and fortieth year of his age, as did his famous predecessor.

Another eminent and hopeful minister of the gospel, which New England was bereaved of this year, was Mr. John Eliot, born and bred up in New England, the eldest son of the worthy minister of the gospel, Mr. John Eliot, of Roxbury, who hath taken so much pains to acquaint the Indians of New England with the religion of the English, and with the knowledge of the gospel. This his eldest son, (who for his years was *nulli secundus* as to all literature and other gifts, both of nature and grace, which made him so generally acceptable to all, that had opportunity of partaking of his labours, or the least acquaintance with him ; yet) herein was noted to excel all his contemporaries, in that by the advice and conduct of his father, through his own industry and diligence, he had attained such skill in the Indian language, that he was able familiarly to discourse with them and instruct them, yea, frequently travelled up and down the country to take all opportunities to preach unto them the word of life. The untimely removal of himself, with some others in like manner qualified and devoted to that work, hath been to some a ground of fear, that the great harvest of converting the heathens in America, is not yet fully

come, although there are many hopeful and comfortable gleanings, as may be seen afterwards in what follows, not unworthy the labours and pains that hath been by any bestowed in that work.

Besides the forementioned, in 1668 and the following years were sundry other eminent ministers of the gospel in New England removed by the stroke of death, whose memory it is thought meet in the following catalogue to commend to the notice of posterity.

Mr. Henry Flint, pastor of the church at Braintree, (his worthy colleague, Mr. Thompson, a man of great worth and learning, zeal, and piety, in his former time, having, in a dark cloud of melancholy left the world, in the year 1666,) died April 27, 1668.

Mr. Richard Mather, a solid and grave divine, teacher of the church at Dorchester, died April 22, 1669.

Mr. John Reyner, pastor of the church at Dover, died April 3, 1669.

Mr. Zechariah Symmes, pastor of the church at Charlestown, died February 4, 1670.

Mr. John Allin, pastor of the church at Dedham, died August 26, 1670.

Mr. Charles Chauncey, who in the eightieth year of his age, being president of Harvard College, died February 19, 1671.*

All, or most of whom, are well known by their abilities, as well abroad as at home, in the press as well as in the pulpit, especially by their labours in and about the controversy of church government; of whose faculties, success, and skill therein, the reader may best make a judgment, by perusing their own writings, long since extant in the world.

There hath been much opposition and vehement disputings betwixt wise, learned, and holy men about this point, yet the righteous and the wise and their works are in the hand of the Lord, and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is, and therefore not to judge by prejudice, or with respect of persons. The ministers of New England have given an account to the world, of their way and of their practice, wherein they differ from

* 167 $\frac{1}{2}$, i. e. 1672. Ed.

the rest of the reformed churches ; and doubtless no detriment will accrue to others, by leaving them to enjoy the liberty of their own apprehensions.

But not to look only on the dark side of the cloud ; during the time of these sad and sorrowful occurrences, were some others called forth, either to enter upon or to make more open and manifest progress in the ministry, ordained for the edifying of the body of Christ, and perfecting the saints.

At the town of Portsmouth, seated on the southern banks of Patacataqua river, the inhabitants having been several years instructed by the painful and able ministry of Mr. Joshua Moody, and guided by his prudent conduct, did a considerable number of them join themselves together in church fellowship, over whom the said Mr. Moody was ordained pastor, 1671.

At the same time, Mr. John Reyner was ordained pastor at the church at Dover, in the room of his father, lately deceased there in the year 1669. Much about the same time was Mr. Dummer ordained pastor of the church at York, in the Province of Maine.

During these intervals of time, several contentious breaches, that happened in sundry of the churches of the Massachusetts, were orderly composed, though not without the interposition of the civil magistrate, who is *custos utriusque tabulae*, which it is thought meet rather to intimate in this place, than pass over with silence, seeing thereby a full answer is given to the main objections that use to be made against the congregational churches of New England, as if there was no way found to end differences, that might occasionally arise in or amongst the churches of that constitution.

Their usual way of ending all differences, is by the improving the help of neighbour churches, who, by their elders and other messengers meeting together, are wont to deliberate and give their advice concerning any matter of difference ; in which case, where there appeared an unanimous consent in the said messengers, all parties concerned were found always ready to acquiesce therein. But in case of any differing apprehensions of the said

messengers amongst themselves, or in case of any contumacy in any of the offending parties, the civil magistrates' help being implored by them that are aggrieved, that useth always to put a final end to all matters of controversy amongst any of their churches.

In like manner do all protestant divines allow a power in the civil magistrate, not only in worldly regiment, but also in spiritual, for the preservation of the church, i. e. in cases temporal, so far as belongeth to the outward preservation, not to the personal administration of them, which is the substance of our English oath of supremacy, as a learned man observes.

It is true, that in the primitive times, infidels were converted to the faith, and churches established and kept up, when there was no assistance, but rather opposition from the princes of the earth, as saith the same author. And the benefit we have now, by christian magistrates, was then more abundantly supplied, by the miracles wrought, and the constant direction and care of apostolick and extraordinary persons, who were gifted by Christ for the purpose; but in following times, the ordinary helps and external means, for the upholding and maintaining of peace and truth in the churches, scil. in way of a civil power, is only a pious and christian magistracy, where a nation is blessed with it, so as by the help of the ecclesiastical and the civil power, acting in a way of subordination each unto other, all differences arising may easily be composed there, as well as in any other place, as instances might easily be given, of the issue of some late differences in several of the churches there of late, as namely, at Newbury, Salem, and at Salisbury, the particulars whereof need not here be inserted. By such means hath truth and order been maintained, peace restored unto the several churches within the jurisdictions of New England, in all former times, since the first planting, and may accordingly be expected for the future.

CHAP. LXXI.

General affairs of the Massachusetts, from the year 1671 to 1676.

IN the beginning of this last epocha, or series of years, Mr. Bellingham was again chosen governour of the Massachusetts, and Maj. John Leverett, (to whose lot it had fallen some years before to be the major general of the Massachusetts colony,) was at the same time, May 31, 1671, called by the general consent of the electors to be deputy governour, in the room of Mr. Willoughby, that formerly supplied that place, and always by his gravity and prudence, as well as by his integrity and faithfulness, well becoming the dignity thereof.

In the year 1672, Harvard College being decayed, a liberal contribution was granted for rebuilding the same, which was so far promoted from that time, that in the year 1677, a fair and stately edifice of brick was erected anew, not far from the place where the former stood, and so far finished that the publick acts of the commencement were there performed, over which God send or confirm and continue a president, for the carrying on of that hopeful work, that so the glory of the succeeding may in all respects equal and exceed that of the former generation.

In the end of the year 1672 an end was put to the life and government of Mr. Bellingham, a very ancient gentleman, having spun a long thread of above eighty years; he was a great justiciary, a notable hater of bribes, firm and fixed in any resolution he entertained, of larger comprehension than expression, like a vessel whose vent holdeth no good proportion with its capacity to contain, a disadvantage to a publick person; had he not been a little too much overpowered with the humour of melancholy in his natural constitution, (the infirmities of which tincture did now and then appear in his dispensing of justice,) he had been very well qualified for a governour. He had been bred a lawyer, yet turned strangely, although upon very pious considerations, as some have

judged, out of the ordinary road thereof, in the making of his last will and testament, which defect, if there were any, was abundantly supplied by the power of the general court, so as that no prejudice did arise to his successours about his estate.

In the following year, 1673, May 7th, Maj. John Leverett was invited by the free and general consent of the freemen of the Massachusetts, to take the governour's place after him, which he held ever since unto his life's end. His choice at this time was a little remarkable, in that he, being one of the junior magistrates, was called first to be deputy, then governour, which according to the usual course of succession belonged to the senior. Thus many times things so fall out that the last shall be first. What his administration hath been in the time past, as to wisdom, justice, courage, and liberality is known to all, in that which is to come, is left to be related by them to whose lot it may fall to write the epilogue of New England story, which God grant it may not prove so tragical as it hath been in the four last years preceding. But as is well known, since God took him out of this troublesome world, March 16, 1678, he hath in his merciful providence, called one to preside as chief in authority over the colony of the Massachusetts, who, by his sage wisdom, and long experience, (even ever since the first coming over of the patentees,) hath been found the best able to take upon him the conduct of affairs in those difficult times, that have since happened, sufficient to have tried the wisdom of all that preceded in that *station*.

This year, Monsieur Colve, coming with a few ships and soldiers from the West Indies, surprized the fort at Manhatos, or New York, in the absence of Col. Lovelace, the governour, under his highness the duke of York, which might have proved no small disadvantage to the colonies of New England, the Dutch having thereby an opportunity to seize many of their vessels, as they passed to and from the West Indies, who were wont to stop on the other side of the Cape Shoals; and many of their vessels were, during the time he held the place, surprized by his orders, which put the country upon a resolu-

tion to secure their vessels on that side of the cape; but by good providence the quarrel betwixt the English and the Dutch being ended, those places were again peaceably surrendered into the hands of the English, so as from that time free intercourse and traffick being allowed for the trading vessels, it is hoped the country may now flourish for the future more than formerly.

The court of election, from the beginning of this lustre, fell out in 1671, May 31; 1672, May 15; 1673, May 7; 1674, May 27; 1675, May 12; 1676, May 3; 1677, May 27; in every of which, since the year 1672, unless in 1678, May 8, when Mr. Bradstreet was first chosen governour, and Mr. Danforth, of Cambridge, deputy, Maj. Leverett hath been honoured with the place of governour over the Massachusetts colony. And the principal transactions which have since happened there, relate either to their troubles with the Indians, (of which more may be seen in the narrative forementioned, and the continuation thereof in the following chapter,) or else to the controversy which lately arose, and is yet depending between the heirs of one Capt. Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who have several times complained against the said colony to his majesty, and by reiterated petitions, requested for an hearing thereof before him, have by much importunity, at last obtained their desire.

The substance of their complaint was, that whereas, as they pretended a grant had been made by the council of Plymouth to the said Capt. John Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, of a distinct Province to each of them, the one called Hampshire, the other Maine, both in the years 1621, 1622, and 1629 and 1635, and that they had, by the expense of many thousand pounds there, taken possession by their agents, yet that they had been dispossessed thereof, by violence and strong hand, by some persons employed by the government of the said colony of the Massachusetts, and notwithstanding all applications made unto them, could obtain no redress or relief of their injuries and wrongs, &c.

By these kind of petitions they prevailed so far as to

obtain letters from his majesty, March 10th, 167 $\frac{5}{8}$ requiring the colony aforesaid to send over agents to appear before him in six months after the receipt of the said letters, with full instructions impowered to answer for them, that so they might receive his royal determination in that matter depending for judgment before him.

This command of his majesty was carefully observed by the Massachusetts, and notwithstanding the many difficulties they were at that time incumbered withal, by reason of their war with the Indians, and the great distance of place, and other sad calamities, they deputed as their agents, Mr. William Stoughton and Mr. Buckley, to take that service upon them, who were ready to attend his majesty's pleasure at Whitehall, within the time limited in his royal letters; and not long after, upon a just hearing of the allegations of each party, his majesty was pleased to give his final determination, wherein he saw cause to confirm unto the Massachusetts their charter, with the original bounds of the same, contrary to the expectation of the petitioners, who had, at least one of them, endeavoured by sundry allegations, to have vacated the same; and the Province of Maine was also, by the said determination, not altered, but left to the heirs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, both as to the soil and government. But as for the Province, which was demanded by Mr. Mason, his plea not being made for any right of government, himself was left at liberty to take his course at law to recover his interest, whatever it was, in the soil. But how the government of the said Province shall be disposed of, was then left to his majesty's determination, who then gave his subjects in that country a ground of hope, that as they have given a good example to all the rest of his plantations in America, of industry and sobriety, so they shall not want any due encouragement from himself, both of protection, and an equal participation of all other acts of his royal grace and favour, which others already have had, or hereafter have hope to receive.

The gentlemen forenamed, having been detained in England for the space of three years, to give answer to

such allegations as Mr. Mason and his adherents had given in against them, at the last were for the present dismissed, upon demand of others to be sent in their room with more full instructions and power to make answer to whatever the lords commissioners for foreign plantations should see cause to require satisfaction in, in reference not only to the claims of Mr. Robert Mason aforesaid, but also to make answer to whatever else might be alleged about the charter of the Massachusetts and the regulation thereof. Accordingly Mr. William Stoughton and Mr. Peter Buckley returning home in the year 1679, there were two other gentlemen deputed in their room to attend that service, viz. Mr. Joseph Dudley, and Mr. John Richards, who were sent to England in the year 1682, which was as soon as things could be prepared and dispatched for their journey, which they safely accomplished, arriving at London about the latter end of August in the same year. Not long before, the honoured gentleman, Edward Cranfield, Esq. appointed by his majesty's special commission to be governour of New Hampshire, arrived there, a Province situate between the river Merrimack and Pascataqua, challenged by Mr. Mason to be his propriety, concerning whose right thereunto, at this time, *sub judice lis est*; and because many motions have been occasioned by the pretensions of said Mr. Mason, it may not be amiss to take a view of the several grants made to his grandfather, Capt. John Mason, in former times, with the opinion of a great lawyer, Sir William Jones, the king's attorney, about them.

The copy of a grant made by the council of Plymouth, to Capt. John Mason, of the land betwixt Naumkeag and Merrimack, in New England, anno 1621.

"This indenture, made the 9th of March, anno 1621, the 19th year of the reign of our sovereign lord, James, by the grace of God, &c. between the president and council of New England on the one part, and John Mason, gent. &c. on the other part witnesseth, that whereas our sovereign lord, king James, for the making a plantation and establishing a colony, &c. Now this indenture further witnes-

seth, that the said president and council, of their full, free and mutual consent, as well to the end that all the lands, woods, waters, islands, &c. hereafter in these presents mentioned, may be wholly and entirely invested, appropriated, severed and settled in and upon the said John Mason, his heirs and assigns forever; as for divers special services for the advancement of the said plantation, and other good causes, and considerations them especially hereunto moving, have given, granted, bargained, sold, assigned, enfeoffed, set over and confirmed, and by these presents do give, &c. unto the said John Mason, his heirs and assigns, all that part of the sea coast in New England, being a great head land, or cape, and lying in the northernmost parts of the Massachusetts country, and to the northeastwards of the great river of the Massachusetts, stretching itself out into the sea eastwards five leagues or thereabouts, and lying betwixt the latitude of 42 and 43 degrees or thereabouts, and commonly called and known by the name of Tragabigsenda, or Cape Anne, with the north, south, and east shores thereof; the back bounds toward the main land to begin at the head of the next great river, to the southward of the said cape, which runs up into the country of the main land westward, and supposed to be called Naumkeag, or by what other name or names the said river is, or may be called, and to a river lying to the northwestward of the said cape, and to the furthest head of the said river, from which period to cross over land to the head of the other great river which lies southward of the foresaid cape, where the perambulation began, and half way over, that is to say, to the midst of either of the said two rivers which bounds or limits the aforesaid lands, both on the north and south thereof, together with the great isle or island, henceforth to be called Isle Mason, lying near or before the bay, harbour, or river of Agawam, together with all the sects, isles, or islands adjoining to any part of the precincts of the lands aforesaid, or lying within three miles of any part of the same, as also all the lands, soil, grounds, havens, ports, rivers, mines, minerals, pearls, and precious stones, woods, quarries, marshes,

waters, lakes, fishings, hunting, hawking, fowling, commodities and hereditaments whatsoever, with all and singular their appurtenances, together with all prerogatives, rights, royalties, jurisdictions, privileges, franchises, pre-eminencies, liberties, marine power, as also the escheats and casualties thereof, with all the state, right, title, interest, claim and demand whatsoever, which the said president and council, and their successors, of right ought to have or claim, in or to the said portions of land, and other the premises as is aforesaid."

But this grant being only sealed with the council's seal, but unwitnessed, no seizin endorsed, nor possession ever given with the grant, Sir William Jones, the king's attorney general, concludes, that having no other confirmation but the council's seal, and there being also no entry of them upon record, it is not good in law, neither according to the law of England nor of New England, they having no particular law of their own, (to his knowledge,) which differs from the law of England, as to the manner of passing lands; therefore, he saith, he doth not see how those grants can be good; and further, he saith that Mr. Mason's rights to any of the lands which he claims, that lie within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, ought to be tried upon the place, liable to such appeals as the charter allows, if it allows any; all which appears by a writing under his hand, bearing date, 18th Sept. 1679, which he gave to the agents of New England, then present at London.

Besides the forementioned grant, made to Capt. John Mason for Cape Anne, he obtained another grant from the said council of Plymouth, bearing date August 10th, 1622, which was made both to him and to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, from Merrimack to Sagadahock, a copy of which it seems is yet extant, although it appears not, that ever the said grant was signed, sealed, or witnessed, by any order of the council.

There is another like copy of such a grant, made to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. J. Mason, bearing date the 17th of November, 1629.

There was the copy of another grant made to the said

Capt. John Mason for all the land from Naumkeag to Pascataqua river, bearing date April 22, in the 11th year of king Charles the First, scil. anno 1635, much what of the same tenour with the first grant, 1621.

At the court of pleas, held at Portsmouth, in New England, in February 1682, this last grant was principally insisted upon, in a suit commenced against one Mr. Wadley of Exeter, and it was there attested under oath, by Mr. Chamberlain, secretary of the Province of New Hampshire, and by one Mr. Reynes, that they had compared the said grant of April 22, 1635, with the original, and that it was a true copy, although it did not appear that the said grant was either signed, sealed, or witnessed. It being manifest also, that the said council of Plymouth was to consist of forty persons, who had the sole power of granting any lands in the country of New England from the degrees of 40 to 48 of north latitude, provided it was done by the major part of them, or of a major part of a lawful assembly of the said council, under their common seal, which not appearing, and the lands questioned in that suit had been for a long time, viz. near fifty years, occupied by others, the jury found for the defendant; upon which the plaintiff appealed, the issue of which is yet depending, till it be heard and determined by the authority appealed unto.

But as to the lands between Naumkeag and Merrimack, demanded by Mr. Mason, although they are well known to be included within the limits of the Massachusetts, as appeared before the lords chief justices, together with the rest of the honourable commissioners, that had the hearing of the case concerning the bounds of the Massachusetts patent; the whole case is thus determined by his majesty's attorney general aforesaid.

The case of the governour and company of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, in America.

3^o Nov. 14^o Jac. The whole tract of New England was granted to forty persons, lords and others, by the name of the Council of New England established at Plymouth, whereby power is given them to set out lands and

hereditaments to adventurers and planters, as should by a commission of survey and distribution executed, be named.

19^o Martii, 1628. The said council grant the Massachusetts colony to Roswell and others.

4^o Martii. 4^o Car. 1^{mi}. The grant to Roswell, &c. was by letters patents, confirmed to the said proprietors and others their associates, who were then incorporated with power of government granted to them, and of making laws not repugnant to the laws of England.

The company, in pursuance of this grant of the council at Plymouth and charter from the king, transport themselves and make a settlement upon the said lands, distributing the same from time to time, freely to adventurers and planters, without any rent reserved to the company, yet so that where the said lands were possessed by the natives, the planters did also purchase from them.

May 1657. It is enacted by the laws of the place—That any person who had, by himself, his grantees, or assigns, before the law about inheritances, 14th October 1652, possessed and occupied, as his or their proper right, in fee simple, any houses or lands there, and should so continue without disturbance, let, suit, or denial, legally made, by having the claims of any person thereto entered with the recorder of the county, and such claim prosecuted to effect, within five years, next after the 20th of that present May, 1657; every such proprietor, their heirs and assigns, shall forever hereafter enjoy the same, without any lawful let, suit, disturbance, or denial, by any other claim of any person or persons whatsoever, any law or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

No claim made of the lands in question within the time limited. In 1635, the pat. of 30 Novris. 14^o Jac. surrendered.

Mr. Mason's title, 9th Martii, 1621. Mr. Mason, by grant from the council at Plymouth, under their common seal, to his ancestor, John Mason, claims some ten towns within the Massachusetts bounds of their patent, to be

called Mariana, to hold to him and his heirs, in free and common soccage, &c. subject to the exceptions in the grant to the grand council, yielding a fifth part of all ore found to his majesty, and another fifth part to the council, with a letter of attorney to the chief officer there for the time being, for delivery of possession and seizin to the grantee, Mason, or his attorney.

Note. The grant only sealed with the council's seal, unwitnessed, no seizin endorsed, nor possession ever given with the grant.

10 August, 1622. The said council grant, alien, sell, and confirm to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason, their heirs and assigns, all the lands lying between the rivers Merrimack and Sagadahock.

Note, as in the grant of 1621.

7 Nov. 1629. The said council grant part of the premises to Capt. John Mason, single, and his heirs, extending between the rivers of Merrimack and Pascataqua.

1631. Note as above. The same council did again grant a small parcel of the premises granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. J. Mason, unto the said Sir Ferdinando and Capt. Mason, with about six or seven others, their associates, lying on both sides the river of Pascataqua, upon which lands some settlement was made and some part thereof divided between the said grantees and adventurers after, 1631.

April 1635. Capt. John Mason obtains a new grant from the said great council, of all the lands from Naumkeag river to Patcataqua river, by the name of New Hampshire; at which time all that part of the lands so granted, which are now contained within the bounds of the Massachusetts, were actually distributed to, and planted by the inhabitants of that colony, by virtue of their grants from the said council, anno 1628, 1629.

The whole matter in difference was referred to the two lord chief justices, by his majesty and council.

They, after a solemn hearing of council on both sides, reported unto his majesty : That as to the right of the soil of the Province of New Hampshire and Maine, they

could give no opinion, not having proper parties before them, it appearing that not the Massachusetts company, but the ten tenants had the right of soil and whole benefit thereof, and yet were not summoned to defend their titles.

As to Mr. Mason's right of government within the soil he claimed: Their lpps. and indeed his own counsel, agreed he had none, the great council of Plymouth, under whom he claimed, having no power to transfer government to any.

As to the bounds of the Massachusetts colony: Their lpps. have, by their said report, excluded thereout the four towns of Dover, Portsmouth, Exeter, and Hampton, parcel of Mr. Mason's claim, but determined the remainder of his claim to be within their bounds; which report was confirmed by his majesty in council.

1 Quer. Whether Mr. Mason's grant, being only under the council of Plymouth's seal, unwitnessed, and without any entry or record of them any where, without seizin endorsed, and no possession having ever gone along with them, be valid in law, to out about fifty years possession, a title under the government of the Massachusetts, and a purchase from the natives?

[Ans.] I think it is not good, according to the law of England, and New England having no particular law of their own, (to my knowledge,) which differs from the law of England, as to the manner of passing lands I do not see how many of these grants can be good.

Or admitting they be good in law:

2 Quer. Whether Mr. Mason be not estopt by the law of the place as above, having not made his claim thereto, within the time prescribed?

[Ans.] If Mr. Mason's estate do lie within the jurisdiction of the assembly who made this law, and that this assembly were rightly constituted, according to the power given by charter, I think Mr. Mason was bound by this law, which I look upon to be a reasonable law, and agreeing in reason with the law of England.

And if Mr. Mason have right thereto:

3 Quer. Whether ought not that right be tried on the

place, ten of the towns claimed by him remaining within the Massachusetts jurisdiction, by the chief justice's report?

[Ans.] I think his right ought to be tried upon the place, for so much thereof as lies within the Massachusetts jurisdiction, liable to such appeal as the charter allows, if it allows any.

4 Quer. Or if triable here, by what court can it properly be so, whether in one of the four courts at Westminster, or upon a special commission, and how, in your judgment, whether by jury or otherwise?

[Ans.] It cannot properly be tried here, by any of the four courts, but according to the law of the place, if it lie within any jurisdiction; and if within none, the king may erect courts to proceed according to the law of England, unless altered by the legislative power of the place.

18 Sept. 1679.

W. JONES.

CHAP. LXXII.

Ecclesiastical affairs in New England, from the year 1671 to the year 1685.

THE solemn and awful dispensations of the Almighty towards the people of New England of late, have made all the wise hearted among them fear that he had a controversy with them, having written his displeasure in the dismal characters of contagious sickness, and of the sword of war, as well as other disastrous events and sad calamities. Many endeavours were used, by sundry solemn days of humiliation, to find out the cause why the Lord contended with them. They conceived that personal afflictions did oftentimes come only for probation, but as to publick calamities it is not usually so, as they apprehended, especially when by a continued series of providences God seems to be pleading against a people as he did against Israel in David's time; and as he had seemed to do with them for divers years. At the last, the general court of the Massachusetts saw cause to assemble all the ministers and messengers of the churches within their jurisdiction in a general synod at Boston,

September 10, 1679, to whom these two questions were propounded to debate upon :

Quest. 1. What are the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New England ?

Quest. 2. What is to be done that so these evils may be reformed.

In answer to the first, it was determined by the joint consent of the whole assembly, that beside a great and visibly decay of the power of godliness, amongst many professors in their churches, there was likewise too much cause to fear, that several vices, especially pride, intemperance, and worldly mindedness, began to bud forth amongst them, which were the evils that used to bring the wrath of God upon the Gentiles of old ; therefore it need not be wondered at, if God should bring sharp afflictions upon the country for the preventing or reforming these grosser evils, that so such noisome weeds might timely be rooted out, and not suffered to spread and take place in the garden of God. Accordingly, the said assembly advised, that for the reforming all the fore-mentioned evils, that in the first place, all that were above others in place, would, as to their practice, become very exemplary unto others, it being incident to the people of all ages to follow those that are above them, that so, if any of the sins of the times were found, in any degree, among those, or any of them that were leaders, either as to civil or ecclesiastical order, reformation in them would have an happy influence upon many others, as Moses and Joshua, being to reform others, began with what concerned themselves. So, also, that care should be taken for the revising of the platform of discipline, drawn up by a synod there anno 1648, which might be a good means to recover those that had erred from the truth, and to prevent apostacy for the future, and that by the renewing of covenant, their churches and administrations should be reduced to that their primitive pattern.

Furthermore, also, forasmuch as it hath been observed, that some have reflected upon the New English churches for their defect in not publishing to the world

a confession of their faith, as if their principles were unknown, although it had been long since declared, that as to matters of doctrine they agreed with other reformed churches; nor was any thing referring to doctrine, but what concerns worship and discipline, that caused their predecessors to remove into the deserts of America, while it was a land not sown, that there they might have liberty to practise accordingly. Therefore, this synod last convened, having in their second session, which was May 12, 1680, consulted, and considered of a confession of faith, they unanimously agreed, that a confession of faith, according to that which was drawn up by the ministers and messengers of the congregational churches, who met at the Savoy in London, (being for the most part, some small variations excepted, the same with that which was agreed upon first by the assembly at Westminster, and had been approved by a general assembly in Scotland, as well as by the synod at Cambridge, in New England, anno 1648,) should be compiled, which being publicly twice read and examined, was approved of. The little variation which they made from the one, in compliance with the other, may be seen by those who please to compare them. But for the main, they chose to express themselves in the words of those reverend assemblies, that they might, with one heart and mouth, glorify God and our Lord Jesus Christ. But as to what concerns church government, they refer to the platform of discipline, agreed upon by the messengers of their churches anno 1648, solemnly owned and confirmed in their last synod.

The general court of the Massachusetts, October 15, 1679, having perused the result of the late synod, judge it meet to commend the same to the serious consideration of all the churches and people within their jurisdiction, enjoining and requiring all persons in their respective capacities, to a careful and diligent reformation of all those provoking evils mentioned therein, according to the true intent thereof, that so the anger and displeasure of God, that hath been many ways manifested, may be averted from his people, and his favour and blessing ob-

tained as in former times ; to that end they ordered the same to be printed, as accordingly they did the confession of faith and platform of discipline, for the benefit of the churches of New England in present and after times.

Since the publishing the acts of the late synod at Boston, one John Russell, a Wedderdop'd shoemaker at Woburn, in New England, taking notice of an expression in one clause thereof, under the breach of the second commandment, rendering those of that persuasion as guilty of the breach thereof, viz. that they do no better than set up an altar against God's altar ; and of some expressions likewise in a small treatise, since that time published by one of the principal ministers of the country, judiciously and learnedly asserting and proving the divine right of infant baptism, did in the year following stitch up a small pamphlet, styled by him, "A brief narrative of some considerable passages concerning the first gathering and further progress of a church of Christ in gospel order, in Boston, in New England," &c. wherein he endeavours to clear the innocency of those commonly, (though falsely, as he says,) called anabaptists. Surely he was not well aware of the old adage, *ne sutor ultra crepidam*, or else he would not have made such botching work. For although the simple cobbler of Agawam, his countryman, who in the year 1645 used many honest stitches to much better purpose, in helping to repair his native country, lamentably tattered in the upper leather and sole ; out of which it may not be much amiss to borrow a few of his lifts, which those of his profession may make good use of, before they offer any more of their ware to an open market.

"1. To entreat them to consider what an high pitch of boldness it is for man to cut a principal ordinance out of the kingdom of God, if it be but to make a dislocation, which so far disgoods the ordinance, I fear it altogether unhallows it ; to transplace or transtime a stated institution of Jesus Christ, without his direction, I think is to destroy it.

"2. What a cruelty it is to divest children of that only

external privilege which their heavenly Father hath bequeathed them, to interest them visibly in himself, his Son, his Spirit, his covenant of grace, and the tender bosom of their careful mother, the church.

“3. What an inhumanity it is to deprive parents of that comfort they may take, from the baptism of their infants, dying in their childhood.

“4. How unseasonably and unkindly it is, to interturb the state and church with their Amalekitish onsets, when they are in their extreme pangs of travail with their lives.

“5. To take a thorough view of those who have perambled this bye path, being sometimes in the crouds of foreign Wedderdopers, i. e. anabaptists; and prying into their inward frames with the best eyes I had, I could not but observe these disguised guises in the generality of them. 1. A flat formality of spirit, without salt or savour, in the spiritualities of Christ, as if their religion had begun and ended in their opinion. 2. A shallow slighting of such as dissent from them, appearing too often in their faces, speeches, and carriages. 3. A feeble yet peremptory obstinacy; seldom are any of them reclaimed. 4. A shameful sliding into other such tarpauline tenets, to keep themselves dry from the showers of justice, as a rational mind would never entertain, if it were not error-blasted from heaven and hell. I should as shrewdly suspect that opinion, that will cordially corrive* with two or three sottish errors, as that faith that can professedly live with two or three sordid sins. God is as jealous of his ordinances as men are of their opinions.”

Thus far the Simple Cobbler, p. 16, 17, 18, a little of whose stirrup might have served to have better endocrinated the unstable shoemaker of Woburn, who though himself uttered it as an argument of divine favour to his opinions, that none of them of that persuasion died of the contagious sickness of the small pox, whereof so many hundred died at Boston, yet they that survived him may take notice also, that God, in whose hands are all

* From Latin, *corrivor*, “to flow together from different streams.”
Plin. Ed.

men's times, did not suffer him to live above a year in the said Boston, whither he had translated himself, lest he should further translate others from the truth; yet is not that of the poet to be forgotten, *careat successibus, opto*, &c. It is too often seen, that those new sectaries, that go about to unchurch all other christian societies, do at last unchurch themselves, and from anabaptists become sebastists, then seekers, and at last ranters; it being more usual for them, that out of a giddy, unstable mind have wandered from the truth, to run into the contrary extreme, than to close with the mean principles of truth and soberness, which they have at first deserted without cause. It hath been likewise a common observation, that these Wedderdoping, new sort of christians have proved but the *materia prima* of all the corrupt opinions that christian religion hath of late days, since the reformation of Luther, been besmeared withal. Let men take heed of attempting a new way to heaven, by a ladder of lying figments of their own, lest thereby they be thrown the deeper into hell, as saith the same author.

But to return to what is in hand, and give this gospel ordered church, (as J. Russell terms them,) what is their due from an historian. As for the persons of those seven he apologizes for, it may more easily be granted, that they were good in the main, than that it was a good work for God they were engaged in. *Boni homines* are sometimes found *male feriat*, i.e. good men may be found to be ill employed, as Peter was, whom Christ rebukes and calls satan, and bids get behind him. Whether any of them absolutely did deserve to be delivered to satan for their obstinacy in their opinions or other miscarriages, which either through weakness of their judgments or strength of their passions, which in defence of their opinions or practices they ran into, or whether there were not more acrimony of the salt than sweetness of the gospel spirit of peace, in those that managed the discipline of the church against some of them, that had been in the communion of some of the churches thereabout, must not be here discussed, only some sober christians that were of their own profession, viz. in opposition to infant bap-

tism, have said that they could not but look upon their way to be evil, and such as could not be justified. It hath possibly also been observed by some, that though slow bellied Cretians, as Paul speaks to Titus, are to be rebuked sharply, that they may be sound in the faith, yet men of a grave and serious spirit and of sober conversations, as Thomas Gold and some of the rest were said to be, would easier in all likelihood have been reclaimed from the error of their judgments by gentler means of persuasion and long suffering, than by the corrosives of severity and sharp censures of the church, which if it were granted, yet that can give no colour to their irregular and hasty casting themselves into the mould of a particular church, under the specious varnish of a church in gospel order, consisting only of a few giddy sectaries, that fondly conceit themselves to be an orderly church, when their very coalition is explicitly not only without, but against the consent of all the rest of the churches in the place, as well as the order of the civil authority.

I shall conclude with the last words of the late synod : *
 “Inasmuch as a thorough and hearty reformation is necessary in order to obtaining peace with God, and all outward means will be ineffectual unto that end, except the Lord pour down his Spirit from on high, it doth therefore concern us to cry mightily unto God, both in ordinary and extraordinary manner, that he would be pleased to rain down righteousness upon us ;” and that the north wind would awake, and the south come and blow, that the spices thereof may flow out, that the whole church of Christ in these deserts of America may be found unto her beloved, as an orchard of pomegranates with all pleasant fruits.

CHAP. LXXIII.

*Memorable accidents during this lustre of years, from
 1671 to 1676.*

MUCH hurt done by thunder and lightning about these times. To those mentioned before may be added

* Reforming Synod, A. D. 1679. E.

several awful strokes of thunder and lightning within the bounds of Ipswich, viz. the great oak in that called Scott's lane, which on a Saturday night in August, anno 1668, (or 1667,) was broken all apieces, and some logs rent off from it, as much and more than a man could lift, were flung several rods from the place. A man in the house next to the place was struck down with the crack of thunder, but had no other hurt.

In the year 1670, the barn of one Edward Allin, in Ipswich, was fired with lightning in the time of harvest, with sixteen loads of barley newly carried thereinto. Several of the harvest men were but newly gone out of the barn into the dwelling house, and so their destruction was prevented thereby.

May 18, 1671, the house of Sergeant Perkins in Ipswich, was smitten with lightning, while many were met together at the repetition of the sermon that day preached, it being the Lord's day; several breaches were made in the timber work, and some persons were struck down therewith, yet came to life again. Sergeant Perkins himself had his waistcoat pierced with many holes like goose shot, yet had no other considerable harm, only beaten down, as if he had been dead for the present.

In the year 1671, a whirlwind at Cape Anne passed through the neck of land that makes one side of the harbour towards the main sea; its space or breadth was about forty feet from the sea to the harbour, but it went with such violence that it bore away whatever it met in the way, both small and great trees, and the boughs of trees, that on each side hung over that glade, were broken off and carried away therewith. A great rock that stood up in the harbour, as it passed along, was scarce able to withstand the fury of it, without being turned over.

About that time, or not many years before, some of the inhabitants of Ipswich, on the northwest side of the river, in a thunder storm, saw a sheet of fire, as they imagined, fall down just before the house of Mr. W. H. but it reached not the house, only rent the body of an oak that stood not far from it.

CHAP. LXXIV.

A further continuation of the narrative of the troubles with the Indians in New England, from April 1677 to June 1680.

AN attempt was made against our Indian enemies, by way of a diversion, in the spring of the last year, 1677, by treating with the Mohawks or Mawques Indians, partly to secure them to be our friends, as hitherto they had been, and partly to see if they could not be induced to prosecute their inbred antipathy against our Indian enemies, with whom they have had a long and deadly feud heretofore. Something was done that way by the help and advice of Maj. Andros, the governour of New York; and probably the fear thereof was the only thing that awed the Indians about Pemaquid into a stricter correspondency and more ready compliance with the English; but the truth of this will be judged by the event hereafter.

A long, troublesome, and hazardous journey was undertaken by the Hon. Maj. Pinchon, of Springfield, and Mr. Richards, of Hartford, in behalf of those two colonies: they were followed with as much success as they could expect. The Mawque Indians made a great shew of cordial friendship to the English, and bitter enmity to the Indians that have risen against them, making large promises of pursuing their quarrel against them, to the uttermost of their power; but distance of the place, and difficulty of the journey, hath prevented any great matter of effect in that kind, as was expected.

For though some of them armed themselves and came down within the territories of those Indians, that have of late so much infested the English plantations, yet the distance between their own place and that of the other Indians was so great, that they did little execution upon their own or our enemies. The most good it is hoped they did, was by the rumour of their coming down upon the backs of our enemies; it being known to be their natural temper to be very fearful of any evil while it is far off,

and very stupid and blockish, whenever it actually falls upon them.

Some of the country were not well satisfied in the design, as questioning the lawfulness of making use of their help, as they were heathen ; but the general court, and the most considerate of the country, apprehended it lawful to make use of any advantage Providence put into their hands, whereby to weaken or abate the force and power of their enemies.

Abraham entered into a confederacy with the Amorites, among whom he sojourned, and made use of their assistance to assist him in the vindicating of the quarrel of his kinsman, Lot, and recovering of him and his family out of the hands of the common enemy of them all. That which was now done by the general court of the Massachusetts was no other. And this further benefit did redound to them thereby, that blind Will, a sagamore at Pascataqua, that was a secret enemy of the English, and one contrived much of the mischief that was done by the Indians of those parts against the English, was killed by those Mohawks or Mawques, as they ranged through those woods in the beginning of the year 1677, which the English much rejoiced in, although they knew not well how to put him to death themselves, because he pretended a kind of friendship towards them, without provoking the other Indians, his neighbours, against whom they had no such cause of exception.

But to return to the other part of the narrative, concerning the further mischief acted by the Indians eastward against the English in those parts.

It was hoped in the beginning of that year, 1677, that the warfare of New England had been accomplished, but it appeared by the sequel that the storm was not yet over, nor were they as yet called to put on beauty for ashes, or the garments of praise for heaviness. For early in the spring that year, the country was alarmed with the uncomfortable news of the slaughter of nine of the garrison left before winter at Kennebeck, who going securely to Arowsick island to inter some of the English, that were left unburied before winter, and not having

seen an Indian stir for many weeks together, were apprehensive of no danger till they fell into the same; for as they went to perform the funeral obsequies to their christian friends, they were suddenly surprised by a number of Indians that intercepted them, before they could recover their boat, and so all cut off but three or four that hardly escaped by some other way than they came; which doleful accident put the governour and council upon a resolution to fetch off the rest of the garrison, not accounting it worth the while to run so much hazard to secure it; so that poor remnant returning back, arrived at Boston with Capt. Hunting, who was sent for them, April the 19th, 1677.

The soldiers being thus drawn off from the garrison, more mischief was done by the barbarous enemy in scattering parties down lower towards Pascataqua, for April 6th three were killed at the town of Wells, and April the 12th two more, the one named John Weld, the other Benjamin Storer.

About the same time a man and a boy were fowling in the marshes, and suddenly the boy espied seven Indians coming near them, while the man was mending his flint; but at the notice, suddenly rising, he presently scared them away by holding out his gun and saying, "you rogues, I have been looking for you."

About April the 7th, six or seven men were slain by the Indians near York, while they were at work two miles from the town, whereof one was the son of Lieut. Smith of Winnisimet, near Boston, a very hopeful young man, who went in his brother's room, yet his brother's turn is to come soon after. April the 14th, Simon and Andrew, the two brethren in iniquity, with a few more, adventured to come over Pascataqua river on Portsmouth side, when they burnt one house within four or five miles of the town, and took a maid and a young woman captive; one of them had a young child in her arms, with which not willing to be troubled they gave leave to her that held it to leave it with an old woman, whom the Indian Simon spared because he said she had been kind to his grandmother; yet one of the two cap-

tives escaped from their hands two days after, as did the other April 22, who giving notice of the Indians, (being not so narrowly looked to as they used to do others,) thirty soldiers were sent in that pursuit into three places, by one of which the Indians that had done the mischief were to pass, but discovering the English at a distance they escaped away through the woods.

Soon after three more were slain in those woods near Portsmouth, whereof one was riding to give notice of the danger to others in the outparts of the town, which himself it seems could not escape. Two of the men slain were very much lamented, being sober, active young men; but the sword, when it hath its commission, will devour one as well as another.

April 29, an Indian discovered himself near Wells, on purpose, as was judged, to draw out the English into a snare. Lieut. Swett, that commanded the garrison, at that time left for securing the town, sent out eleven of the soldiers under his command to lie in wait in some convenient place; but as they passed along they fell into an ambush of the Indians, who shot down two of them and mortally wounded a third. The lieutenant hearing the guns, sent with all speed upon the enemy, and shot down five or six of them; but was prevented of doing any considerable spoil upon them by the folly of an Irishman that was in his company, who gave the notice of the lieutenant's approach, by calling out aloud, "here they be, here they be;" for upon that alarum they presently ran all away out of sight, and too fast to be pursued.

May 16, another party of the enemy resolved to try their valour once again upon the garrison at Blackpoint, not doubting but to carry the place with a bold onset, which they made with much resolution and courage, for they assaulted the garrison three days together, in which space of time they killed three of the English and took one prisoner, whom, as is said, they miserably tormented. The garrison, on the other hand, as stoutly defended themselves, by the courage and valour of Lieut. Tippin, that commanded them, and at last made a successful shot upon an Indian, that was observed to be very busy

and bold in the assault, whom at that time they deemed to be Simon, the arch villain and incendiary of all the eastward Indians, but proved to be one almost as good as himself, who was called Mogg, that had been an author of much mischief the year before. The slaughter of him much damped the courage of all his companions, so as they soon after quitted the siege, flying away in eleven canoes towards the eastward; yet five paddled their canoes down towards York, where they killed six of the English and took one captive, May 19 following; and May 23, four days after, one was killed at Wells, and one taken by them betwixt York and Wells; amongst whom was the eldest son of Lieut. Smith forementioned: his younger brother was slain in the same town not long before; so as their father might well mourn, as Ephraim did of old, for the evil that befel his house, the memorial of which was signalized by the name Beriah, in remembrance thereof, given his next succeeding child.

May 28, six Indians that were of the English side, having drunk too much strong liquor, made them sottish and also careless of their lives, so as that next morning they were taken prisoners by the enemy Indians, who carried them twenty miles up into the woods, where they let them loose again, for fear of the Mohawks, whose very name is a terroure and dread to them.

Yet still their malice against us being implacable, they ranged from one town to another, observing where they could do any further mischief, for June 13, two men upon a surprize were suddenly shot down, that belonged to Hampton, above two miles distant from the town, for two sprightly young men of the place, hearing guns, mounted their horses and presently made to that place, to see what the matter was, but not looking about them so carefully as they should, were both mortally wounded, whereof one was called Edward Colcot, a sober and well disposed young man, much lamented at his death by all that knew him. He died soon after, if not the next day, of his wounds.

The Indians thus making daily inroads upon these weak

unfenced places, the governour and council resolved to raise new forces, and having had good experience of the faithfulness and valour of the christian Indians about Natick, armed two hundred of them and sent them, together with forty English, to prosecute the quarrel against those eastward Indians to the full; but not judging aright of the number of the enemy, they much underdid their business, for besides that the number they sent of English was a great deal too small, those that were chosen this bout, to take their turns in the service abroad, were many of them young, raw, and unexperienced soldiers, who were not able to look danger, much less death, in the face, in cool blood, by which means it came to pass that the enterprize succeeded so ill; for Capt. Swett, with Lieut. Richardson, that was sent with him to command the friendly Indians, coming to Blackpoint June 28th, he began to try the valour and courage of his company before he had disciplined them, or had any experience of their ability to fight. The very next morning after he had landed his men, understanding by his scouts that many of the enemies were up and down upon the place, he made too much haste to fall upon them, and not mistrusting their number, while he was marching upon the edge of an hill with one party and his lieutenant with another, the Indians that had hid themselves in the swamp on each side of the hill, suddenly fired upon the English on both sides, which not a little discouraged his young and undisciplined company, so as they could not or did not keep their ranks; but while some were ready to run and shift for themselves, the captain strived to keep them together to bring off the dead and wounded men, so long that he brought himself and all the company in danger of an utter overthrow, which soon after took place, for the poor unskilful soldiers being scattered were shifting for themselves, while a few resolute men of courage bore the brunt of the service till they were in a manner all knocked down. The lieutenant was killed soon after the first onset, the captain having received near twenty wounds, yet still held out, defending and encouraging of his men, till he was surrounded with more of his enemies than he was able to

grapple with, and so was at the last barbarously murdered by them within a little of the garrison house. There were slain at this time somewhat above forty of the English and twelve of the friendly Indians that assisted, very few escaping but were either killed right out or dangerously wounded. Thus was another summer spent in calamities and miserable occurrences amongst the eastern parts; yet was not this all the miseries that the poor English had to endure this year; for after the poor husbandmen and planters had drunk their full share of the cup of affliction, that the other sort who trade by sea, and use to follow fishing upon those eastern parts might not take themselves to be secure, or think better of themselves than their brethren, who had suffered all the calamities forementioned, July 15 news came of several ketches that were surprised, as they lay secure in the harbours, whither they used to turn in upon every occasion as they were making their fishing voyages. There were near twenty of those fishing ketches thus surprised first and last, most of which carried five or six men apiece, but they being many of them a dull and heavy moulded sort of people, that had not either skill or courage to kill any thing but fish, were easily taken, and had not heart enough either to make resistance when first attacked, nor afterward to make any attempt for an escape to free themselves, as some did, and so delivered themselves, with the slaughter of them that held them prisoners aboard their own vessels, when some others, that had more courage and spirit than the rest, were sadly destroyed for want of courage in them that were in their vessels, to stand by them while they were attempting to deliver themselves, which was the case of one or two of the vessels, whose companions were all cut off by that means.

But the Indians finding their inability to manage such kind of vessels, much too heavy for them to wield with paddles, grew soon after weary of that sport, and were pretty willing to return the vessels to the English, after they had pillaged out of them what was for their turn. The merchants about Salem, to whom the said ketches

principally belonged, fitted up a vessel in the nature of a man of war, which they had furnished with several resolute, stout hands, but they were strangely disappointed of coming up with any of the Indian mariners, so as they were forced to return without doing any considerable execution upon them.

During these troubles, Maj. Andros, the governour of New York, being willing to secure the interest of his highness the duke of York in those parts, lest in the absence of the English, some foreign nation should take the advantage of possessing themselves of any part of the dominions belonging to our nation, timely sent a sloop with a considerable number of soldiers to the parts about Pemaquid, which, when the Indians that had all this while been up in rebellion, understood, they were at the last willing to fall into a kind of amity and friendship. In the beginning of August, news of this overture came to the Massachusetts, the comfort of which was not a little augmented by the certain information that came soon after of fifteen English captives returned to the soldiers of Maj. Andros, and hopes of a general peace; and the confirmation thereof was more increased by the news of the return of the rest of the vessels, that were taken by the enemy, into the hands of the English. In which posture were things left in those parts in the beginning of winter, and nothing of another nature was discoursed in the end of February following, nor yet in the end of June that next ensued.

But the tragical sufferings of the poor English are not as yet all accomplished in other parts of the country, for about September the 19th following, forty or fifty river Indians fell suddenly upon the town of Hatfield, about Connecticut, who were a little too secure, and too ready to say the bitterness of death was past, because they had neither seen nor heard of any enemy in those parts for half a year before. But at this time, as a considerable number of the inhabitants of that small village were employed in raising the frame of an house without the palisadoes, that defended their houses from any sudden incursions of the enemy, they were violently and sudden-

ly assaulted by forty or fifty Indians, when they were in no capacity to resist or defend themselves, so as several were shot down from the top of the house which they were raising, and sundry were carried away captive, to the number of twenty or more, which was made up twenty four with them they carried away the same or the next day from Deerfield, whither some of the inhabitants had unadvisedly too soon returned. One of the company escaped out of their hands two or three days after, who informed that they had passed with their poor captives two or three times over the river of Connecticut to prevent being pursued. It was said, also, that about a fortnight after, the same Indians attempted to take a mill at Hadley, two miles from the town, and missing their end pretended a kind of parley, and promised to return those they had captivated a little before; but it proved but one of their usual deceits, whereby they were wont to abuse the English; for where, or in what condition, those captives are at present, must be the subject of the reader's prayers rather than of the author's story.

Yet, since the writing of the premises, Benjamin Wait and Stephen Jennings, two men of Hatfield, whose wives were amongst the number of the forementioned captives, having obtained a commission from the government of the Massachusetts, pursued after them in the depth of winter, (though not with such a number as those with which Abram pursued after the army that carried captive his kinsman, Lot,) and overtook them about Canada, and by the help of the French there seated, recovered their wives, with other captives, which they brought back by way of ransom, and not by force of arms.

Their adventure being attended with so many difficulties and dangers, in the depth of winter, not to be paralleled with any attempt of that nature since the English came into those parts, wherein they were surely led along by a divine *nutus*, as well as by the innate love to their wives, (which would have afforded matter for a large fiction to some of the ancient poets,) is as followeth from their own mouths. On the 24th of October, 1677, they

advanced towards Westfield, and from thence to Albany, where they arrived the Thursday seven night after, distant at least two hundred miles from Boston, and instead of being encouraged and furthered in so commendable an enterprize, they were by force and strong hand, after two or three attempts to pass on towards Canada, (whither it was conceived their wives, with the other captives, were carried by the Indians,) carried back above twenty miles from Sconektoket* to Albany, where they were detained prisoners till they could be sent down to the governour of New York, upon pretence of an order at that very time newly come from the said governour, that none, either christian or pagan, should go that way to the French, but first to be sent down to him, which was about one hundred miles down Hudson's river. Being thither brought, it appeared he had little to say to them, and at last, by the intercession of Capt. Brockhurst, they were sent back again to Albany with a pass. It was now the 19th of November before they recovered that stage.

And there also they met with no small discouragements, by rumours and other false suggestions, sufficient to have diverted the most constant undertakers from their purpose, had they not been carried with an invincible resolution. Thereabouts they tarried till about the 10th of December, in expectation of having the lakes, over which they were to pass, frozen hard enough to bear them. They found no small difficulty in procuring a pilot; Capt. Salisbury, the governour there, discouraging a Frenchman which they had hired from undertaking that service, so as they were forced to agree with a Mohawk Indian to conduct them to the first lake, which was sixteen leagues over, which he faithfully performed. It was about the 16th of December when they came thither, they found it open, but their pilot finding a canoe, fitted it up for them and drew for them a draught of the lakes by which they were to pass. They were three days passing the first lakes, and then carrying their canoe upon their backs two miles over a neck of land, they entered the great lake, which the second day, they

* Schenectady. Ed.

hoping to trust to the ice, left their canoe, but having travelled one day upon the ice they were forced to return back to fetch their canoe, and then went by water till they came to the land, being windbound six days in the interim; so as they made it about the first of January, having travelled three days without a bit of bread, or any other relief but of some raccoon's flesh, which they had killed in an hollow tree. On the 6th of January they came to Shambley,* a small village of ten houses, belonging to the French, only by the way they met with a bag of biscuit and a bottle of brandy in an empty wigwam, with which they were not a little refreshed; and in travelling towards Sorrell, fifty miles distant from thence, they came to a lodging of Indians, amongst whom was Steven Jennings his wife, by whom they understood how hard it was with the rest, yet resolved, according to advice, to give them good words, and hastened to bargain for their redemption. At Sorrell they found five more of the captives, two of which the Indians had pawned for drink; the remainder of them were in the woods. From this place they had two hundred miles to Kebeck,† which in the next place they travelled to, where they were civilly entertained by the French governour, who at the last granted them a guard of eleven persons towards Albany, whither they began to march on the 19th of April, 1678, and arrived there about the middle of May following, having spent sixteen days upon the lake, two days in crossing the neck of land betwixt the upper branches of Canada and Hudson's river, which they came swiftly down in two days more; the rest of the time they spent in hunting. They tarried at Albany from Wednesday May 22d till Monday following, from which they came on foot twenty miles to Vanterhook, where they were met with horses and men that carried them safely to Westfield, a few days after. They brought with them nineteen captives, which had been carried away by the Indians September before. Their ransom cost above two hundred pounds, which was gathered by contribution among the English.

* Chamblee. En.

† Quebeck. En

CHAP. LXXV.

Memorable occurrents and sad accidents that happened in New England from 1666 to 1682.

ALL things come alike to all, saith the wise man, and no man knoweth either love or hatred by all that is before them ; yet it is too often seen, that men that are but of yesterday, and know nothing, dare adventure to enter the secret of the Almighty, and will undertake to give an account of his judgments and actions, assigning the reason of this and that sudden and unexpected stroke of death, not considering that our Saviour acquits those eighteen on whom the tower of Siloam fell, and the Galileans, whose blood Pilate mingled with their sacrifices, from being guilty of more sin than the rest of the inhabitants in those places. All men stand condemned in Adam, and therefore at all times are obnoxious unto the stroke of death, whenever the writ of execution is issued forth ; nor is the Almighty confined to one and the same harbinger, having always his arrow upon the string to shoot in the darkness and at noon day.

April 5th, 1663, Mr. John Norton, the reverend teacher of the church at Boston, (after Mr. Cotton,) was taken out of this life by a sudden change, which the quakers imputed to a judgment of God upon him for opposing their doctrine in the country. He was a man of great worth and learning, a ready scribe in the law of God, one that had the tongue of the learned to speak a word in season to the weary soul, besides an eminent acumen, with which he was endowed in polemical divinity and all controversial points of religion, especially those of the present age.

He was desired by the ministers of New England, to draw up an answer in their names, to the *Sylloge Questionum*, sent over by the Rev. Apollonius, pastor of the church at Middleburg, to the congregational divines in London, and by them commended to those of New England.

In his answer, besides the satisfaction he gave to those

of the same persuasion in either Englands, he was highly applauded both for the acumen of his judgment, and candour of his spirit appearing therein, by those of the adverse party, which made Dr. Hornbeck, the learned professor of divinity at Leyden, thus to express himself in a tractate of his own, where he treats of the same controversy: "Non tædet hujus viri nonnulla prolixius describere, propter singulare acumen, quamvis in multis non ei accedimus; in iis et aliis accuratè disputat, et sæpè ingenuâ suâ confessione, controversiam tollit, quam alii vel faciunt, vell putant superesse, quare nec ita commodè ab iis tractatur." The like testimony is given him by some of our own nation, even of the episcopal persuasion, both for his modesty and learning, in stating the controversy in difference between himself and them. Nor was he unacquainted with the mysteries of civil policy, where he had been very serviceable to the country of New England, in which he had spent the greatest part of his time and labours: what acceptance soever they found with some persons, his reward is with the Lord, who, to compensate any injury he might receive from men, gave him a speedy discharge from his burden, when it grew too heavy. The dark shadow of envy and obloquy always follows the body of virtue, which himself could never shake off, especially after his last publick employment in England with the honoured Mr. Bradstreet; soon after which, not too precisely to indigitate the cause of his death, he suddenly was snatched away by an unusual lypothymy, a kind of athanasia, which some have desired, so as not to feel the pains of death, though he were to pass through the gates thereof.

In the year 1665, Mr. Atherton, the chief military officer in New England, died suddenly by a *fall* from his horse, who likewise was called to conflict with the strife of tongues, and the manner of his death also noted as a judgment. Moses and Aaron must be stoned when the mixed multitude in Israel have not their will; who by the perverseness of their minds become the more obdurate in their errours by the solemn strokes of Providence,

which if rightly improved might lead them to repentance, which is the use thereof.

Much about the same time several persons were struck dead with thunder and lightning in the country. One James Peirce, in Plymouth harbour; Capt. Davenport, in the castle near Boston, was in like manner slain, the window of the castle being open against him, as he lay upon his bed, but no sign of battering any part of the building. This last happened in July 1665, the former in 1660.

And in the year 1666, three were in like manner suddenly killed in a storm of thunder, whereof one was named John Shurtleff, that had a child in his hand, and was holding his wife in the other, both of whom escaped, when himself was struck dead.

In the year 1664 the country was smitten with a strange blasting and mildew in their wheat, by which, in many places, whole fields were quite consumed; which blasting hath continued more or less most of the following years.

In 1668, a spermaceti whale of fifty five feet long was cast up in Winter Harbour, near Casco Bay. The like hath happened in other places of the country at several times, when for *want of* skill to improve it, much gain hath slipped out of the hands of the finders.

In the spring of the year 1676, some of the magistrates and ministers of New England passing down the harbour in a lesser boat, were overrun by a bigger vessel, that steered just upon them for want of care, whereby most of them were in danger of perishing, yet were all preserved. Soon after which a rude fellow, called Irons, coming aboard a ship that lay in the same harbour before Boston, and entering into discourse about the said accident, replied to the company, that it had been no matter if they had been all drowned; but himself, presently after he left the ship, as he was about to deliver two maids (having none else beside in the boat with him,) aboard another vessel, missing his stroke with the oar, tipped himself over the side of the boat into the channel, and so was irrecoverably lost. The other two shiftless sailors, not

being able to help themselves or him, yet were safely landed by the tide upon an island near by, so as their lives were thereby preserved. Let men take heed how they pass rash censures upon others, lest unawares they read their own destiny in pronouncing sentence upon their neighbours, and not be too forward with the men of Miletum, to give an interpretation of the acts of Providence, the beginnings of which we may see, but cannot foresee the issue and intendment thereof.

1676. Three gentlemen and two women passing cross the harbour before Boston, (not above three quarters of a mile in breadth,) in a pleasure boat, by a sudden and very violent flaw of wind, were overset in the midst of the channel, and but one man escaped by his activity in swimming, or keeping fast hold of an oar that Providence put into his hand as a staff to pass over Jordan with, when the boisterous surges thereof began to rage and swell by the violence of the whirlwind. Everlasting arms do oft bear us up when the waters are ready to overwhelm us and the stream to go over our soul: let him that found safety never forget the mercy, lest a worse thing fall upon him.

In the same harbour, and within the compass of the same lustre, some merchants and gentlemen going aboard a ship that was then newly arrived, by the firing an half barrel of powder, through the carelessness of the gunner, were with the hinder part of the ship suddenly blown up, and divers of them sore wounded thereby, either losing their lives or their limbs, and two or three spoiled of both.

Many that go forth know not that they shall return, and the mariner that is ready to let fall his anchor knows not but it may be that fatal one which shall put an end to the navigation of his life; and many that go forth with earnest expectation to meet their best friends, are sometimes unexpectedly found of their last enemy before they return. Within the compass of the same year, (which it seems Providence hath marked out as a year to be much observed by the people of New England,) Mr. Timothy Prout, jun. master of a ship, having

twelve or thirteen seamen in his company, sailing towards New England, when they had almost fetched Cape Cod, by the violence of the northwest winds springing up suddenly they were driven back towards the West Indies again, where by a long continued storm their vessel was ready to foundered under them: all that were able, (being almost famished for want of food,) betook themselves to their long boat, with small store of provision, (besides raw hides;) in which pitiful and forlorn state they were driven upon the ocean eleven or twelve days, at the end of which they were landed at Hispaniola in so weak a condition that none of them was able to foot it over the sands or to shoulder a musket, yet were by good Providence directed to a Frenchman's house, of whom the master had some knowledge before, who relieving them in their distress, gave them opportunity to transport themselves back into their own country. Thus oft times, when we have marched almost to the very gates of death, the Almighty saith, return ye children of men: Oh, that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men.

Take one instance more of the same date and of the like tragical nature.

One Ephraim How, that used to sail between Boston and New Haven, about the middle of September, 1676, setting forth of Boston with two of his sons, able seamen, a passenger and surgeon, with a youth, before they had doubled the cape, scil. Cape Cod, they were attacked with a violent storm that almost stranded them amongst the shoals, yet did only strike off the rudder of the vessel; after which they were left to the mere mercy of the waves, which tossed them to and again upon those seas for divers weeks, so as they could get the sight of no shores, but those of death, bordering on the land of eternity.

But the winter fast approaching was ushered in with such violent storms of cold winds, that those who stood to the sail instead of the helm were of necessity to be fastened down with ropes, that they might keep their standing, till at last both the master's sons (himself being most

of this time sick in the cabin,) perished with wet and cold. This was their condition till another wind drove them ashore upon a sunken island, a receptacle only for night birds and gulls, by which, with the help of a gun or two happily cast ashore with the vessel, they procured the lengthening out of their own lives a while by the death of other creatures; but of these four that gat alive upon the island, by the coldness of the place or unwholesomeness of their entertainment, all dropt away but the master, who was now left alone in this solitary condition, yet was supplied with his daily bread, as was Elijah by the ravens, for many months after the winter was over. During all which space sometimes he had nothing to do but meditate and pray in the cave or cell, which at first they prepared for themselves; yet in all this sea of misery the poor man could see so much mercy as to condemn himself for the not acknowledging of it in some solemn way of thanksgiving; for it seems hitherunto his devotions had run only in a way of prayer and supplication, omitting the part of thanksgiving; after which considerations he set a day apart with himself for that duty also, within a few days after which God by special providence sent a vessel within keen* of this forgotten creature, who found means to discover himself by some wafe that he made, and so was he, after nine months restraint or confinement, returned safe to some of his friends, who saw cause to rejoice both for him and with him before the Lord.

There is one more solemn occurrent, within the reach of a lustre of years from the forementioned year of 1676, not less remarkable than any of the former. An English ship sailing from about the Strait's mouth, under the command of a prudent master, (whose name is not now at hand,) but manned with many cruel and hard hearted miscreants; these quarreling with the master and some of the officers, turned them all into the long boat with a small quantity of provision, about a hundred leagues to the westward of the Spanish coast. In the mean while these villains intended to sail the ship towards New England, where soon after the master, with the rest of the

* Ken, *view*. En.

company all but one, (whose death, by their barbarous usage, made all the actors guilty of murder,) were by special providence directed not only to follow but to overtake them. His countenance no doubt did not a little appal them, whom he found, some at Rhode Island and some elsewhere, and of whom it might truly be said, that though they had escaped the sea, yet vengeance did not suffer to live long upon the dry land; for at the instance and complaint of the master, they were apprehended by the officers as guilty of many capital crimes and inhuman cruelty, which brought them all under a sentence (at least guilt,) of death, which was inflicted on the ring-leaders, but some of the less culpable were rescued from that sentence, that so justice mixed with clemency might terrify the bold and presumptuous offenders and encourage such as being carried with the stream of bad company only might be looked upon as less culpable in themselves, and lawful authority the more revered by all.

Divers reports have passed up and down the country of several ominous accidents happening within the fore-mentioned time, as of earthquakes in some places, and of several volleys of shot heard in the air in the year 1667, but because many that lived not *far* off those places, where the said accidents were supposed to fall out, know nothing thereof, no more notice shall here be taken of the same than a bare hint of the report. But at a place called Kennebunk, at the northeast side of Wells, in the Province of Maine, not far from the river side, a piece of clay ground was thrown up by a mineral vapour, (as is supposed,) over the tops of high oaks that grew between it and the river. The said ground so thrown up fell in the channel of the river, stopping the course thereof, and leaving an hole forty yards square in the place whence it was thrown, in which were found thousands of round pellets of clay like musket bullets. All the whole town of Wells are witnesses of the truth of this relation; and many others have seen sundry of these clay pellets, which the inhabitants have shewn to their neighbours of other towns. This accident fell out in the year 1670.

Much about these times two wicked fellows about Pascataqua river, killing their master for his money, were soon after discovered and condemned for the same, and executed at *Boston*.—Others have confidently reported also, that they have seen the eruption of a pond of water far up into the woods, and many fish cast up upon the dry land adjoining, supposed to be done by the kindling of some mineral vapours under these hollow channels, running far within the land under ground. All which show the wonderful work of God, that commandeth both the sea and the dry land, that all the inhabitants of the earth should learn to fear before him.

To the forementioned accidents may be added those which follow, most of which happened about Pascataqua, being sad instances of the mischief of intemperance.

April 20, 1658, was observed to be the coldest night in all the year, in which two men going from aboard a ship which lay in Pascataqua river, towards Kittery side, and being so drunk that they were not able to get to the ship again, were found next morning near the shore, one dead by the canoe side, the other so frozen in the canoe that notwithstanding all means used for his recovery, he rotted away by piecemeal, and so died.

June 5, 1666, one Tucker, a taylor who belonged to the Isle of Shoals, being then at the point in Pascataqua river, was so drunk in the lecture time, that pulling off his clothes he ran into the water, cursing and swearing, and at last swimming up and down, he fell with his face upon the flats and so was drowned.

About that time two fishermen, after sermon on the Lord's day at Portsmouth, going into an house, drank so much rum, that being intoxicated therewith, they fell out of their canoe as they were going down the river, and were both drowned.

In August, 1669, a ship built at Pascataqua by a Bristol merchant, and laden with fish and tobacco, (the master would needs be setting sail out of the river on the Lord's day,) was split on a rock in the Bay of Fundy the next Tuesday after, where the vessel and goods were all

lost, and the men saved by their long boat. This accident was the more remarkable, falling out in fair weather.

In June 1671, one J. S. having profanely spent the Lord's day by passing to and from the great island to Kittery side, going to the vessel he belonged to at night, was so excessive drunk that he fell over his canoe and was drowned, and his body not found till twelve days after.

December 23, 1671, several fishermen coming from the Isle of Shoals to keep Christmas at Pascataqua, over-set the canoe, wherein they were going ashore, and were all drowned.

January 18, 1671, there was observed much thunder and lightning in a storm of snow.

January 24, the same year, Capt. Lockwood's wife going in a canoe with a drunken fellow from the great island to Kittery side, were carried away by the tide, and never heard of more.

June 5, 1673, washed linen was frozen stiff the next morning near Pascataqua river.

Anno 1675, one T. Tricks, falling out of his canoe while he was drunk, was drowned.

December 25, 1677, one of J. Hunkins his men, choosing rather to fight than to fish on that day, was struck on the face by one of his fellows, whereof he died that week, the wound not appearing considerable at the first.

April, anno 1678, one Stevens his daughter, about four years old, taking a bottle of rum from her mother's bed's head, drank about half a pint thereof, upon which she was presently taken speechless, and died at noon.

In July the same year, one Antipas M. being observed to be often overtaken with drink, at the last in that distemper fell out of his canoe and was drowned.

Some time in June, 1676, it was observed that at a great pond in Watertown all the fish there, (many cart loads as was thought,) swam to the shore and died. It was conceived to be the effect of some mineral vapour, that at that time had made an irruption into the water.

In November, 1676, a fire was enkindled at the north end of the town of Boston, (through the carelessness of

a boy called up to work very early in the morning, who falling asleep, as was said, the candle set the house on fire,) whereby many other houses were consumed, together with the meeting house at that end of the said town.

Sometime in November, 1677, a great black boar came into the town of Dedham, no man knows from whence, which was eight feet in length. He was shot thirteen times, before he could be killed, and almost the whole town were mustered together, before he could be mastered.

A French vessel, that lay between the capes to take a vessel that was at Pascataqua, was driven ashore at Cape Anne; twelve of the men drowned, and of eight that escaped, many frozen.

For close of these sad events of Providence may be added the burning of Boston August 5, 1679, set on fire by some wicked and malicious wretches, as is justly suspected, which hath half ruined the whole colony, as well as the town; for therein a considerable part of the warehouses, belonging to the chiefest merchants in the town were suddenly consumed in the flames, and several dwelling houses of good value, to the number of twenty or thirty, whereby that which was many years in gathering was in a few hours scattered and consumed. By another fire also, which happened there in the year 1682, were many principal warehouses burnt down again, whereby God would teach us not to trust in *riches, which take wing* and fly away as a bird toward heaven, out of the reach of the owners thereof.

CHAP. LXXVI.

The success and progress of the gospel amongst the Indians in New England.

FORASMUCH as the conversion of the Indians in America was none of the least motives that persuaded many of the inhabitants of New England to transport themselves thither, it will be expected that in this place some account should be given of the effect thereof.

For the satisfaction, therefore, of those that desire to inquire after the premises, the footsteps of God's dealing with these poor heathen, shall be declared in what follows. From the first planting of the country there might be observed some taste of the sprinklings of his grace upon them, of which some instances are given by those that were careful to take notice of them.

Anno 1622, in the second year after the English first settled at Plymouth, when that place and people were in great distress for want of rain, the people there set a solemn day apart to seek God in that behalf. An Indian, taking notice that all the former part of the day was a very hot, clear sunshine time, and yet in the evening that rain fell in a sweet, soaking shower, was transported into a great wonderment of the power the English had with their God, and was so convinced thereby, that he resolved from that day not to rest till he did know this great God, and for that end he immediately forsook the Indians, and clave to the English; and notwithstanding all enticements and flatteries or frowns of his countrymen, he could never be induced to forsake his christian friends, but died amongst them, leaving some good hopes in their hearts that his soul went to rest.

Two years after the English were settled in the Massachusetts, sagamore John, i. e. the chief of those Indians, being from the first landing of the English more courteous and ingenuous to them than the rest, desired to learn their language, and loved to imitate their manners and behaviour, and was so persuaded of the goodness of the Englishmen's religion above the Indian's, that he promised to leave the Indians and come live with them; but yet kept down by fear of the scoffs of the Indians, had not power to make good his promise; and being soon after smitten with the small pox, a mortal disease amongst them, and never known to them before, he sadly lamented his not endeavouring to know God better. But now, said he, I must die, the God of the English is much angry with me, and will destroy me. Ah! I was afraid of the scoffs of the wicked Indians, yet my child shall live with the English and learn to know their God,

when I am dead. He did give him to Mr. Wilson,)the minister of Boston,) that went to visit this poor wretch in his forlorn condition, (as his disease at that time made it:) he is much good man and much *love* me. And when he had committed his only child to Mr. Wilson's care he soon after died; but whether the child answered the father's desire or no, is not known, but the contrary feared. He hath mercy on whom he will have mercy: there shall be two in one house, the one taken and the other *left*.

Mention is made of another Indian, that seeing a profane fellow of the English, in some remote plantation, felling of a tree, said unto him, do you not know this is the Lord's day *in* the Massachusetts, much matchet man, (i.e. much wicked man,) what, break you God's day? The same Indian coming a little while after into an Englishman's house thereabouts, where a man and his wife were a chiding and contending with angry words one against the other, when they intermitted their brawling so far as to bid him sit down and tell him he was welcome, (possibly they might be in expectation of traffick, wherein they both were well agreed,) he answered, he would not stay there, because God no dwell there, but rather Holbomack, i. e. with them, the devil.

Lastly, a Pequod Indian, called Waquash, a proper man, and of good courage, and a captain amongst *them* in the wars they had with the English anno 1637, yet was so smitten at the terrours of God upon *the* taking their fort and killing so many hundred of the Indians in an hour's time, he was from *that* moment so awakened in his conscience, to think the Englishman's God was a great God; which *did* so pursue and follow him that he could have no rest till he came to the knowledge of the Englishmen's God, and was so importunate that way that he would occasion the English, (amongst whom he came afterwards,) to spend more than half the night in conversing with him. Afterwards coming to live with the English at Connecticut, he would often sadly smite on his breast and complain of his naughty heart, adding, Waquash no know God, Waquash no know Jesus.

Christ; but afterwards it pleased the Lord so to move on his heart, that he throughout reformed his life, confessing his dearest sins, lust and revenge, many ways testifying his unfeigned return from the same. Afterwards he went amongst the Indians, like the woman of Samaria, proclaiming Christ, and warning them to fly from the wrath to come, by breaking off their sins and wickedness. Some of the Indians *were*, like the children of the devil, as Paul speaks, so filled with rage that they gave him poison, which he took without suspicion; when the Indians wished him to send for the powaws, who with them are their physicians and their priests, he only told them, if Jesus Christ say that Waquash shall live, then Waquash live; if Jesus Christ say Waquash shall die, then Waquash is willing to die, and will not lengthen out his life by any such means; and so he bequeathed his only child to the care of the English. He died, as was charitably conceived, a martyr for Christ, rejoicing in this hope, that the child should know more of Christ than its poor father did.

These were the first fruits or gleanings; what the harvest may prove, will be the advantage of after generations to know, but at the present there have been some few, a remnant, that have given some hopes of their seeking after God. For it having been put into the heart of that faithful and laborious minister of the gospel, Mr. John Eliot of Roxbury, to use indefatigable pains to learn the language, and take all opportunities to instruct them *domatim et vicatim*, he did at last persuade two or three small companies to join together in the profession of christianity, separating themselves from the Indian's manners, way, and worship, wherein they were bred up, and many of them have given good hopes of the truth and reality of their conversion to the christians, which is evident by their publick profession thereof, and savoury discourses out of texts of scripture before some of their company upon solemn times, when they have been called to seek God by fasting and prayer for the removal of some judgments that have befallen them, upon some publick occasion. The principal of those that so do with-

in the bounds of the Massachusetts is called Natick, near Dedham, where there had been ever since a company of them that profess our religion. An instance shall, for the satisfaction of the reader, be given of one, that in the year 1658 thus delivered himself from a text of scripture at the said Natick.

The sum of the speech of Nishokken.

The text he spake from was Gen. viii. 20, 21. "And Noah built an altar unto Jehovah, and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt-offerings on the altar. 21. And the Lord smelled a sweet savour; and the Lord said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake; for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth: neither will I again smite any more every thing living, as I have done."

A little I shall say, according to that little I know.

In that Noah sacrificed to God, he shewed himself thankful; in that he worshipped God, he shewed himself godly; in that he sacrificed clean beasts, he shewed that God is an holy God, pure and clean, and all that come to God and worship him, must be pure and clean, and know that we must by repentance purge ourselves and cleanse our hearts from all sin, which is a work we are to do this day. In that he sacrificed, it was the manner of worshipping God in old times. But what sacrifice must we offer now? Ans. by that in Psalms iv. 5, offer to God the sacrifice of righteousness, and trust in the Lord. These are true and spiritual sacrifices which God requireth at our hands; sacrifices of righteousness, that is, we must look to our hearts and conversation, that they be righteous, and then we shall be acceptable to God when we worship him; but if we be unrighteous, and unholy, and wicked, we shall not be accepted, our sacrifices are naught. Again, we must trust in the Lord, for who else should we trust in; we must believe in the word of God, for if we doubt of God and doubt of his word, then our sacrifices are little worth; but if we trust steadfastly in the Lord, then our sacrifices are good. Again,

what sacrifices must we offer? Ans. we must offer such as Abraham offered. And what sacrifices did he offer? Ans. see Gen. xx. 12. Now I know that thou fearest me, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son from me; he had but one dearly beloved son, and he offered him to God; and then said God, I know thou fearest me, because thou hast not withheld thy son. This was to sacrifice in deed and in truth, so we must sacrifice in deed and in truth; but God doth not require us to sacrifice our sons, but our sins, our dearest sins. God calleth us this day to part with all our sins, though never so beloved, and we must not withhold any of them from him; if we will not part with all, it is not a right sacrifice; we must part with those sins we love best, and then we offer a good sacrifice. Again, God smelt a good savour in Noah's sacrifice, and so when we offer such worship to God as is clean and pure, and sacrifice as Abraham did, then God accepts our sacrifice. Again, God manifested his acceptance of Noah's sacrifice by promising to drown the world no more, but gave him fruitful times and seasons. God hath chastised us of late, as if he would drown us; and he hath drowned and spoiled a great deal of the hay, and threatens to kill our cattle, and for this we fast and pray this day. Now, if we offer a spiritual sacrifice, clean and pure as Noah did, then God will smell a savour of rest in us, as he did in Noah, and then he will withhold the rain and give us fruitful seasons.

But the greatest appearance of any saving work, and serious profession of christianity amongst any of them, was at Martin's Vineyard, which beginning in the year 1645 hath gradually proceeded till this present time, wherein all the island is in a manner leavened with the profession of our religion, and hath taken up the practice of our manners in civil behaviour, and our manner of cultivating of the earth. It is credibly reported that there are two hundred families of them that so do, and that there are about six or seven that are able to instruct the rest, by catechising or other ways of teaching, which the reader may take in the words of Mr. Mayhew,

whom God raised up, and fitted as a special instrument with knowledge of their language and zealous resolution to improve all advantages for the promoting that blessed work, although it pleased the Lord, in whose hand are all our times, to put a period to his life, as he was going over for England in the year 1657, that the work may appear not to be carried on by the arm of flesh, but by the power of the living God, who causeth the dry bones to live.

In a letter from Mr. Whitfield.

“Now for your satisfaction you may please to know, that this work amongst the Indians had its first rise and beginning in the year 1643, when the Lord stirred up the heart of an Indian, who then lived near to an English plantation, whose name was Hiacoomes, a man of a sad and sober spirit; unto whose wigwam, or house, some of the English repairing, and speaking to him about the way of the English, he came to visit our habitations and public meetings, thinking that there might be better ways and means amongst the English for attaining the blessings of health and life than be found among themselves, yet not without some thoughts and hopes of an higher good he might possibly gain thereby; at which time I took notice of him, and had oft discourse with him, inviting him to my house every Lord’s day at night. About this time it so fell out that this Indian went with some Englishmen to a little island, where meeting with a surly sagamore whose name was Pakeponesso, who reproved him for his fellowship with the English, both in their civil and religious ways, railing at him for his being obedient to them, Hiacoomes replied, that he was gladly obedient to the English, neither was it for the Indians’ hurt he did so; upon which the sagamore gave him a great blow on the face with his hand, but there being some English present, they would not suffer the sagamore to strike him again. The poor Indian, thus wronged, made this use of it and said, I had one hand for injuries and the other for God; while I did receive wrong with the one, the other had the better hold on God.

“There was a very strange disease this year among the Indians : they did run up and down till they could run no longer ; they made their faces black as a coal, snatched up any weapon, spake great words, but did no hurt. I have seen many of them in this case. The Indians having many calamities fallen upon them, they laid the cause of all their want, sicknesses, and death, upon their departing from their old heathenish ways. Only this man held out, and continued his care about the things of God ; and being desirous to read, the English gave him a primer, which he still carries about with him.

“Now whilst Hiacoomes was feeling after God he met with another trial, for going into an Indian house, where there were many Indians, they scoffed at him with great laughter, saying, here comes the Englishman ; who by their noise awaked his old enemy, Pakeponesso, who was asleep, but now joining with the other Indians, told him, I wonder (said he,) that you that are a young man, having a wife and two children, should love the English and their ways, and forsake the Powaws ; what would you do if any of you should be sick, whither would you go for help ? I say, if I were in your case, they should nothing draw me away from our Gods and Powaws. At this time he replied nothing, but told a friend of his that he thought in his heart, that the God in heaven did know and hear all the evil words that Pakeponesso spake. Thus the changing his way caused much hatred to him, neither was there so much as the least appearance of any outward argument amongst us, that might weigh against it.

“After this there fell a great judgment of God upon this sagamore, for in the night, when he and his company were in the wigwam, it beginning to rain, he and a young man stood up upon the floor of planks, which lay about two foot from the ground, to put a mat over the chimney, there came a great flash of lightning, and after it thunder not very loud, yet full of the vengeance of God, which killed the young man outright and struck Pakeponesso down dead for a long time ; and he fell off from

the floor of planks along upon *the* ground, with one leg in the fire, and being much burned, it was took out by some that lay in the other side of the Indian house. Now Hiacoomes, (as himself saith,) did remember his former thoughts of God, and then thought God did answer him, and that he was brought more to rejoice in God, and rest more upon him."

Now in these times, as I did endeavour the good of these heathens by discourse with divers of them, so in particular with Hiacoomes, who did communicate that knowledge he had, amongst those he could, (for some of them could not endure the light he brought;) some were more attentive to hear, and more ready to follow the truth, yet they did not well behold the majesty of God, by these personal and particular works of God. At last the Lord sent an universal sickness, and it was observed by the Indians, that they that did but give the hearing to good counsel did not taste so deeply of it, but Hiacoomes and his family, in a manner, not at all. This put the Indians, who dwell about six miles from us, upon serious consideration of the thing, being much affected that he, which exposed himself to such reproaches and troubles, should receive more blessings than themselves. Hereupon they sent a messenger to Hiacoomes, who was with him about the break of day, and delivering his message, told him, that he was come to pray him to go presently to Myoxeo, the chief man of that place, and he should have a reward for his labour, for the Indians were very desirous to know from him all things that he knew and did in the ways of God; so he being glad of the opportunity, went with the messenger, and when he came there were many Indians gathered together, amongst which was Towanquatick, the sagamore. Then after many requests, (the general whereof was this, that he would shew his heart unto them, how it stood towards God, and what they must do;) he shewed unto them all things that he knew concerning God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Myoxeo asking him how many gods the English did worship, he answered, one God; whereupon Myoxeo reckoned up about thirty seven principal gods

he had, and shall I, (said he,) throw away these thirty seven for one? Hiacoomes replied, what do you think of yourself? I have thrown away all these, and a great many more, some years ago, yet am preserved you see this day. You speak true, said Myoxeo, therefore I will throw away all my gods too, and serve that one God with you. Hiacoomes told them all, he did fear this great God only, and also in a special manner, that the Son of God did suffer death to satisfy the wrath of God his father, for all those that did trust in him, and forsake their sins, and that the Spirit did work these things in the hearts of men, and that himself did fear this great God only, was sorry for his sins, desiring to be redeemed by Jesus Christ, and to walk in God's commandments. This, with many truths more he shewed unto them, as Adam's transgression, and the misery of the world by it, and did conclude, that if they had such hearts as he, they should have the same mercies. He reckoned up to them many of their sins, as having many gods, going to their powaws; and Hiacoomes told me himself, that this was the first time he ever saw the Indians sensible of their sins; formerly they did but hear of it as a new thing, but not so nearly concerning them, for they were exceeding thankful, saying also, now we have seen our sins. Thus it pleased the Lord to give both light and courage to this poor Indian, for although formerly he had been an harmless man amongst them, yet as themselves say, not at all accounted of, and therefore they often wondered that he, which had nothing to say in all their meetings formerly, is now become the teacher of them all. I must needs give him this testimony, after some years experience of him, that he is a man of a sober spirit and good conversation, and as I hope he hath received the Lord Jesus Christ in truth, so also I look upon him to be faithful, diligent and constant in the work of the Lord, for the good of his own soul, and his neighbours with him.

Now after these things it pleased God to move the heart of Towanquatick, encouraged by some others amongst them, to desire me to preach unto them. At my

coming, this man spake thus unto me; that a long time ago they had wise men, which in a grave manner taught the people knowledge, but they are dead and their wisdom is buried with them, and now men live a giddy life in ignorance till they are white headed, and though ripe in years, yet then they go without wisdom to their graves. He told me he wondered the English should be almost thirty years in the country, and the Indians fools still; but he hoped the time of knowledge was now come, wherefore himself with others desired me to give them an Indian meeting, to make known the word of God to them in their own tongue. And when he came to me to accomplish his desire thereabout, he told me I should be to them as one that stands by a running river filling *many* vessels, even so should I fill them with everlasting knowledge; so I undertook to give them a meeting once a month; but as soon as the first exercise was ended, they desired it oftener, if I could well attend it, but once in a fortnight is our settled course: he hath also, since told me *the* reason why he desired me to preach to them, as that he was greatly desirous to have the Indians grow more in goodness, to have their posterity inherit blessings when he was dead; and himself was desirous to put the word of God to his heart, to repent and throw away his sins and to be better, and after he was dead to inherit a life in heaven.

By such ways and means hath it pleased God to convince sundry Indians of that island, so as that in the year 1650 there was about forty families that had given up themselves to the profession of the christian religion, and did attend upon the publick means appointed by the care of Mr. Mayhew, to instruct them further therein; insomuch that now all the island, in a manner hath embraced our religion and follow our customs and manners in their husbandry and such like occasions, &c.

As God had stirred up Mr. Eliot in the Massachusetts, and Mr. Mayhew at Martin's Vineyard, to take some pains with the Indians about them to instruct them in the christian religion; in like manner was one Mr. Richard Bourne, of Sandwich, in the colony of New Plymouth,

inclined to the like endeavour with the Indians near that place of his abode, so as about the middle of July, 1666, the governour of that jurisdiction, with some other gentlemen of that and the other colony, gave a meeting to Mr. Bourne, to take notice of what proficiency the Indians had made in the knowledge of the true religion by an open confession thereof, in order to their joining together in church fellowship; who it seems gave such satisfaction to those honoured and judicious persons, then assembled on that account, that they encouraged them to proceed on therein, insomuch that copies of what the Indians had expressed that way, being exhibited to the neighbouring churches upon their further approbation, they judged that they might be owned as a christian society; and these were looked upon as the first fruits of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth.

Upon the publishing of these discoveries of the hopeful progress of the Indians in the knowledge of the gospel, the parliament of England were pleased so far to take notice thereof in the year 1649, that they passed an act for the promoting and propagating the gospel of Jesus Christ amongst the Indians of New England, and in reference to the furtherance and advancement of so good a work, a corporation was appointed, &c. to receive such sums of money as from time to time was or should be collected, and raised by the liberal contribution of such whose hearts God had touched, and stirred up to so glorious a work. It was likewise enacted, that the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, for the time being, by themselves, or such as they shall appoint, shall have power and authority to receive and dispose of the said money, &c. This act, with several particular orders and instructions relating thereunto, was published July 27, 1649.

Since which time it hath pleased his majesty, since his restitution to the crown, and regal dignity, so far to countenance this work by a legal settlement, which before was wanting. One principal benefit obtained thereby, is the translating and printing the holy bible in the Indian language, whereby the glad tidings of the gospel,

with the history of the scriptures, both of the old and new testament, may with the greater facility be communicated unto them ; so as, in a sense, that of the prophet Isaiah may be said to be fulfilled as to the Indians of America ; “the people that walked in darkness have seen a great light, they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.” For before the breaking out of the late troubles amongst them in sundry places, there were schools, in which some *were* employed to teach the Indian children to read in the said bibles ; which practice, although it hath been much interrupted by the late wars, yet it is not wholly laid aside, so as the hopes of further and greater success in that behalf are again revived.

This is the substance of what at the present can be said of the progress of the gospel amongst the Indians in New England ; and although the devil hath here, as he always hath done in former times, raised up persecution against them that preach and profess the gospel, yet are not the christian Indians discouraged thereby, as to lay aside their profession ; but have with the peril of their lives many of them endeavoured to maintain and defend it, against the enemies thereof.

CHAP. LXXVII.

A continuation of the History of New Plymouth, from the year 1633, until the year 1678.

THE inhabitants of New Plymouth found so great advantage for divers years in the wisdom and gravity of Mr. Bradford, that they never durst attempt to make any change in their governour, notwithstanding the like testimony of respect was deservedly due to some other of the company, (like mariners in a storm or dangerous channel, that having experience of a skilful and able pilot are loath to change the helm till that storm be over, or the haven obtained,) till this year, 1633, when encouraged by the approach of another colony in the next neighbourhood, they called Mr. Edward Winslow to take that place upon him. He had done many good offices for

that colony, and adventured his life far for them, both by sea and land; therefore was this testimony of respect accounted but his just desert.

This year, Plymouth was visited with an infectious fever, which put an end to the lives of many of their chiefest friends, amongst whom was Mr. Samuel Fuller, that had been their great comfort and help in matters of physick and chirurgery heretofore. It proved a pestilential fever amongst the Indians next adjoining, and swept away many of them.

In the spring of the same year, was observed great swarms of black flies, like wasps, that were as the harbingers, sounding the alarum of some solemn judgment approaching that place. The next year, they adventured to call Mr. Thomas Prince to the place of governour, a serious and prudent man.

In the year 1635, Mr. Winslow took another voyage into England, where he had another opportunity to stand up in behalf of the colonies of New England, and to answer the accusations which Morton and Gardner made at the council table against them. He put up a petition to the lords of the said council, which put a check to the design which some had against the country, although he could not put an issue to some trouble, that was occasioned thereby.

In the year 1636, Mr. Winslow took his turn again in the governour's place of New Plymouth, and managed the affairs thereof during that year, to great satisfaction.

This year the town of Plymouth, being straightened for room, sallied out into a new plantation near by, which they called Duxbury, and whither the people invited Mr. Partridge, a learned and judicious divine, that came over into those parts the same year, to exercise the ministry of the gospel amongst them; who proved a notable champion for the truth against Samuel Gorton, who the next year came thither, and began to leaven that jurisdiction with his familistical, or rather atheistical, opinions: but by his seditious and tumultuous carriage, before the court, (at which he was complained of for injury done to Mr. Smith, the minister at Plymouth town,)

gave them occasion to put him upon seeking sureties for his good behaviour, which being not able to do, he removed to Rhode Island, where he behaved himself so insolently, that they were forced to condemn him to the whipping post, as was mentioned before, and then to banishment.

In the year 1638, there was a necessary and exemplary piece of justice done in Plymouth upon three men that were executed for robbing a poor Indian near Providence, according to that ancient law of divine institution; Gen. ix. 6. "He that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed;" for they murdered the poor Indian whom they robbed.

Thus went on the affairs of this small colony of New Plymouth, not by wealth, nor by might or strength of man, but by the special presence and blessing of Almighty God, in some convenient measure of prosperity till the year 1643, at which time they were furnished with many worthy ministers in their several townships, as namely:

Mr. Charles Chauncey,	Mr. Edward Bulkley,
Mr. Ralph Partridge,	Mr. William Leveridge,
Mr. William Hooke,	Mr. Richard Blinman,
Mr. Nicholas Street,	Mr. John Miller,
Mr. John Lotrope,*	Mr. Marmaduke Matthews.
Mr. John Mayo,	

These were dispersed over the whole colony in several plantations, as at Plymouth town, Duxbury, Taunton, Scituate, Barnstable, Sandwich, Eastham, Yarmouth, Rehoboth, all that were erected before the year 1645. But the inhabitants being but few, and the encouragement but small, and the difficulties wherewith they were to conflict in the first setting up of new plantations very great, they, many of them, were removed, some back into old England, others into the neighbour colonies, and some into their eternal rest, not long after.

But the sorest loss that hitherto befel them, was in the year 1643 by the death of Mr. Brewster, one that did, (if any other in his age,) deserve the name of a ruling elder, being able to rule both his own house and

* Lothrop. Ed.

the church of God, and do much that might and did go for labour in the word and doctrine.

Mr. Bradford and Mr. Brewster were the two main props and pillars of their colony, yet after the removal of them, others were raised up, who hitherto have been able to carry on the work of their generation to the honour of Almighty God, and the prosperity of their jurisdiction, viz. Mr. Thomas Prince, and Maj. Josiah Winslow, who succeeded the former in the chiefest place of government.

In the year 1664, it pleased his majesty to send over commissioners to take cognizance of the estate of the several colonies in New England, who came to Plymouth the same year and presented the governour of that colony with a gracious letter from his majesty, the contents of which are as followeth, much after the same tenour with those which were commended to the rest of the colonies, and therefore, that which was directed to this colony may serve for a specimen for the rest, therein to manifest his majesty's particular care and gracious inclination towards these remote plantations in America, the whole whereof from Acady, or Nova Scotia, on the south side of Canada, to Florida, is become subject to his majesty's power and absolute government, without the interposition of the interest of any foreign prince or state.

His majesty's commissioners had an honourable reception at Plymouth, according to the capacity of the inhabitants, and as is said, those honourable gentlemen did very much and very kindly resent it. The like was tendered them at the Massachusetts, but they were not so propitious to that colony, upon the account forementioned; in which, if there were any failure upon any mistaken ground, it is hoped his majesty hath grace enough, notwithstanding all he hath expended upon the subject of his three kingdoms, yet left in his royal heart to obliterate the remembrance thereof, and not impute iniquity to his servants, who were not willingly led into an error of that *high* nature.

To our trusty and well beloved, the governour and council of
New Plymouth, Greeting.

CHARLES REX.

Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. We need not enlarge upon our care of, and affection to that our plantation of New Plymouth, when we give you such a testimony and manifestation of *it* in the sending of those gentlemen, persons well known unto us, as deserving from us, our *trusty* and well beloved Col. Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, knight, George Cartwright, Esq. and Samuel Maverick, Esq. our commissioners to visit you, and other our plantations in those parts of New England, and to give us a full and particular information and account of your *present* state and condition, and how the same may be advanced and improved by any further acts of grace and favour from us towards you; and that both you and all the world may know and take *notice*, that we take you into our immediate protection, and will no more suffer you to be oppressed or injured, by any foreign power or ill neighbours, than we shall suffer our other subjects, that live upon the same continent with us, to be so injured and oppressed. And as our care *and* protection will, (we doubt not,) be sufficient, with God's blessing, to defend you from foreign force, so our care and circumspection is no less, that you may live in peace amongst yourselves, and with those our other subjects, who have planted themselves in your neighbour colonies, with that justice, affection, and brotherly love, which becomes subjects born under the same prince, and in the same country, and of the same faith and hope in the mercies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And to the end, that there may be no contention and difference between you, in respect of the bounds and jurisdiction of your several colonies, the hearing *and* determining whereof we have referred to our commissioners, as the right appears by clear *evidence* and testimony before them, or that they can settle it by your mutual consent *and* agreement; otherwise, in cases of difficulty, they shall present the same to us, who will determine according to our own wisdom and justice. The address you formerly made to us, gave us so good satisfaction of your

duty, loyalty, and affection to us, that we have not the least doubt that you will receive these commissioners in such manner as becomes you, and so may manifest your respect and affection towards us, from whom they are sent. They will let you know the resolution we have to preserve all your liberties and *privileges*, both ecclesiastical and civil, without the least violation, which we *presume will* dispose you to manifest, by all ways in your power, loyalty and affection to us, that all the world may know, that you do look upon yourselves as being as much our subjects, and living under the same obedience under us, as if you continued in your natural country ; and so we bid you farewell.

Given at our court at Whitehall, April 23, 1664, in the sixteenth year of our reign.

By his majesty's special command.

HENRY BENNETT.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

The country about Hudson's river, when first discovered and planted ; what changes have passed over them, since their first planting to this present time.

THE most fertile and desirable tract of land in all the southerly part of New England, is that which lieth about the greatest river in all those parts, called Hudson's river, at the first called New Netherlands, from the people that first possessed it.

That great river was first discovered by Capt. Hudson in the year 1610, from whom it received its name. The reason why it was not first seized into the possession of the English, seems to be the many sad disasters they met withal, in their first attempts that way in 1607, and some years after, which discouraged those of our nation from further prosecuting any design of that nature till the year 1620, when some of the separations of Leyden, in Holland, put on a fresh resolution to transplant themselves into some part of America. Their intent was to have pitched upon some place about Hudson's river, but they were therein supplanted by some of the Dutch, amongst whom they sojourned, which hired the master

of the ship to bend his course more northward, which to gratify their fraudulent interlopers, Jones, their mercenary pilot, performed, and forced them in at Cape Cod, having at that time an intent to make a plantation about Hudson's river themselves, which they soon after accomplished, although their pretence was only to make use of the harbour for a supply of fresh water for their ships, as they passed to and from the West Indies; but took such liking to the place, that they there settled a plantation; for those that began 1614, were routed by Sir Samuel Argall, soon after the other began at Cape Cod. On which consideration, that providence is the more remarkable, that hath of late brought it under the English in the year 1664, having been in the hands of the Dutch above forty years before.

At the first settling of their plantation there, they always held a friendly correspondence with the English at New Plymouth; thereby, as it were, proffering them a mess of pottage instead of the birthright of the land, which, by an under contrivance, they had before subtly deprived them of.

It was quietly possessed by the Dutch a long time, till of late, when beginning to stand upon terms, and upon masteries, with our royal sovereign Charles the Second, (whose royal predecessors had not only been their great benefactors, but their chief upholders, when casting off the Spanish yoke, they began to set up for themselves,) it was happily surrendered, or surprized, by the English, under the conduct of Col. Nichols, in the behalf of his royal highness the duke of York. Under the government of the said Col. Nichols it continued until the year before our last quarrel with the Dutch, when Gen. Nichols, weary of his confinement there, resigned up his place in the government of the Dutch plantation to Col. Lovelace, who held it till the year 1673, when in his absence from the fort, and chiefest place of strength, it was unhappily surprized by Mons. Colve, under a Dutch commission, who held it for a while, to the no small damage of the English in those parts, till it was again restored to the absolute possession of the English, upon their last treaty of peace between the two nations.

When the Dutch first planted that part of the country, they took possession, in like manner, of the westernmost part of Long Island, where they began some petty plantations with some inhabitants of their own nation.

The remainder of the said island was possessed by the English, that removed into those parts for the sake of a more convenient and commodious situation, out of the other colonies of New England, having obtained the liberty so to do, by some kind of grant from the agent of my lord Sterling, to whose share or allotment, (either by grant from the earl of Carlisle, or *in some other way*,) that part of the country fell, upon the resignation of the grand patent betwixt the years 1630 and 1635, and also by a voluntary consent and agreement amongst themselves and of the towns upon that part of Long Island, put themselves under the government of New Haven, and some under Connecticut colony; under which jurisdictions they remained till the coming over of Col. Nichols, 1664, who assumed the whole island into his possession, as part of the patent granted his royal highness the duke of York, to which it hath been annexed ever since. The towns planted thereon, all, or most of them are moulded, as to their ecclesiastical concerns, after the manner of the rest of the New English plantations, and are of their persuasion generally in matters of religion; nor have they been abridged of their liberty therein, by any of the honourable gentlemen that have presided there, since it hath been reduced into the power of the English.

The towns there seated lie in this order, being about twelve in all.

In a bay, at the easternmost end of Long Island, is that called Shelter Island, a very fruitful and pleasant place, the seat of one Mr. Sylvester, a rich merchant, that purchased it of a New Haven gentleman, and hath there settled his family, which he brought from Barbados.

The next place, on that called Long Island, is East Hampton, at the furthest end eastward; then South Hampton; next, Southhold, where the inhabitants of late have fallen upon the killing of whales, that frequent

the south side of the island in the latter part of the winter, wherein they have a notable kind of dexterity; and the trade that ariseth therefrom hath been very beneficial to all that end of the island; then Seatocket, Huntingdon, Oister, Jerusalem, Jericho, Hempsted, Flushing, New Town, Bedford, Gravescant. Some of these are Dutch towns, in the first planting or ordering of which there hath not much matter of moment been reported.

After Mons. Colve had possessed himself of the Dutch plantations at Manhatts, he made some attempts to have seized the towns of the English on Long Island, but the inhabitants stood resolutely upon their guard, and so prevented his further design upon them. As for any further discourse of the Dutch plantations next adjoining, or the description thereof, the reader may take the following relation, with little variation, in the words of D. D. some time an inhabitant there, and published in the year 1670.

A brief relation of New York, with the places thereunto adjoining, formerly called the New Netherlands, &c.

That tract of land, formerly called the New Netherlands, doth contain all that land which *lieth* in the north parts of America, betwixt New England and Maryland, in Virginia, the length *of* which northward into the country, as it hath not been fully discovered, so it is not certainly known; the breadth of it is about two hundred miles. The principal rivers within this are Hudson's river, Afterkull, Raritan river, and Delaware Bay river; the chief *islands*, the Manahatan's Island, Long Island, and Staten Island.

And first, to begin with the Manahatan's Island, so called by the Indians. It *lieth* within *and* betwixt the degrees of 41 and 42 of north latitude, and is about fourteen miles long and two *wide*. It is bounded with Long Island, on the south; with Staten Island, on the west; on the north, with *the* main land; and with Connecticut colony on the east side of it; only a part of the main *land*, belonging to New York colony, where several towns and villages are settled, being about *three* miles in

breadth, doth intercept the Manhatan's Island and Connecticut colony, before mentioned. It is rather an isthmus than an island, being tacked to the main by a shallow stream, fordable at low water.

The town, called New York, is settled upon the west end of the said island, having that small arm of the sea, which divides it from Long Island, on the south side of it, which *bears* away eastward to New England, and is navigable, though dangerous. For about ten miles *from* York is a place called Hell Gate, which being a narrow passage, there runneth a violent stream, both upon flood and ebb, and in the middle lieth some islands of rocks, which the current sets *so violently* upon, that it threatens present shipwreck; and upon the flood is a large whirlpool *which continually* sends forth a hideous roaring, enough to affright any stranger from passing further, *but* to wait for some Charon to conduct him through; yet to those that are well acquainted, *there is* no danger; yet a place of great defence against any enemy coming in that way, which a *small fortification* would absolutely prevent, and necessitate them to come in at the west end *of the* island by Sandy Hook, where Nutten Island doth force them within command of the fort * * *, which is one of the best pieces of defence in the north part of America.

New York is built most of brick and stone, and covered with red and black tile, *which* being high, it gives at a distance a pleasing aspect to the spectators, † * * * * inhabit * * * most of English and Dutch, and have a considerable trade with the Indians for beavers, otter, rackoon skins, with other furs; and also for bear, deer, and elk skins; and are supplied with venison and fowl in the winter, and fish in the summer, by the Indians, which they buy at an easy rate. And having the country round about them, they are continually supplied with all such provisions as is needful for the life of man, not only by the English and Dutch within their own, but likewise by the adjacent colonies.

The commodities vented from thence are furs and skins before mentioned, as likewise tobacco, made with-

in the colony, as good as is usually made in Maryland; also, horses, beef, pork, oil, peas, wheat, and the like.

Long Island, the west end of which lies southward of New York, runs eastward above one hundred miles, and is, in some places eight, in some twelve, in some fourteen miles broad. It is inhabited from one end to the other. On the west end are four or five Dutch towns, the rest being all English, to the number of twelve, besides villages and farm houses. The island is most of it of a very good soil, and very natural for all sorts of English grain, which they sow and have very good increase of; besides all other fruits and herbs, common in England, as also tobacco, hemp, flax, pumpkins, melons, &c.

The fruits, natural to the island, are mulberries, possimons, grapes, great and small, whortleberries, cranberries, plums of several sorts, raspberries, and strawberries; of which last is such abundance in June, that the fields and woods are died red, in a manner, with them.

The greatest part of the island is very full of timber, as oaks, white and red walnut trees, chesnut trees, which yield store of mast for swine, and are often therewith sufficiently fattened without corn; as also maples, cedars, saxifrage, beach, birch, holly, hazel, with many sorts more.

The herbs, which the country naturally affords, are purslain, white orage, egrimony, violets, penny-royal, ellecampane, besides saxaparilla very common, besides many more. Yea, in May you shall see the woods and fields so curiously bedecked with roses, and an innumerable multitude of other delightful flowers, not only pleasing to the eye, but smell, that you may behold nature contending with art, and striving to equal, if not excel many gardens in England. Nay, did we know the virtue of all those plants and herbs growing there, (which time may more discover,) many are of opinion, and the natives do affirm, that there is no disease common to the country, but may be cured without materials from other nations.

There are several navigable rivers and bays, which

put into the north side of Long Island ; but upon the south side, which joins to the sea, it is so fortified with bars of sands and shoals, that it is a sufficient defence against any enemy. Yet the south side is not without brooks and rivulets, which empty themselves into the sea ; yea, you shall scarce travel a mile but you shall meet with one of them, whose chrystal streams run so swift that they purge themselves of such stinking mud and filth, which the standing or slow paced streams of most brooks and rivers, westward of this colony, leave lying behind them upon their banks, and are by the sun's exhalation dissipated, the air corrupted, and many fevers and other distempers occasioned, not incident to this colony. Neither do the brooks and rivulets premised, give way to the frost in winter, or drought in summer, but keep their course throughout the year.

These rivers are very well furnished with fish, as bass, sheepsheads, plaice, perch, trouts, eels, and divers others. There is also a black fish, of an excellent taste, not found elsewhere in New England. * * island is plentifully stored with all sorts of English cattle, horses, hogs, sheep, * * * of America better, which they can both raise and maintain, *by* reason of the large spacious meadows * * * *
 * * producing excellent English grass, the seed of which was brought out of England, which *they* sometime mow twice a year.

For wild beasts there is deer, bear, wolves, foxes, rackoons, otter, musquashes, and skunks. Wild fowl there is a great store of, as turkeys, heathhens, quails, partridges, pigeons, cranes, geese of several sorts, brants, ducks, widgeon, teal, and divers others. There is also the *red* bird, with divers sorts of singing birds, whose chirping notes salute the ears of travellers with an harmonious discord ; and in every pond or brook, green silken frogs, who whistling forth their shrill notes, strive to bear a part in this musick, not much unlike the Lancashire *bagpipe* ; while in the mean time the larger sort of them are bellowing out their sackbut diapason.

Towards the middle of Long Island lieth a plain, six-

teen miles long and four broad, upon which plain grows very fine grass, that makes exceeding good hay, and is very good pasture for sheep or other cattle, where you shall find neither stick nor stone to hinder their heels, or endanger them in their races; and once a year the best horses in the island *are* brought hither to try their swiftness, and the swiftest are rewarded with a silver cup, two *being* annually procured for that purpose. There are two or three other small plains, of about a mile square, which are no small benefit to those towns that enjoy them.

Upon the south side of Long Island, in the winter, lie store of whales and grampuses, *which* the inhabitants begin with small boats to make a trade of catching, to their no small benefit; also, an innumerable multitude of seals, which make an excellent oil. They lie all winter upon some broken marshes and beaches, or bars of sand before mentioned, and might *be* easily got, were there some skilful men would undertake it.

Within two leagues of New York lieth Staten Island. It bears from New York *west*, something southerly. It is about twenty miles long and four or five broad. It is *mostly of* very good land, full of timber, and produceth all such commodities as Long Island doth, *besides* tin, and store of iron ore, and the calamine stone is said likewise to be found *there*. There is but one town upon it, consisting of English and French, but is capable of *entertaining* more inhabitants. Betwixt this and Long Island is a very large bay, and is the common *

* *for* all ships and vessels out of the sea. On the north side of this island After-Kull puts into the main land, on the west side whereof is two or three towns, but on * * but one. There is very great marshes or meadows on both sides of it; excellent grass, * and good convenience for the settling of several towns. There grows black wa * as there doth in Virginia, with mighty tall, strait timber, as good as any in the *whole of* America. It produceth any commodity Long Island doth.

Hudson's river runs by New York northward into the country, toward the *head* of which is seated New Alba-

ny, a place of great trade with the Indians ; betwixt *which* and New York, being above one hundred miles, is as good corn land as the world affords, and able to entertain hundreds of families, which in the time of the Dutch government of those *parts* could not be settled for the Indians, excepting one place called the Sopers, *which* is kept a garrison ; but since the reducement of those parts, under his majesty's rule, and a patent granted to his royal highness the duke of York, which is about six * * by the care and diligence of the honourable Col. Nichols, sent thither deputy to his * * such a league of peace was made, and friendship concluded betwixt that colony, that they have not resisted or disturbed any christians there, in the settling or *peaceful* possessing of any lands there, within that government, but every man hath sat under *his* vine, and hath peaceably reaped and enjoyed the fruits of his own labours, which God * *

Westward of After-Kull, before mentioned, about eighteen or twenty miles, runs in Raritan *river westward* into the country, some score of miles, both sides of which river is adorned with meadows, enough to maintain thousands of cattle ; the woodland is likewise * * for corn, and stored with wile beasts, as deer and elks, and an innumerable * * * fowl, as in other parts of the country. This river is thought very capable * * of several towns and villages on each side of it. *No place in the north* * * * *

* * * * two or three towns and villages, settled upon * * * betwixt that and Delaware Bay, which is about sixty miles, all which is a rich champaign country, free from stones, and indifferent level, store of excellent good timber, and very well watered, having brooks or rivers ordinarily one or more in *every* mile's travel. The country is full of deer, elks, bear, and other creatures, as in other parts of the country, where you shall meet with no inhabitants in your journey but a few Indians ; * where there is stately oaks, whose broad-branched tops serve for no other use but to *keep* off the sun's heat from the wild beasts of the wilderness ; where is grass as high as a *man's* middle, that

serves for no other end except to maintain the elks and deer, who never devour an hundredth part of it, then to be burnt every spring, to make way for *new*. How many poor people in the world would think themselves happy, had they an acre *or* two of land, whilst here is [are] hundreds, nay thousands of acres, that would invite inhabitants.

Delaware Bay, the mouth of the river, lieth about the midway betwixt New York and the capes of Virginia. It is a very pleasant river and country, but very few inhabitants, and them being mostly Swedes, Dutch, and Finns. About sixty miles up the river is the principal town, called New Castle, which is about forty miles from Maryland, and very good way to travel, either with horse or foot. The people are settled all along the west side sixty miles above New Castle; the land is good for all sorts of English grain, and wanteth nothing *
* * people to populate it, it being capable of entertaining many hundred families.

Some may admire that these rich and great tracts of land, lying so adjoining to New England and Virginia, should be no better inhabited, and that the richness of the soil, and *healthfulness* of the climate, and the like, should be no better a motive to induce * * *

* * * to populate it * *

* * * * *

* * * * *

* * that whilst it was under the Dutch government * * years, there was little en-

couragement for any English, both in respect * *

* from the Indians, * * *

* the Dutch being almost always in danger * *

g of a war, which would have been destructive to their

* * * * * the main thing

prosecuted by the Dutch. And secondly the Dutch *

* * lands, together with their exacting of the

tenth of all which * * * their lands

that did much hinder the populating of it; together

* * * dislike the English have of liv-

ing under another government * * *

* there were several towns of a considerable great-

ness began and settled by people out of New England,
and every day more and more came to view and settle.

To give some satisfaction to people that shall be desirous to transport themselves thither, (the country being capable of entertaining many thousands,) how and after what manner people live, and how land may be procured, &c. I shall answer, that the usual way is *for a* company of people to join together, either enough to make a town, or a less number. *These* go with the consent of the governour, and view a tract of land, there being choice * * and finding a place convenient for a town, they return to the governour, who, upon *their* desire, admits them into the colony, and gives them a grant or patent for the said *tract*, for themselves and their associates. These persons, being thus qualified, settle that * * and take in what inhabitants to themselves they shall see cause to admit of, till their town is full.

These associates, thus taken in, have equal privileges with themselves, and they make division of the land, suitable to every man's occasions, no man being debarred of such quantity as he hath occasion for. The rest they let lie in common, till they have occasion for a new division, never dividing their pasture lands at all, which lie in common to the whole * * The best commodities for any to carry with them is clothing, the country being full of all sorts of cattle, with which they may furnish themselves at an easy rate.

* * a true description of the country about New
York was thought necessary to be published *as well*
for the encouragement of any that may have a *mind* to
remove themselves thither, as for a * * * *

* * * * *

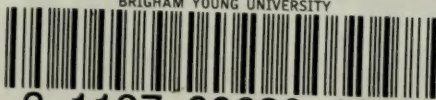
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